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OF SOCIAL WORK

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SIXTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
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FOREWORD

THIS VOLUME contains sixty-four papers selected from more than 150 that were presented before the general sessions, the sections, and the special committees of the National Conference of Social Work, at the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the Conference, held in Atlantic City in June, 1941. Selection of these papers was made by the Conference Editorial Committee, composed of Cordelia Trimble (Madison, Wisconsin), Arthur Dunham (Detroit), and Robert P. Lane (New York City), chairman; and including as members ex officio the President of the Conference, Jane M. Hoey (Washington), the General Secretary of the Conference and Editor of the *Proceedings*, Howard R. Knight, and the Editor of the *Social Work Year Book*, Russell H. Kurtz.

Under Conference policy, adopted to keep the *Proceedings* within a single volume of usable size, papers read before associate groups affiliated with the Conference were not eligible for publication. The same limitation of space required the Editorial Committee to forego inclusion of many excellent papers that were of undoubted value when presented to the Conference, but that were omitted in favor of others for publication in a permanent reference volume that appears approximately six months after the Conference sessions are held.

Value for reference purposes, indeed, may be taken as the central test in the criteria for selection formulated by previous editorial committees and adhered to in the present instance. Newness of data, practical value to active social workers, authenticity, historical significance, especial timeliness, literary excellence—all these criteria are applied; but in the last analysis they may be resolved into a single generic test—usefulness to persons who wish to consult the *Proceedings*, not only on its appearance, but in subsequent years. The successive collections of papers chosen under

this formula stand as annual cross sections of the problems and solutions in the forefront of professional consciousness during the lengthening years of the Conference's life.

It is well known that the Conference is essentially a forum for free discussion, not a body engaged in social action. Points of view expressed in any paper are those of the author alone. Publication does not imply endorsement, nor exclusion lack of endorsement, by either the Conference as a whole or by the Editorial Committee.

For the third year the Editorial Committee has arranged the volume's contents under centers of reader interest rather than in the order and under the headings of the Conference program. The program is printed in full, however (Appendix A); so that with its aid, and by consulting the alphabetical List of Contributors and the Index, no user of the volume should experience difficulty in locating a paper for which he is looking.

The Editorial Committee expresses great indebtedness to the authors who submitted manuscripts; to the section and committee chairmen who aided in evaluating papers for publication; and to Mrs. W. Burton Swart, of the staff of Columbia University Press, who had the vital responsibility of preparing the selected manuscripts for publication.

ROBERT P. LANE

Chairman, Editorial Committee

*New York City
October 1, 1941*

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PART ONE

SOCIAL WORK IN A WAR-TORN WORLD



THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL WORK TO GOVERNMENT

Jane M. Hoey

THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY" is a phrase used so frequently today that universal agreement as to its meaning is assumed. Little reflection is required, however, to realize that there are wide differences of opinion, not only as to appropriate methods of protecting our country, but also as to the essentials of a democratic government.

A brief review of what has happened recently to people and to governments in Europe brings into sharp contrast democracy and totalitarianism. The similarity today of present methods of operation of European governments, which a few years ago were said to have wholly different and conflicting objectives, is startling. It is impossible, of course, with our perspective, to know all the factors involved in this evolution. Analysis of certain obvious conditions, however, leads one to believe this result inevitable.

If the State is the master, the people the servants, then centralization of authority is required, a dictator is unavoidable, and control of human beings becomes a necessary concomitant.

To generate force, their lifeblood, totalitarian States disregard individual rights and emphasize the individual's duties to the State. Normal social relationships, on which a stable society is based, are weakened in order that the bond between the individual and the State may be strengthened. Through force and fear, childhood training and habit formation, assurance of a minimum income for subsistence and promises of future material gains, these governments have created superficial if not actual unity of thought and action among their citizens.

But the permanence of a government dominated by ruthless

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and ambitious political leaders, unrestrained by respect for the rights of individuals or society, by tradition or law, is questionable. Will loyalty to a government established not to serve its people, but to be served by them, be enduring? It does not seem possible. The fact cannot be overlooked, however, that by unity of purpose, however accomplished, by advance planning, adequate equipment, comprehensive organization, and centralized direction, the conquest and enslavement of millions have been effected, and democracies have fallen before an overwhelming force.

In spite of this fact, there is convincing evidence that the strength of a nation cannot be judged merely by its size or even by the quantity and quality of its armament, vital as these are to its defense. The ability of a country to defend itself against external forces, and against efforts to promote internal dissension, depends upon the unity of purpose and high morale of its citizens and confidence that their government is serving their interests. The only convincing answer to the tenets and attainments of totalitarianism is a practical demonstration that another form of government will insure at least equal material benefits and at the same time provide a more satisfactory way of life.

To our forefathers, the objectives of our democratic form of government as stated in the Declaration of Independence were certain, realistic, and simply defined. Let me recall the words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Social workers know better than any other group that great inequalities exist in the material possessions of individuals, in their physical and mental equipment, and in their opportunities for normal personal and social development. Many of these disparities, however, can be lessened or their effects minimized. Great strides have been made in this direction, especially through social legislation enacted in this country in recent years.

With our great economic resources there is no reason why a regular income cannot be guaranteed to all our people. From private employment, public work, social insurance, public assistance or relief, money should be available to keep families together in their own homes, in decency and health, and to make possible opportunities for normal development. What better defense program could there be for any nation?

Perhaps a new social order has to be evolved—perhaps a change in our accepted mode of life is necessary in order to secure this result; nevertheless, this prospect should not be used as an excuse for inertia now or for the sabotage of our present institutions. Much can be done to improve social and economic conditions. The gains which have been made in providing some measure of social security to many people may be lost at this time unless the importance of human welfare is stressed.

Political equality is a reality in most places in the United States today, although in some sections of the country effective use of their political rights is still denied chiefly to one minority group and to persons called "paupers." This situation indicates the necessity for residents of communities tolerating such disfranchisement to recognize that democracy is something more than a nice theory or membership in a political party. It calls for respect for the basic rights of every individual whatever his race, color, religion, political or social circumstances.

The equality that our forebears emphasized was neither political nor economic. Men are "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights," they said. No satisfactory or enduring design for living could be devised, they thought, that was not based upon faith in the common fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and respect for the dignity of each human being. If we do not believe that we are one in our relationship to our Creator and to each other, and that our origin and destiny are beyond the powers of men, how can we avoid acceptance of theories of racial supremacy, inevitable conflict between nations, and elimination of the sick, the malformed, and the aged? If authority comes only from man, then political leaders inevitably will place more and more reliance upon their own judgment;

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personal and party ambition, rather than the public welfare, will influence their attitudes and actions.

Has appreciation of the amazing scientific discoveries of our generation made us overemphasize the importance of science? Have we distorted its contribution as a factor in attaining ultimate objectives to the extent that we consider it an objective in itself? A scientific approach is indispensable to the acquisition of greater knowledge and skill. But interest in science or great accomplishments in this or any other field will not, alone, unite and inspire men. Even transmitting the benefits of scientific knowledge and skill to all citizens and making possible opportunities to pursue educational, cultural, and other interests will not insure, in themselves, high morale of the people.

There must be strong conviction and motivation to help men minimize racial, national, and personal differences, and resolve conflicts, and to stimulate respect for the dignity of each individual and the desire to work continuously for the common good. History and our own experience indicate only one source of strength and inspiration that can be depended upon to impel men in this direction—and that strength is spiritual and based upon religious concepts. However, large numbers of persons today are uninformed about, or indifferent to, religion; some completely reject it. What substitute can they find that will inspire them to work, sacrifice, apply self-discipline, and cooperate with their associates for the public welfare? All these voluntary actions seem essential if democracy is to be achieved. Nationalism, humanism, collective ownership of property, or desire for personal or group achievement may satisfy for a time, but no political or economic organization or concept will provide the vital and abiding force necessary to unite free men and insure for them a democratic way of life.

While there are differences of opinion as to the degree of success of our government and as to its methods of operation, these are no cause for alarm. However, disagreement as to the goals of democracy and the principles basic to its success destroys confidence and makes unity and progress impossible.

Most Americans would probably concede that the United States

has a framework within which it is possible equitably to consider the rights of individuals and society and to promote the public welfare. A limited number of persons believe that because our accomplishments fall short of our ideals, our basic objectives must be rejected and our present social structure destroyed.

The three branches and levels of government, operating under a great body of laws, provide to a certain extent automatic safeguards against centralization of authority, although this division of responsibility, alone, cannot be relied upon to check the ruthless ambitions of individuals or of political or economic pressure groups. Nor can it prevent the encroachment of one branch or level of government upon the function of another. The scope and authority vested in each must be more clearly defined and their specific relationships understood. Participation by the Federal Government in financing state and local programs necessitates clear lines of demarcation as to the different responsibilities involved at each level of government.

It must be recognized that the relation of the states to their local governments is not the same as the relation of the Federal Government to the states. It is because this fact is not fully appreciated that conflicts sometimes arise and there is a lack of understanding as to the supervisory power of the state over its local political subdivisions, especially in respect to programs that are administered jointly. The Federal Government in respect to coöperative programs does not supervise the states since supervision involves continuing direction of activities. The states have vested certain responsibilities in the Federal Government, but the states are not, in the same sense as local governments, political subdivisions of the Federal Government.

Many persons believe that local units of government are an important arm of any democratic government since they are close to the people, and, by virtue of this fact, can keep fully aware of their needs. If these units are important in the maintenance of democracy, their services should be strengthened by supervision and assistance from the state, by financial aid, advice, and guidance from the Federal Government, especially in the area of the development of standards. Clarification of the responsibilities of

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each level and branch of government is important and their harmonious functioning is necessary if the agencies of government are to be effective and provide maximum benefits to people in all parts of the country.

The recent practice of legislative bodies in restricting, by law, the use of discretion in methods of operation is an infringement on the executive function. Among the judicial bodies, the lower courts, especially, have at times attempted to assume administrative responsibilities for which they had neither the authority, according to the theory of separation of powers, nor, usually, the specific professional training, to undertake. Confusion as to function, however, is not limited to the judicial and legislative branches of government. Executive officials likewise have erred in this respect and at times have aroused strong antagonism, especially in legislative bodies.

There are innumerable matters in respect to which it is necessary for several branches and several levels of government to function. In these instances intelligent and objective consideration by representatives of each will lead to agreement as to the division of responsibility and a plan for coöperative and effective action.

All this merely emphasizes the fact that laws are administered by men and that our future and the success or failure of our government depends to a large extent upon the character and ability of our public officials. Competent persons, by some method yet largely undeveloped, must be elected and appointed to public office. As yet, desirable qualifications have not been formulated for persons in responsible governmental positions, such as cabinet officers and department heads in Federal, state, or local governments. Real progress has been made in defining qualifications necessary for persons in subordinate positions in the executive branch of government, but it is obvious that an adequate service cannot be developed if unqualified persons have responsibility for direction and supervision.

Instances of appreciation by the public of good service by men in public office, and of public repudiation of those officials who have clearly demonstrated their incompetence, are heartening.

The acts of elected officials are subject to review by citizens, but desire on the part of the public to assume this responsibility of democratic government has been limited to small groups or to particular occasions when action has been extreme or when emotion has been aroused. The questions which require continuous and careful attention are: how to be sure that persons elected or appointed to public office are kept informed as to the requirements and desires of people, and how to be sure that official decisions will reflect adequate and equitable consideration of rights and responsibilities of individuals and the public good.

Life is not static, and the desires and needs of people are subject to frequent change; because of these factors there must be a recognized medium through which both the community and government officials, at all levels, in all branches, can keep informed as to what is happening to people. Such a medium, including organized public and private agencies, is necessary in order that public officials may know how activities and organized effort affect people's lives; what economic and social needs are inadequately met; what groups who need help are not reached by social programs; what changes or adaptations are required to benefit individuals and society. Social work today offers such a medium.

This proposal is logical since the primary concern of social work is understanding the total needs of human beings and the social, economic, and personal factors that affect their interests. The maintenance of normal social relationships of individuals is a basic objective of social work and of democratic government. Social workers have professional knowledge, skill, and practical experience in administering social services designed to meet special requirements of individuals and groups. They are, therefore, in a position to interpret needs and to suggest ways in which the content of programs and the organization and methods of operation of governmental agencies might be adapted or changed to meet such needs more adequately.

The implication that social workers should be given exclusive responsibility in this area is, of course, not intended. Other professional, technical, and lay groups are making notable contribu-

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tions to the more effective functioning of government. Likewise, they are helping individuals through specialized services to develop in accordance with their capacities and desires. Emphasis is placed on social work as a possible channel through which government could keep currently informed, because it is concerned with the total requirements of people in their physical and social environment. No other professional or technical group has assumed similar responsibility.

In the last ten years social work has made a unique and significant contribution to the understanding and application of the democratic process in government. The opportunity to render greater service may be indicated at this time. The depression, affecting in varying degrees the lives of most of the population, brought about increased awareness of the extent and character of human needs, especially as these were related to nationwide economic and social conditions. The necessity for governmental action in relieving distress became apparent.

Nevertheless, for a long time many people held to the idea that public social programs were necessary only to meet emergency situations and later could be transferred back to private organizations. The assumption by government of a continuing responsibility for promoting the general welfare is in no small measure due to the efforts of social workers. They joined with other groups in pointing out that political democracy is always related to, and is to a very large extent dependent upon, social and economic democracy.

Continuous interpretation of the basic needs of people, how these can be met and what happens when they are not met, has resulted in a change of attitude on the part of both the public and governmental agencies. The old idea that the function of government involved merely restraint of individuals from undertaking undesirable practices has now been completely overshadowed by the more positive role that government has assumed of promoting public welfare and making possible the more adequate meeting of human needs. Leadership in democracy has new significance when men like President Roosevelt and Mayor La

Guardia are willing to assume responsibility for giving direction to the nation's efforts to handle unmet needs.

Extension of social services to all economically and socially disadvantaged persons has not yet been achieved in this country; hence the necessity for continuing interpretation, by social workers, of requirements of individuals, of the beneficial effects of social programs and of how these should be extended or adapted in the interest of special groups and the general public. Yeoman service in this respect has been given by chapters of the American Association of Social Workers, by state conferences of social work, and by many individual social workers. They have assembled facts as to unmet needs and have graphically presented them.

In recent years social work, while stimulating governmental action of a positive nature in so many areas, has simultaneously urged the use of democratic processes within the governmental structure. Agencies of government have taken from social work the theory of individualized treatment. The total welfare program of government reflects a progressively realistic conception of the individual citizen as a consumer of government services and assistance. Social work techniques and tools for adjusting social programs to the varieties of individual and family problems are utilized in many ways by different agencies. Likewise the organization of community resources by social workers and the application of these methods to the solution of social problems have been suggestive to government agencies.

The thinking of social work groups on certain aspects of administration has been accepted by government agencies. The insistence of social workers that the potential citizen-consumer must always be kept in mind has determined methods of administration in many instances. In order to keep the governmental agency "responsible," social work has urged the utilization of democratic processes in the management of government agencies. This has involved wide use of the conference method, of staff participation at every level in the development of policies, standards, and methods of operation, with all concerned making some contribution to the solution of problems.

These democratic processes have been fostered by social work

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personnel, not only to improve staff morale and keep it on a high level, but also in recognition of the fact that efficient administration results when responsibility is assumed, as designated, and is shared by all members of the governmental organization. This has been true in Federal, state, and local relationships in the field of public welfare where the local agency, administering the program, has been urged to assume all possible responsibility with supervisory and advisory agencies giving as much leadership as needed. This has resulted in administrative organizations which are responsive to the needs of people being served. The two-way channel is always maintained with knowledge of requirements of the program flowing both ways to make for constant improvement in administration.

Present governmental programs that are affected by social work may be roughly divided into two classes: the programs which have social work content and methods as their primary technical basis, such as child welfare services and public assistance; and the social programs which, for the most part, utilize other professional techniques, but in which, nevertheless, social work philosophy, techniques, and knowledge have been introduced at strategic points where social judgment is required. These latter programs include old age and survivors insurance, employment security, housing, extension of credit and service to farm families, and work programs for the needy unemployed.

In the first instance, the contribution of social work is direct and all pervasive; knowledge and skill of social work are utilized to the fullest extent. It should be noted that the governmental setting and operation under broad social legislation have molded the development of social work skills and have involved the absorption of new concepts and methods from such fields as administrative law, public administration, social research, and family economics. The line and staff organizational pattern, which has made possible the use of consultants with varied professional and technical backgrounds, has greatly enriched the content of social work.

The advancement of social work objectives in the public assistance program as they operate in a governmental setting is

worth consideration. Similar illustrations of social work development might be secured from other public social programs. The major eligibility requirements for public assistance are clearly stated in law. This is particularly appreciated by applicants. The right to such assistance is established through a provision in the Social Security Act which states that an opportunity for a fair hearing must be granted by the state administrative or supervisory agency to any applicant denied assistance in whole or in part. Unrestricted and unconditional cash payments are required. This section of the Federal act dealing with the requirement of cash payments and the interpretation of it given by the Social Security Board are most important, since through this means government secures for its needy citizens the greatest possible freedom in their mode of life. When the rights and responsibilities of individuals inherent in such a policy are fully appreciated by the administrative agencies, a new milestone in achieving a democratic way of life will be marked. A recent amendment safeguarding the confidential nature of the relationship between the social workers and the applicant is also a great step forward.

The greatest challenge presented to social workers in the administration of public assistance is to insure adequate and equitable treatment of individuals in need. While categories of funds have had the immediate effect of more adequate provision for particular groups of individuals, it must be emphasized that these are categories of funds and not of people. It is therefore essential that objective standards and procedures for determining need and the amount of assistance be developed and that such standards allow flexibility of application to take into account differences in individual requirements and resources. In determining the need of an applicant for public assistance and the amount of the grant, the requirements of the family group as well as those of the applicant must be considered. In addition to sound methods for determining need, there must be adequate financing of the total program. The necessity for more adequate Federal and state financial participation is clearly indicated.

A most important provision of the Federal act to insure ade-

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quate service as well as financial assistance to individuals is the requirement of a merit system for the selection of state and local personnel since it involves the establishment of qualifications of education, training, and experience for social work positions.

In those governmental programs where knowledge of the needs of individuals and families, as well as general discretion and social judgment, is required, it is obvious that social work has a contribution to make. Likewise, in other programs with social objectives, there is need for the utilization of social work techniques and disciplines. In the social insurance programs where eligibility for benefits can be established in most cases in accordance with rules and regulations, the contribution which social work can make is not immediately discernible. In actual operation, however, it has been found, especially since widows and children have been included under old age and survivors insurance, that determination of claims cannot be entirely standardized. The judgment of trained and experienced social workers is called for in making decisions that are equitable, socially sound, and related to the best interests of the children and adults involved.

In employment security the need for judgment of a professional social work nature arises especially in interviewing and placement services. The personality of the employer and the employment requirements of his establishment must be taken into consideration in suggesting and effecting placements which will be related to the personality, employment requirements, and skills of the prospective employee. The recognition of individual and social factors involved in moving families from one community to another has presented situations in the national defense program which require the type of discrimination, judgment, and approach characteristic of social work.

The awareness of these needs for social work content, method, and skill has led to greater reliance, in new programs, upon a type of administrative discretion broader in scope than that which has frequently characterized other governmental activity. With the growing recognition that reliance must be placed upon discretion, administrators have come to feel that such discretion

must be safeguarded by extending its use only to persons of training, discipline, and experience.

Social work has entered the field of public recreation and has helped to interpret the various racial and nationality groups to themselves and to others. It has stressed the values in old cultures and the desirability of preserving them; it has helped individuals to appreciate and enjoy the culture of this country and to integrate the old and the new patterns of social life. Imagination and skill have been exercised in developing many different types of programs to appeal to a variety of tastes. The therapeutic value of self-expression has been appreciated, and personality and other problems have received special attention without divorcing the individual from the group.

In the field of public health and medical care, social work has stressed the need for individualization and for personal education and understanding. Through medical and psychiatric services consideration has been given to those presenting special problems requiring adjustments in family and community situations.

Alien registration is a good example of the application of social work techniques to a governmental program. Gestapo methods might have been employed, with disastrous results to personal and community morale. Instead, this registration was directed by a man with social work background who secured the help of social agencies in interpreting and in administering the law. Thus little or no antagonism was aroused, and the rights of aliens were respected.

Decisions on all aspects of programs involving human beings are of paramount importance in the lives of the individuals concerned, because they strike at such fundamentals as economic maintenance, continuation of normal family relationships for children and adults, physical well-being, and freedom to choose a way of life. In governmental programs with social objectives, but not social work content, there seem to be developing what might be termed social laboratories manned by social workers to handle those cases requiring discretion. These specialists in human welfare, by careful study and understanding, knowledge and skill, guide and assist in individual determinations and in

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application of benefits in relation to unusual situations. If the role of these social workers is carefully determined and if they have easy access to the administrative head of the agency, they can utilize their experience with particular individuals as a basis for suggesting improvements in the administration and service to the total group for whom the program was intended.

For a long time probation has served in this capacity for courts, parole for correctional institutions, medical social work for hospitals. New opportunities are now presented for similar service in the social insurances, employment, and related social programs. Whether or not social workers will be permitted to function in this manner in these programs will depend upon their ability to interpret individual needs and upon the vision and capacity of the agency executives to utilize the services of social workers.

All these programs, closely related as they are, indicate the need for social planning of a high order. This function must be an integral part of the professional social worker's responsibility. In initiation and planning for the public welfare and in the promotion of community understanding which has been translated into the social welfare legislation of our government, the contributions of social workers have been incalculable. When the force of circumstances required some kind of action, the form of this action was strongly affected by the concept and principles of sound social policy as defined by social work.

Social research is another important field with which social workers must become increasingly familiar, and in which knowledge gained from experience in social work administration has a significant role to play. What is happening to people and how government programs are affecting their lives must be studied constantly. In every area of operation of all types of social programs the need for objective standards and evaluations based upon fact is apparent. Desk research is not enough; the collection of statistical data and its interpretation are important but, in addition, field studies of the operation of programs and their effect upon individuals must be made.

The foregoing poses a challenge to the adaptability of the field

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of social work. But if social workers are courageous enough, and if they are permitted to function effectively in those areas where their special knowledge and skills can be used, then we can look forward in the future to a new role for social work—the watchdog of democracy.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIAL SERVICES TO LABOR¹

Ernest Bevin

I WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY to speak to the National Conference of Social Work of the United States, and that pleasure is added to by the fact that I am responding to a request of my good friend John Winant. We have this in common: we both dreamed of a better world, and we strove internationally to achieve it; but our efforts, together with those of others, have been thwarted by the injection of the Nazi war policy into the body politic of Europe and of the world. We have not lost our faith in the possibility of establishing sound social conditions for the people of the world; we have just been turned aside from this great work for the moment. It is rather as if a people of a city, carrying on their daily tasks, were suddenly struck by a foul disease. The people must set aside their normal efforts; they must allow much that was on hand to wait for a later day and direct the whole of their energies to fighting and stamping out the disease, which, if allowed to go unchecked, would destroy them. Like an epidemic, this beastly war spirit of Germany has caused a world upheaval twice in a quarter of a century.

I am sure that it is accepted by the good folks in the United States, just as it is in Great Britain and in the British Commonwealth of Nations, that the health and progressive state of society depend upon the proper functioning of democracy—a conception which allows for the spiritual urge that is within man to express and translate itself into the cultural and economic life of the country. It accepts the doctrine that the maintenance of a healthy life and coöperation between peoples and nations must

¹ Radio address broadcast to the National Conference of Social Work, by transatlantic radio from London, England, by courtesy of the Columbia Broadcasting Company, June 3, 1941.

depend upon the use of reason and not force, and when the spirit of dictatorship and aggression seeks to prevent the use of reason and destroy the normal relationship between peoples, then it must be met with stubborn resistance and unity of purpose in order that it may be checked and the thing itself finally destroyed.

I am often asked by visitors to Great Britain to explain why labor over here is so wholeheartedly supporting the national effort in this great struggle. My answer is that we regard this war as a righteous one. We know there can be no material gain. Indeed, whatever the result, the expenditure and loss of wealth will be colossal. But we are determined to preserve our spiritual inheritance. We will not be driven back into slavery. The great driving power within us, urging us on, is the spirit of a crusade against evil. We have, as a people, emerged from feudalism. We have overcome the main ravages of the Industrial Revolution. We have struggled through the years in order to establish adult suffrage and full and free education. We have fought our way through miserable periods of poverty and inequality and at last arrived at a stage where all the barriers which stood in the way of the people themselves, working out their own destiny, have been destroyed. We were turning this new-found power to account; for, in spite of all our economic difficulties, we were tearing down our slums, rebuilding our cities, and wiping out the terrible mortgage handed on to us from the nineteenth century. We had developed a status and a position which had carried us much further ahead than the mere stage of agitation. Indeed, we had won a position which gave the ordinary man and woman a full opportunity for constructive and creative work and we were rapidly writing the characteristics of our age and the higher expression of this urge on the pages of a newer civilization. The last half century in this old country had been more progressive than any age which had preceded it. The great desire of the people for decency and justice in the world had caused us to expand and to grant freedom to others who were within the Commonwealth, and this was likely to go on with even greater rapidity. The British people do not believe in dominating others.

They want to live on terms of equality inside and outside the Commonwealth, and our conception of the oneness of the human family and the desire to promote coöperation with other peoples was expressing itself in all our international relationships.

Grasp, then, the spirit that this background had created within us, with a vista of opportunity and advancement before us, the citadels of privilege falling, and the education of our children expanding, and you can understand how our great British labor movement viewed this monster of destruction, striding, as it were, over the face of Europe and approaching us with all his menaces. We realized that if he were not resisted and hurled back, our children would be condemned to centuries of struggle before they again established their freedom. We had before our eyes examples of Nazi activity and methods in Germany itself. Our colleagues who had worked with us in the international movement and had striven for the uplift of their own people had been murdered. It was a crime in the eyes of these Nazi tyrants for men to use reason or collaborate with the world outside. We saw the democracy of Czechoslovakia go down, Warsaw in a pile of ruins, Poland, with its checkered and thwarted history, again ravaged. We witnessed Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France, which had meant so much to us, put under the conqueror's heel.

The trade unions recognized from the very first that this was a monster of destruction and sought by every means in their power to resist it and to arouse understanding of its rapacity and destructive genius. We never believed in appeasement. We accepted the view that you could not appease and that everything you gave it only increased its devilish appetite. You will understand that we felt "better death than surrender." At least, death meant that we would pass on to the rising generation the spirit of the fighter for freedom, but if we tried to save ourselves by surrender, we should go down in history as craven cowards and the very spirit that made the British people what they are would have been obliterated.

Then again, the mainspring of the British labor movement is a spiritual one. After all, whence did we get our ideals? Over a hundred years ago our movement was born—or shall I say resur-

rected—in the villages, in the local churches and chapels, and the adult schools, before ever Britain had extended universal education for her children. Out of this opportunity there sprang men and women with the desire to shake off all the shackles that bound them and to establish a great unity and freedom which would enable labor to get back into its own standard of life the fruits of this glorious earth which it had toiled to produce. Therefore, labor, in common with the whole nation, is determined to see this bitter struggle through to a victorious end.

What else could it do in view of its historic past? A past which may we, in all modesty, claim produced many of the pioneers who helped to make your own great country, and who, for a variety of reasons, left our shores, found their way across the sea, and carried on the great tradition of liberty. Your great President, in his speeches, strikes the same note with even greater force. We feel that no one in the world has seen more clearly than he what the logical events would be if Nazism were not defeated.

The strategy that the Nazis have followed is quite clear, and if considered purely in the light of war and the success of war, may be regarded as successful. First, by what are known as fifth-column methods, bribery of those who are willing to be bribed is instituted, the morale and confidence of the people are undermined. Next, overwhelming forces are placed on the frontiers, and at the psychological moment, the weakened neighbor is struck down. Then not only is the country occupied by military forces, but also the people are enslaved by the most terrible methods in order to make them serve the victor in the production of munitions for still further aggression. Perhaps the most dastardly thing of all is the introduction of the Gestapo. It is difficult for those who have not seen it in operation to appreciate or understand the foulness of it.

A further Nazi conception which would produce revolt in us is the idea that one race is so superior that all whom it may conquer with material force will be forever regarded as inferior beings. This Prussian policy is the very antithesis of that of the United States itself. You are a great, wealthy, and powerful people. But in spite of that you have not used that power to crush

your neighbors in the American continent. What has been so very encouraging in the evolution of your relationships has been the growth of the policy of good neighborliness, which has encouraged every lover of the rights of man all over the world. It stands out as such a tremendous contrast to the conception of Prussian militarism and domination. Equally, within the British Commonwealth and with the races that go to make it up, the whole tendency for the last hundred years has been to enable self-government to be established, even to bring the peoples to such a stage of development that they become capable of administering their own affairs.

Is it not true, too, that both you and we have been working for a number of years on the basis that the prosperity of one nation cannot be firmly secured by the impoverishment of another? We are convinced that the right way to a correct equilibrium is to raise the standard of living, to extend the rights of free association. Britain has been willing, largely on the initiative of labor, to collaborate in order to find a correct method of distributing the raw materials of the world so that they would contribute to the abolition of poverty. This decision was proclaimed by successive statesmen, not in the name of a party, but in the name of the whole British Commonwealth.

Is it not clearly evident that it was not the means to live that the Prussian was after, but the power to dominate, to thwart, and to make others subservient to his will? In pursuit of this policy, he has not attempted to limit the war to the armies in the field, or to the navies on the sea. He has tried to break the spirit of our people by the indiscriminate bombing of our population, in the belief that if only the devastation were great enough, he would succeed. For over a year the people of this country have withstood these brutal attacks, but they have demonstrated that the character of the people is not determined by their station in life. The same characteristics of courage and confidence have been revealed irrespective of the home that has suffered. Perhaps outstanding in this war have been the courage and resilience of the common people. British labor, then, will never yield.

In our historical art, our statues and memorials, we are re-

minded of the great events of the past. Our streets, parks, cathedrals, and churches contain the battle flags and monuments of those who have led the forces of Britain in previous struggles, and those who have contributed to the arts, science, and literature of their respective periods. They remind us, too, of the great preachers, thinkers, statesmen, and leaders, and included among them are the impressive figures of your own Washington and Lincoln. We daily pass our cenotaph, which recalls to our minds the sacrifice of the flower of our manhood a quarter of a century ago.

But a new memorial of this great struggle will be designed. It will be expressed, when victory is won, in a newer and better Britain, and in its design it must typify too the unbroken spirit of the common people from the humble homes of our great cities and villages.

WAR AND THE SOCIAL SERVICES IN CANADA

Charlotte Whitton

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES enjoy a unique relationship as offspring of a common heritage, developing their separate destinies, living in a closeness of understanding that is richer and warmer than mere neighborliness. Those verities that are the very essence of our way of life spring from the same great sources. It is only in the sense of our common past, of the vital flame of our common present, and the richer partnership of our common future that a Canadian might venture to give something of the Dominion's present story, as of possible value in the immediate problems which face the United States of America.

War or the threat of war, inevitably, immediately shifts all thought and effort to the provision of men and munitions. All the slow and natural processes of peace are arrested, diverted, thwarted, sometimes forever frustrated. All power—of government, of wealth, of human and material resources—is concentrated to one overwhelming demand, its primary use in organization for conflict; only the residuum is regarded as available for the secondary channels of need and usefulness. The amenities of life are sacrificed to the necessities, and the concepts of necessities are modified from those of times and days of social building. Personnel and plant in home, farm, factory and shop, in mine or forest, or on the sea, must immediately be re-assessed from the angle of their essential usefulness in the waging of war.

Selection and control—repugnant to free men but inevitably self-imposed if they are successfully to resist the mobilized automata of the totalitarian states—become the order of the day if those things are to be done which ought to be done, those left undone which can be put off to a safer and more secure season

in the nation's life. Since man power must be withdrawn from ordinary pursuits to provide the fighting forces and personnel in war production, modern warfare must discourage consumer demand and production, in all but essential lines, and, even in the latter, must divert production to the fighting forces or to allied and beleaguered nations.

And so it has been in Canada. It was anticipated, prior to the declaration of war, that this competition for the men and means of warfare could have disastrous results in skyrocketing the costs of labor and of goods, and in developing a competition between war demand and consumer demand which would be fatal if our system of free enterprise and life were to be pitted against the totally organized economic entities of the Axis powers. It was realized that as free men, of our own free will, we must put into effect such controls and devices as would enable us to maintain the domestic stability and morale from which and on which, alone, a vital and vigorous mobilization could be built for defensive and offensive protection of the state. The first buttress of social well-being of the humanitarian way of life, which we oppose to the totalitarian, we have, therefore, regarded as a sound war economy. Our approach is based on a recognition of the fact that the tremendous spending of war is not prosperity; it is the impoverishing of the future by the dissipation of the wealth of the past and the mortgaging of the present. The national life will progress only as this freer money of a nation, in high gear in production of the means of war, is deliberately diverted into meeting a large part of present needs and future accounts through heavier and heavier taxation and savings against the inevitable low gear of the hard climbing of postwar adjustments.

Canada's national income has jumped, by nearly 12 percent real values in a year, to nearly six billion dollars for a population just equal to that of New York State. Supply orders are being placed at the rate of five million dollars per day. Of this income over 40 percent will be withdrawn for purposes of war; 76 percent more will be raised by taxation than in 1940-41; about 75 percent of all current war costs will be met out of revenue.

Our war loan this week will call for borrowings of over fifty dollars per head of the population. We have undertaken enormous commitments in war effort and supplies, in our own right as a Dominion of the Crown and to Britain's order or loan. Ship-building alone records a 1,200 percent increase in a year.

Hence our controls, controls over demand and supply rather than over prices, which have the effect of keeping living costs from crushing the average population. Controls over the essentials of war or life are exercised by the War Prices Board, which has progressively extended its regulations to include wool, hide and leather, sugar, oil, fuel, and, in scheduled areas, rentals, with the result that there is no rationing whatever. So far, living costs have risen only 7 percent in nearly two years of war.

War has already withdrawn nearly a quarter million men voluntarily for active service—equivalent to nearly 7.5 percent of our wage-working potential; another 5 percent is in the reserve for compulsory home service. Industrial employment has expanded by over 10 percent of the wage potential, while 100,000 men and boys are being rushed through special technical training, 80 percent of them being scheduled for war industries. Food orders for Britain are putting our farms on special twenty-four-hour schedules, even as war and mining and lumbering take the boys from the agricultural areas. These tremendous adjustments have involved many realignments; our able-bodied idle have been largely re-employed; older men and boys are replacing workers whose skills qualify them for special production; girls and women are rapidly replacing men in many pursuits; and housewives are responding to commercial and industrial demands. Hence, labor, like material, has threatened to skyrocket, and here, too, controls have been mutually agreed upon through the free action of free men. The Government and labor have agreed on certain procedures concerning labor "poaching," and the National Labor Supply Council has agreed upon a policy of cost-of-living bonuses, mounting by 5 percent over the basic wages of 1926-29, or the present levels, whichever is higher, for each 5 percent, or major portion thereof, that the cost of living index mounts over that for August, 1939. Canada's provision for compulsory investigation

of disputes, prior to a legal strike or lockout, affords another piece of machinery contributing to steadiness.

Consequently, the whole social pitch in Canada is tuned through these financial, economic, and labor policies, not only to prevent inflation, but definitely to keep down the standards of living in all nonessentials, and to force down standards, both for the state and its citizens, to levels commensurate with decent survival. That is the war and social economy of the Empire. As such it is being accepted in the knowledge that material security is worth nothing without spiritual and mental freedom.

But there is a line, and there comes a time when retreat can no longer be described as strategic or regarded as other than disastrous. In the maintenance of a decent way of life that line must be reconnoitered, that territory held and defended, and the social services, public and voluntary, are the army of occupation. There are whole areas in this continent where life has been lived on or below the borderland of decency. To that line of last survival we can retreat; beyond it we cannot withdraw, or we ask that free men yield as much in defense of our way of living as they might ultimately lose in its surrender. In other words, we can lose the battle for humanity on the home front, though suffering neither military defeat nor geographic invasion.

The first and gravest threat is the naïve assumption that war "busyness," war spending, work and wages again, the tremendous sense of activity and prosperity that come in the rush to arms, bring of themselves an end to all relief and welfare needs.

With employment at this wartime peak, the Dominion Government withdrew on April 1, 1941, from all participation with the provinces and municipalities in unemployment aid. This has been followed by the withdrawal of certain of the provincial governments, leaving the burden entirely with the local governments, many of which are automatically cutting off municipal relief from all but the aged, the infirm, the chronically indigent, and the totally unemployable. There is no doubt that war's absorption of man power has brought the dependency burden well within the capacity of large numbers of the local authorities. It is equally true that in many a hinterland area, in districts almost entirely

untouched by war production, and in communities adversely affected by war production or restrictions, need persists, greater than the local governments can carry unaided.

The natural sequence of these withdrawals of the senior units of government and this contraction in the loads is the threatened disintegration of the slowly evolving Dominion and provincial relief services, and a reduction in personnel and efficiency of the local setups, beyond a headquarters staff sufficient to hold the assault of demobilization of industry and armed forces in the snap-back of peace.

On the other hand, while the need of maintaining the welfare framework seems to be questioned, the recognition of insurance against unemployment has continued, and Canada is continuing to implement her new legislation in this field. A new Dominion-wide system of Employment and Unemployment Insurance Services will come into operation in 1941, a bulwark to the dignity of the worker, erected under fire of war.

A second great threat is the fact that an "emergency" condition in the national life requires emergency services, and, therefore, public opinion and action rush to create a whole series of voluntary and patriotic agencies, although the problems of those dependent on our men-at-arms differ but slightly from the ones they have previously faced, or to which they will have to readjust when active service is over. In fact, in a home-service training program, there is remarkably little difference between the problems of the home from which the man has gone out to a service camp and the problems of the home from which the man is away on industrial activity. There is a marked degree of difference in the home problems when the man is overseas, but here the tension and the sense of danger call for more, not less, skills, for more, not less, experienced services than the ordinary adjustment of the ordinary citizen family.

This base of social security must be regarded as the maintenance and utilization of the existing social structure and facilities in emergency conditions of living. Here, Canada is holding reasonably well. Auxiliary services to the armed forces are being provided

through the coöperation and adaptation to these special needs of the regularly operating agencies.

Most important, from the point of view of maintaining community and civilian stability, is the fact that existing public and voluntary services are being utilized, entirely, by the Dependents' Allowances Board in the Department of Defence for investigation and service in this field, and the same coördination exists in similar procedures for the assistance of dependents of interned aliens, or enemy aliens in need. In the larger centers of population, particularly, much voluntary effort has been mobilized, auxiliary to existing or adapted agencies, and an attempt has been made to direct new patriotic or emergency organization wholly to emergency or temporary or war needs, as distinct from all-time needs and services.

Holding the line is going to rest on the welfare forces of this continent, and on the degree of intelligent and courageous leadership which we can give. Our task it must be to interpret the living of life for the great mass of our free peoples in the Americas. It is for us to show, fearlessly and wisely, that a great part of our population is in no position to share in the dynamic defense of this free way of life, that the city slums do not disintegrate and the barrens of the sharecropper and the forelooper do not suddenly blossom into well-being at the tocsin of war. We must bring home to our people that disease, suffering, accident, and death do not withhold their hand because a nation girds itself for battle; that the crippled and infirm do not suddenly walk, that the blind do not see, that the old do not suddenly grow young as a country sends its fittest into the fighting lines. The mentally and personally maladjusted do not suddenly become adjusted because strains and stresses are greater; those who are unstable and immature do not suddenly receive self-sufficiency from some magic source. All these problems in human needs and relations multiply and grow complicated as not only men, but nations, feel the chill of insecurity and danger, of uncertainty and fear. If we are to hold these battlements of ours, wherein dwell the free spirits of free men, there must be no social disarmament.

Even as we take that crusade upon us, we must be realistic, and that means we must be reasonable. We must recognize that we are facing a completely organized foe, with whom every purpose and resource have been ruthlessly sacrificed to the fitness of a *Wehrmacht*; that to meet this we must make every atom of personal character, every unit of our personnel, every item of material resources, go as far as possible.

This imposes a new responsibility in the social services, a new sense of economy in planning, of seeing not only that no need is left unmet, but that no need is met twice or at more cost than is justified. It enjoins a new responsibility for public and voluntary services to sit down together, to ascertain needs, to pool resources, and to resist the creation of any new services or facilities if the need can be met within existing or adapted agencies.

It means that we, who have worked with people, who should know human life, its strength and weaknesses, as it is given few others to know, should take the lead in showing the ability of free people to discipline and to organize themselves, with an equal efficiency but a greater humanity than the enchained states. If we prove incapable of such self-discipline, we shall find the course of events arbitrarily imposing it upon us. In Canada that, at least, the social agencies are learning; that we shall continue to enjoy our free way of organization and service just so long as our intelligence, our unselfishness, and our partnership entitle us to deserve it.

If war is emphasizing anything to the social services in Canada, it is this sense of reality, of a broader unity, of greater things in our keeping than procedures and techniques, and skills and relationships—a sense of security in disaster, if you will; a conviction that we can lose power and territory, that we can see the ancient edifices of our glory crumble into dust, and yet emerge triumphant if we but keep alive the spirit of truth, the sense of beauty, the aspirations of the soul. It is the power of the spirit opposed to the power of the sword. With perception clear and courage glorious, England maintains, in the hour of destiny, that the ability of a people to stand fast for the eternal verities depends, in no small part, upon the social and soul

security which it is the high office of their social services to provide.

We in Canada pray for equal strength to witness steadily for social justice in this hour of struggle. If we can do so, victory when it comes, as come it will, will find us poor, probably pitifully poor in our possessions, but rich in honor and in pride, and in the freedom which we shall then have earned the right and the knowledge to enjoy.

WHAT IS WORTH WORKING FOR IN AMERICA?

Frances Perkins

WE ARE A POWERFUL NATION which we know as a democracy. In the United States of America today resides a generation of people who have been formed by the ideals of democracy. They give form and substance and coherence to those conceptions of a political ideal which are necessary for permanent democracy. Democracy means to us government of the people. We are devoted to it. It underlies silently all that we do. We have long conceived that the rule of the people would be a government which had back of it certain moral judgments, certain conceptions of good, certain aspirations which grow out of moral sense; that government by the people would be government of people who had first forsworn exclusive gain for themselves and were devoted for the common good.

What is good in America today? "Good" is a very old word, but it implies much and it tears at every heart. People in America know what they mean by right and wrong; and there has developed here what is essential for a free people, a certain common moral pattern which we respect, aspire to, and feel to be basic in our capacity to give a democratic way of life.

We have a bathtub, electric refrigerator and cheap automobile civilization. We have all those things, but that doesn't make a great people. Unless, back of material civilization, there is moral judgment the material civilization is ineffective. Our material civilization carries with it moral sanctions. This is the genius of our fathers and the continuing good in our modern life. A man may have liberty, all alone by himself upon a remote island, circumscribed and limited only by the elements and his own nature, but it is a meaningless liberty unless measured by, and referred to, relationship to other humans. Liberty alone may be

mere loneliness; liberty within a society may be chaos; but self-discipline, agreement, and mutual aid all make a pattern of society in which not we alone, but the many are happy, comfortable, and enlightened.

What do we mean when we ask, "What is good in American life?" I am one of those people who often think of America as, "I love thy rocks and rills, I love thy templed hills"; "I love the cornfields"; "I love the great deserts"; "I love thy rock-bound coast and mighty mountains and the great waving fields of wheat." These things are beautiful. These things we all love. But back of that is our love for the quality and reality of human association which we have uniquely in these United States. Love for those genuine relationships, that true fellowship we experience, is what is back of it all and what we mean when we say, "I love America."

When you have been away from this country for a few weeks and land from the steamer, what is that strange enthusiasm that comes over you? It is a spiritual sense of the society of a free democracy. It is the people and the mutual confidence of life in America which warm the heart. It is a society of expression, it is a society of hope, which constantly and simply recognizes the dignity and worth of each individual and acts accordingly, a society which, because of this, knows a kind of corporate life. We sense that no one of us alone can realize these benefits of liberty and democracy, but that we can achieve these things together as a corporate body. This accounts for our early established and now quite natural social action in the interest of all, a reciprocal relation between citizens. As a people we have to a remarkable degree both faith in each other and hope in our common achievement. We have a kind of faith and hope of social salvation that by loving our neighbor as ourselves we can all have a good life.

In these days that is a broad basis of hope. We of the United States of America are questioning and examining ourselves in real humility as to whether or not we truly do extend this feeling of mutuality in social action to all people within the United States. And can we extend it to other peoples? In particular, these days

are days of opportunity to bring forth a sense of brotherliness and neighborliness, at least to all people within this continent.

This Conference has accepted the idea that we must sustain and extend our sense of corporate democratic life and social action to embrace all people in the hemisphere. We believe this relationship will be reciprocal, and as we submit our ways of living to the influences of the civilization to the south of us, that we shall receive enrichment and strength from their ways.

Reciprocity has a double nature for those who take part in it. Each group is anxious to produce what is for the good of the other. Each promotes the life of the other. This is real reciprocity. That is what we must try. In the United States we seem to be constantly pointing out the items that are wrong and unjust and emphasizing the things we need to improve. Social maladjustment or injustice is pointed out in order that it may be faced honestly and so that we may make improvements. This is the way we have corrected those injustices and those social maladjustments in the past. This is one of our good points—the ability to make progress after self-examination and self-accusation. That has been the technique of social reform and social work in the United States. That is the way we have discovered and overcome distress.

We respect the progress that has been made by social survey, analysis, recommendation, and correction by social action. "Find the facts first" has become almost a slogan for reform. Isn't it essential for a great people to see, admit, and correct mistakes? American life is not carried on by the Government but by a larger number of free, self-compelled, self-disciplined associations of individuals related to each other in good faith for the express purpose of carrying on a particular part of American life. This is the way America is.

When I took the oath of office and swore that I would defend the Constitution it meant a great deal to me. That was in 1933, on a day fraught with modern disaster. In those few moments I looked out, as it were, on the breadth of American life from wilderness and pioneer to a modern, complicated, machine-made way of living. I realized all that had been done by our forefathers, all that might be done by our children, and some of

what must be done by this generation to keep and build what is good in American life. One of the things that is significant is that this had been founded with purpose and intention for a free country. Perhaps that is the most important of our many blessings—that, and the fact that it was dedicated to God.

What is education? We don't really know. All Americans are devoted to the idea of plenty of education for everyone, without any very clear idea of what it is. We are responsible for free, compulsory, public education. It is a part of our great aspiration to make opportunity available to all the people. But how is education conducted? The states, towns, counties, and cities make appropriations. What do we or they have to say about it? Almost nothing. Using our habitual methods, the National Education Association decides almost everything about education—school buildings, method, content, professional standards. They are professional and follow their individual and coöperative experience in arriving at standards.

Who decides what constitutes the proper practice of medicine and the suitable training for it? The American Medical Association.

The National Conference of Social Work would protest to the last man were there any lowering of the standards of what constitutes sound social work and under what circumstances it is to be done. We are well served in this great country by our practice of self-organization for responsible social living. Our capacity responsibly to organize the people into a great number of free associations which conduct American affairs is one of the characteristics well worth working to preserve.

One of the associations is the free trade union movement. Organizations in every field accomplish more than individuals can. It is by the same technique of association in free and needed organizations that working people will eventually take public responsibility as part of a responsible agency. Many people feel that some of our American trade unions have been irresponsible. Some of them have not shown that sense of public and group responsibility that they will ten years hence.

We know that in each human relation something new and

unique appears. This is what is important in the trade unions: men are under a moral obligation to each other, and, as the trade union becomes an institution, under a moral obligation to the rest of society. In trade unions we are bound to get the sense of responsibility, the sense of contract, the new sense of social obligation, just as we do in the bar association and the medical society. Trade unions have become capable today. As they become social institutions like these others in America they will assert over-all responsibility. They promote the life of their membership, the life of their community, the life of their country. In the future their social moral sense is going to be of great importance to all communities. Society must more and more guide itself by a social moral code. We have to go by the Salvation Army's saying, "A man may be down but he is never out." Growth is necessary for social health. Nothing grows unless it has a starting point.

We are still a growing country. We have not yet come into our full stature. We are still trying to find a moral basis for unity. We have come pretty near to finding a social moral code. Many people think we are in the midst of an "every man for himself" period, a period of greed and selfishness. I do not think that is true. We don't practice very well under our social moral code but we are improving. The Rotary clubs, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations, trade unions, women's clubs, all touch all of us because they are expressive of this moral code. Coöperate with others—do as you would be done by—keep hoping—keep trying to make the world a better place—find your own better life in company with others. Do together the great and noble things you can't do alone. This is understood in terms of coöperation, in rural districts; in terms of community chests and trade unions and municipal playgrounds, in the cities. It is an American version of the Golden Rule, of the second great Commandment to love thy neighbor. If you say it to any casual companion in American life he will understand you. The National Conference of Social Work has tried to give form and shape and substance to it.

We have made some wonderful social progress in American life.

The question raised everywhere today is whether it is good enough. These are days of trial, and it is natural to doubt. To point out imperfections and call that the American way of life is to deceive ourselves. Social injustices exist, but many, many have been corrected by conscious deliberate social action, often by law. That is an American method too—to use law as an instrument of order and seemliness in a free and rich society. I remember children working long hours in mines, women working on the night shifts, at a wage under a living wage. I remember when all that was a part of American life. The National Conference of Social Work and organizations allied with it have had a great deal to do in making advance over those times, by conscious moral purpose. It has been proven over and over again that many Americans can always be found to sponsor a movement aimed at correcting a known abuse or misfortune.

Social justice is part of the implication of loving thy neighbor. This spirit of willingness to correct is a part of the good in American life. We have no right to complain about the bathtub, electric refrigerator, cheap automobile civilization in the United States. I think it is good. I am glad so many people have bathtubs and electric refrigerators and cheap automobiles. That means improvement in material life, and when that is comfortable it helps spiritual and cultural development to go forward. It develops leadership by giving people leisure and wider social experience.

Two weeks ago we had a conference in Washington about nutrition. All the speeches began approximately with these words, "We in the United States have the best level of foods . . ." We must admit that we have the highest nutrition standard in the world. We want to improve it and distribute it, but this knowledge and this high level are one of the great blessings worth continuing to work for.

In what other country do you find so many livable houses in proportion to population? In what other country are there so many people who have really had good food from childhood? In what other country are there so many people who have had such a high standard of living, of education? In what other

country are there so many opportunities for an individual to escape an unfavorable environment and, with access to education, make a place for himself based on his capacity? A free people, yes; but more, a people with kindly purpose to help each other and to use social organization as a means to individual expression and development.

One of the best qualities in America is our sense of humor. We go to the heights and to the depths and find we are only human beings. This is profitable. No one of us is permitted to rise so high as to mistake himself for a long-awaited Messiah. We are able to joke about the best and the greatest of us. I have great respect for the humilities which the humor of the American press imposes upon public officialdom. In the precepts of religion we learn that if we don't manage to achieve humility, we are likely to learn it by humiliation. The cynical assault provides a reason for laughing at each other. That is not cynicism. We laugh because we say, "Look, he is just like me. I am not so good, but together we do pretty well." We should always be grateful for our capacity and freedom to laugh at those in high public office. It would be depressing if they could not be laughed at.

There is nothing for which we can give more sincere thanks than for the American home, and there are few items more worth working for. It is good even though as an institution it is harried by divorce. When the American home shows its best characteristics we see the things that are loveliest in our whole American life. American home life tends to be a reciprocal society. We recognize in that reciprocity, that gay affection and cheerful sacrifice of each for all and all for each, the pattern of the ideal of American society. We would like to be "a family."

People like to be on good terms with each other. This is true in almost every relationship. Each of us sees special groups and knows these, largely, to be on good terms. If you had seen as much as I have of employers and workmen you would realize how much they think of each other. There was a bitter strike in 1935. Employers and workers and conciliators had met and debated, often acrimoniously, and tensely, plans of settlement,

and finally there was one tentatively agreed upon. We sent it out to be typed. Then the employers and workmen sat back with their cigarettes and cigars and relaxed over a cup of coffee and waited for the stenographer to finish her dreary task. I was sitting there with them, waiting, when they began to boast about the ships they had built together. A great light dawned on me. They didn't hate each other at all. They were both saying, telling me, "We build the finest ships ever built in the world on the Delaware river. Most ably managed company in the world—finest and most skilled workmen. Can't beat our ships."

Equalitarian manners are among the hopeful features in our life. Effective relationship between the individual and his community needs these equalitarian manners. They are necessary to a businessman, required for effective professional relationships, cultivated in the American home, basic to the solution of the strains and tensions between groups of conflicting interests. What else would make a Washington taxi driver say, "Lady, shall I turn on the radio or shall we talk?" It is both respect and liking for each other. Equalitarian manners—they can be good manners, fine manners even. They grow, they lubricate our lives, and yet they spring from this moral judgment which moderates our life.

Let us put down among our blessings, among the reasons why we love this blessed country, that we have no crystallized class structure. Some rich and some poor, yes. The poor can become rich and the rich, poor, very quickly here. Life goes up and down rapidly. We are all important all the time. Anyone may be a number one man any time. This gives us a good democratic outlook and we can be thankful for it. That outlook and those manners will preserve our democratic practice even under terrible stress.

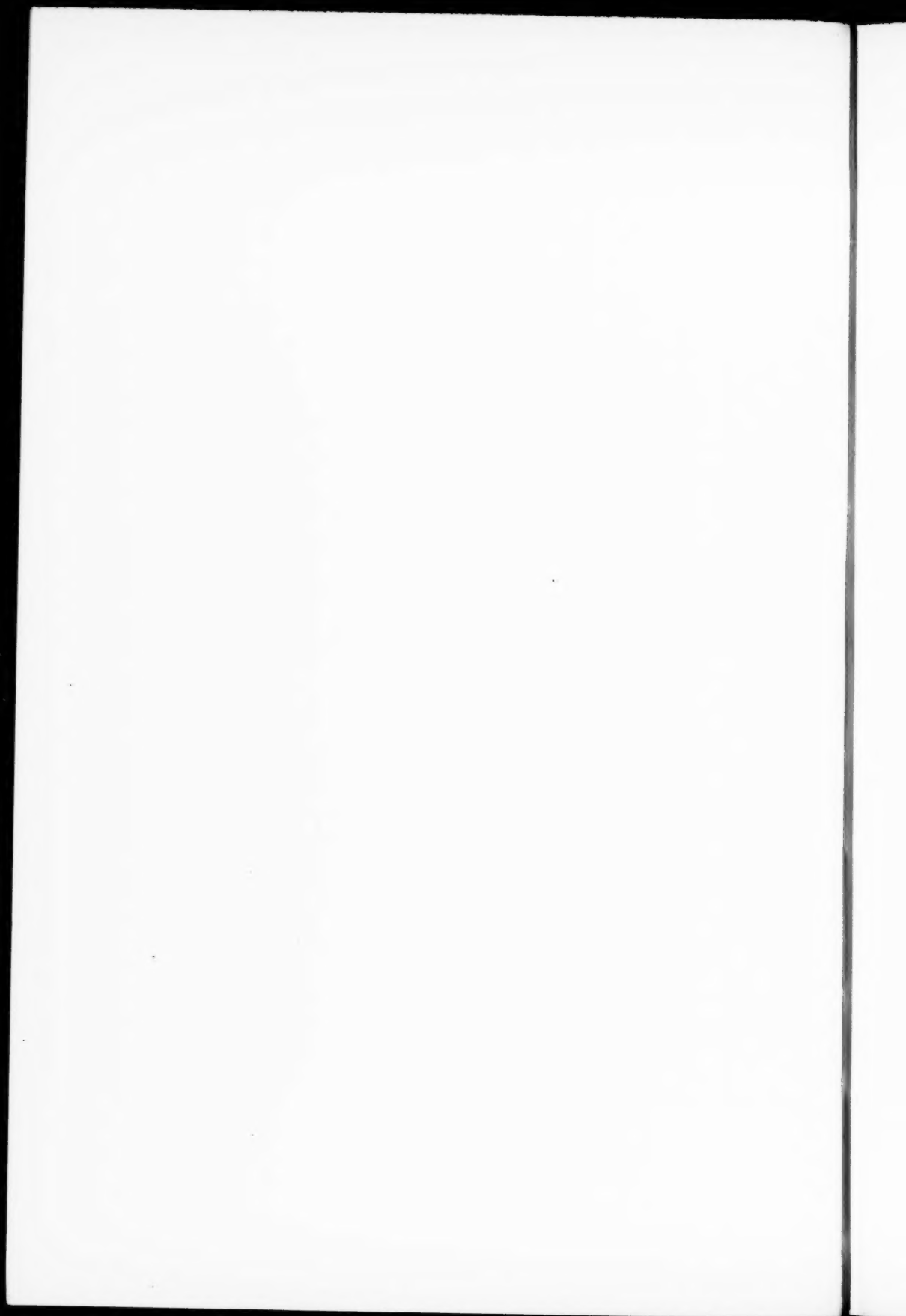
The agencies of social work have to consider what they as human beings in free association for a social program can do to develop the moral judgment back of this great social conscience which we have in American life, in our hearts, and minds. We must have these moral judgments as a guide to varied and flexible action in the difficult days ahead. How to determine right and

wrong in the field of social progress and social relations? That may be the test for these organizations, so technically competent, so clearly appraising the social budget today. In the next ten years there may be many obstacles that will interfere with this progress.

This is our own country. We love it tenderly. We love it for many reasons and because it is our own. We love it with special devotion because it is a human society dedicated to certain principles of liberty, of love of mankind, of hope for human progress, which we all support. We were born into this society as into our families. We have, therefore, duties and obligations to our country as to our brethren of the flesh. "For better, for worse" we have become one with this unit of the human race—God's children. Those who built here before us built with good purpose and left us a vital growing thing, a goodly heritage. What kind of America we pass on, rests with us, under God.

PART TWO

AREAS OF SOCIAL WORK CONCERN



SOCIAL SERVICES AND DEFENSE

Edward J. Phelan

AS SOCIAL WORKERS you are in touch with social facts, the active instrument of social consciousness; you are the vanguard of the social effort of our time; you are fighting the maladjustments which sap the strength of individuals, menace the family, and weaken the community; and you have become the spearhead of the army of social defense. Yesterday, you might have taken that description as a military metaphor: today it is not metaphor, but reality.

The International Labor Office is with you on the social front, in the effort to organize the life of the community in a way that will give greater social security to the people. In the I.L.O. we are and must be social workers. Whatever the course of events, the International Labor Office is and will remain devoted to its function of promoting social action in the international field.

The International Labor Office is the permanent civil service of the International Labor Organization, the sole official international organization in which governments, workers' organizations, and employers' organizations collaborate democratically to improve conditions of work and raise standards of life. Our aims—your aims and our aims—coincide. Our methods, our working principles, are similar. In the various fields you cover in your daily work, in your relations with individuals, local communities, and central authorities you act in accordance with the principles which are inherent in the working methods of the I.L.O.

You want social work to be democratized; you want to replace the stigma of the acceptance of alms by respect for human dignity; you want to abolish the differential of human values derived from inequality of opportunity. You want to prevent

social evils rather than to cure or repair them. In your approach to the people with whom you deal you are inspired by their brotherhood in the community and by democratic respect for freedom of thought and speech. You toil to put an end to economic inequalities which are a cynical repudiation of democratic equality and the principal obstacle to its establishment.

In the I.L.O. we have the same aspirations. The International Labor Code, which has been framed under the auspices of the International Labor Organization, establishes the indispensable standards of work and life which should be a guaranteed minimum for workers everywhere. These standards have not been fixed haphazardly, and are designed in the interest of the national community as much as in the interest of the workers. The International Labor Code includes provisions regarding every class of workers—workers in the field, workers in the factory, workers on board ship. The subjects which it deals with include industrial hygiene and the prevention of industrial accidents and occupational diseases; housing and nutrition; and protection against the social risks which individuals alone cannot prevent or meet without the assistance of society. These standards tend to increase productivity, and all of them increase what I may call the social output of labor; that is to say, they enrich the community by increasing income and raising the standard of life.

The true test of the intrinsic value of any political and economic regime is the extent to which it succeeds in combining a steadily rising standard of living with respect for the freedom of human personality and ample opportunity for its development. Our aims—your aims and our aims—coincide in seeking that object.

The methods which we follow also coincide. You increasingly seek to apply the results of the systematic study of human personality in society. In endeavoring to solve the problems of the adjustment of the human personality amid the whirlwind interplay of modern social forces, you seek to profit from the steadily developing science of the relations between the individual and the community. The method of the I.L.O. is, likewise, to base its social planning on a systematic study of all the

factors, social and economic, rational and irrational, which play their part in every social reform. Difficult as such study is, especially on the international plane, it alone can give the key to solutions of permanent value. Despite the present cataclysm, the aims and methods of the International Labor Organization still hold good completely; and they still hold good completely because they are based on the fundamental principles of civilized life.

There is another similarity between us. You want the control of social services to be democratized. You try to make those who are directly concerned share in the management of their affairs. Your aim is democracy in social work. It is easier to attain it in the local community. It is more difficult to keep large centralized national services in touch with the life of individuals; yet that contact is necessary if these great services are to be adequately adjusted to constantly changing social needs.

In the International Labor Organization the association in the formulation of policy of the parties directly concerned is organic and essential. The system of tripartite representation is the dominant characteristic of the International Labor Conference and of the governing body of the International Labor Office. Workers and employers, as partners in production, have their place in the International Labor Organization side by side with the representatives of governments as guardians of the interests of the community. In every decision, workers and employers take part democratically through delegates designated in agreement with their freely established organizations. Through the system of tripartite representation, the representatives of these organizations are associated in the successive stages in the framing, adoption, and application of social reforms on the international plane.

The International Labor Organization represents democracy in action in the international sphere. The successful working of its tripartite constitution, which is unique, has already blazed the trail for the representation and collaboration of workers' and employers' organizations in the national sphere in many domains of economic and social activity and may well be a source of inspiration when the time comes to reconstruct world institutions.

The International Labor Organization also practices democratic principles in its work as an international legislative agency. International Labor Conventions are adopted democratically by the delegates to the International Labor Conference by a clear two-thirds majority, and States members are free to ratify them or not after having weighed their advantages. The Organization does not impose social standards; it proposes them to its members for adoption.

Patiently but energetically, labor legislation and social protection have been considerably advanced in recent years. The constructive effort that the social services represent now stands face to face with war, with total war. Faced with total war, social services are subjected to a crucial test, but for institutions, as for men, times of crisis are the final test of their intrinsic quality.

The will to power which has confronted the world with the challenge of this war stands in diametric opposition to that love of steady and peaceful evolution which is characteristic of free nations. In the presence of that challenge lovers of peace can no longer rely on military power alone to defend themselves against aggression; the challenge of total war must be met by total defense, not only military and industrial, but social and civic. Social preparedness is no less important than military and industrial preparedness. As President Roosevelt said in his message of January last, "Social security . . . contributes to total defense in terms of the health and morale of our people."

Human beings who are haunted by the specter of insecurity cannot make the maximum effort which defense production requires. Workers in defense industries who are anxious for the future of their families inevitably have less power of concentration and a lower output. The health of soldiers and of future soldiers and the power of endurance of workers in defense industries are of military importance. Experience has shown decisively that under the conditions of modern war a high physical and moral standard of the whole nation is indispensable for effective defense.

Day by day we watch with bated breath the titanic struggle in Britain, Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Mediterranean, and in the Atlantic. But behind the fateful drama of continuous battle, on

land, on sea, and in the air, behind the struggle of blockade and counterblockade with its menace of economic strangulation, lies the factor of individual human resistance to the fatigues and terrors. Let us look, therefore, at the strengthening of this resistance by the social services of the two major antagonists, Germany and Britain. German and British experience alike show that adequate social services form an integral part of armament for total war.

It would be foolish to underestimate the importance of the social services which the Nazis inherited and have extended, perfected, and adapted to the requirements of total war. Germany prepared for war, not only militarily and industrially, but also socially. Its social machine, when placed at the service of military conquest, has been revised, lubricated, and perfected in every part.

The German social insurance scheme is half a century old and was introduced for military and political reasons. One of the motives for its introduction was to reduce the percentage of conscripts found unfit for military service. The other motive was political. Bismarck considered that a government which dissolved the workers' associations should at the same time assume the guise of a benevolent providence by providing institutions for insurance and mutual aid. Half a century later, these two ideas had reached their apogee.

The Weimar Republic reconstructed and improved the social insurance system and social services inherited from Imperial Germany. The Nazis, as soon as they came to power, while destroying the free organizations of the workers, took care to preserve the social insurance scheme and the social services. In these they rightly saw an instrument for social preparedness. Between 1933 and 1939 that instrument was improved and adapted for new purposes.

Before the war, compulsory health insurance covered all workers employed in industry, commerce, and agriculture and secured for them free medical attendance and cash benefits to compensate for the loss of wages caused by sickness. Twenty-five million persons were thus under medical supervision and were given economic protection against the effects of illness. Any insurance fund could voluntarily extend its medical benefits to the members

of insured persons' families. The Nazi Government made such extension compulsory, so that the health insurance scheme now covers the wives and young children of insured persons. Two thirds of the German population, or over fifty million persons, are at present entitled to free medical benefits comprising not only medical attendance by general practitioners and specialists, but also dental care and drugs and appliances. Nine tenths of all German doctors belong to the Association of Sickness Insurance Doctors, a body which is professionally responsible for the standard of medical care given to the wage-earning population.

The free medical assistance that is guaranteed by the health insurance scheme is generally considered in Germany to be one of the chief reasons for the physical powers of resistance of the nation and the small proportion of conscripts who are found unfit for military service. Even before the war, health insurance was also made to cover war widows and orphans. The families of mobilized men retain their right to free medical assistance without any time limit.

Since the beginning of the war the scope and activity of health insurance have been extended, and social insurance plays its part in Germany's attempt to consolidate her conquests. The German workers who are sent to employment in occupied countries remain insured under the German law, and branches of the German funds have been set up for their benefit in the occupied territories. Further, workers from the occupied countries who have been recruited for work in Germany are covered by the German law, and the families they leave behind can claim medical assistance from the German fund in which the head of the family has been included.

Insurance against invalidity and old age has been compulsory in Germany since 1891. This insurance is divided into two main sections, comprising workers in industry, commerce, and agriculture on the one hand, and salaried employees, nonmanual workers, and independent craftsmen on the other. In this insurance scheme, too, everything was adapted to war. Periods of military service and compulsory labor service are taken into account as contribution periods. For the duration of the war all insured persons are

protected against the loss of their rights, and retain their insurance status.

On the first day of the war, assistance to the families of mobilized men was decreed. Insurance against industrial accidents and occupational diseases is compulsory, both in industry and in agriculture. Not only agricultural wage earners, but also small owners and farmers, together with their families, are compulsorily insured. Civilian war victims receive the same compensation as military war victims. They are given free medical and surgical attendance and their compensation is determined with reference to the economic effects of their injury, account being also taken of their family responsibilities.

Note how carefully social insurance and assistance had been adjusted to the requirements of total war. Practically the whole of the population had become subject to preventive and curative medical supervision through the health insurance system, the social services, the innumerable relief organizations of the Nazi party comprising its various institutions, the compulsory labor service, and the Hitler Youth. Therein lies a challenge which social workers in the free countries cannot neglect.

In Great Britain the social services are deeply rooted in the national life, and for many years past their cost has represented a substantial and constantly increasing proportion of the national budget. To the social charges borne by the State must be added those of the local authorities and of the numerous and powerful voluntary organizations which are so characteristic of British life.

Since the days of Lloyd George a national system of social insurance has been superimposed on the other social services and progressively developed. A social insurance system which already, before the first World War, comprised compulsory health insurance for wage earners in industry, commerce, and agriculture, and compulsory unemployment insurance with a somewhat narrower scope, has since 1919 been extended and improved. A contributory system of old age and survivors' pensions was introduced in 1925, supplementing and partly replacing the system of noncontributory pensions which dates from 1908.

Since the beginning of this war, a whole series of measures has

been taken in order to adapt the social services to the new methods and risks which the war has created not only for members of the armed forces, but for the civilian population. Members of the armed forces have always been insured against sickness and disablement, and they have been covered likewise by the arrangements for old age and widows' pensions and allowances for orphans. Since the beginning of the war provision has been made whereby men called up for service, and also civilians employed in connection with military operations, continue to be subject to insurance. Their insurance status is maintained, for pension purposes, by the payment of contributions, one half by the soldier and one half by the Government as the employer; maintenance of status under the health insurance system is entirely at the cost of the Government. Allowances to families of service men are paid, varying with the rank and pay of the man, the number of dependents, and their relationship to the soldier.

Provision is made for the compensation of civilian war victims. The Government pays benefits to members of civilian defense organizations; in the case of employed persons benefits are on the same scale as in the case of private soldiers; benefits at a lower rate are awarded to persons who are not gainfully employed. The benefits consist of allowances during temporary or permanent incapacity, pensions for widows, and allowances for children under fifteen.

Perhaps the most important reform in the ordinary social services is that wrought by the Old-Age and Widows' Pensions Act of August, 1940, which lowered the pensionable age for insured women and wives of pensioners from sixty-five to sixty and which instituted supplementary pensions. These basic pension rates are now increased by supplements in all cases where the income of the pensioner and his wife, after deduction of substantial exempted resources, is below a prescribed amount. About one third of the pensioned population is now receiving supplements, which average a 75 percent increase on the old basic figure. Improvements have been made also in the scales of workmen's compensation payments, unemployment insurance benefits, and unemployment allowances; the scope of unemployment insurance has been extended to even

higher-paid workers; the much-debated family means test has been superseded.

The hospital system has been reorganized on a regional basis, and a better distribution of functions has been established among the different classes of hospitals. Hospital equipment has been improved with the aid of State subsidies, and more extensive facilities are now available for cases requiring orthopedic treatment and rehabilitation. The emergency has thus brought into operation a plan which had been under consideration but which was still not applied at the beginning of the war. It is of the highest significance that in their most critical hour the British people have developed still further their system of social services.

The impact of the war in Europe, Africa, and the Far East is being increasingly felt by the nations of the New World. The free peoples of this hemisphere are increasingly concerned with their defense against external and internal dangers. In this defense, social security and the social services are called upon to play a role of capital importance. Proved experience elsewhere shows that, in developing the existing services, special attention should be given to the prevention of ill health and disability generally; the physical rehabilitation of persons called up for service and found unfit, and of industrial accident victims; and the preventive medical supervision and medical care of workers in industry. Fortunately, the New World already has more than a foundation on which to build, and there are plans for further development. But what might have been undertaken in a leisurely fashion must now be faced as an urgent problem demanding the maximum of energy as a measure of national and continental defense.

When the United States passed its Social Security Act in 1935 the majority of the Latin American countries were also energetically adopting social insurance. They were already aware of the necessity and advantages of social services, among which they gave preference to compulsory social insurance. For this there were several reasons. In the countries on the Atlantic coast, and especially in the large towns of Argentina and Brazil, there had long existed fairly well-developed social services and a body of well-trained social workers keenly interested in their mission.

But in the great majority of Latin American countries the budgets of the central and local governments did not leave a margin sufficient to finance assistance services, while it was only rarely that private charity was able to carry on a broad and systematic activity.

The preference for compulsory insurance was clearly expressed at the two Labor Conferences of American States held under the auspices of the International Labor Organization: the first, at Santiago-de-Chile in 1936, and the second, at Havana in November, 1939. At this latter Conference, the delegates of governments, workers, and employers gave vigorous expression to their belief in social security. The Conference stated its conviction that the moral and material welfare of the American States and the full development of their economic resources and of their physical and mental potentialities cannot be attained unless the security of health and livelihood of the workers is organized; it proclaimed that the most rational and efficient means of achieving this end is compulsory social insurance operated through autonomous insurance institutions, institutions in which the insured workers are represented as contributors, which are dedicated solely to the organization of prevention and the service of medical and cash benefits, and which grant benefits as definite rights and thus preserve the self-respect of the beneficiary. The resolutions adopted by the Havana Conference have encouraged constructive planning in the American countries, by formulating a coherent and adequate policy to give effect to their common aspirations toward social peace and progress; a standard of living which is constantly rising; social security for all; prevention of risks, and the aid of the community for the victims of those risks which it has not been able to prevent; aid granted as a right, with proper respect for human personality.

The close coöperation which has developed between the International Labor Office and many of the Latin American countries has afforded convincing proof that the Latin American administrations are at one with the Administration of the United States in a common desire to promote social security. The effective efforts they are making are a valuable contribution to continental

solidarity, which is worthy of recognition because its significance extends far beyond the field of social insurance. Most of the Latin American countries are suffering, as a result of the war, from export difficulties and loss of markets. With rare exceptions their national incomes are declining. The costs of insurance and assistance have for that reason become heavier; but no tendency to halt the process of development is observable. On the contrary, reforms aiming at extending the scope and improving the benefits of insurance are being systematically pursued.

A passing reference should be made to the work of the new maternity insurance fund which Argentina has established for women workers in industry and commerce. In Brazil, in addition to the campaign for the prevention of tuberculosis which is being conducted along the most modern lines, the invalidity and old age insurance scheme which was formerly confined to a few categories of salaried workers now applies generally to workers in industry and commerce. Similarly in Uruguay, the pension insurance system which was set up originally for public utility workers has now been extended to all industrial and commercial workers. Other South American countries which have hitherto been afflicted by high infant mortality and sickness rates have naturally turned to sickness and maternity insurance as a means of exercising preventive medical supervision and bringing medical care to thousands of workers' homes.

In Chile all workers, regardless of occupation, are entitled to free medical care from the compulsory insurance system, the cost being borne by an employers' contribution equal to 5 percent of wages. Sickness insurance has endowed the country with 200 polyclinics and 500 rural health posts. The industrial workers, the miners, the farm workers, all are covered by a system of periodic preventive examinations, and whenever necessary, they have access without cost to a general practitioner or a specialist. About two thirds of the Chilean doctors are working for the insured population.

The Chilean Congress is now considering a bill which comprises three proposals of capital importance:

1. Extension of free medical care to the families of the in-

sured whereby the number of persons brought under medical supervision for preventive and curative purposes would be raised to 3,500,000.

2. Introduction into the invalidity and old age insurance of a basic pension having a specified purchasing power and adjustable to the general level of wages.

3. Extension of compulsory accident insurance to all industrial, commercial, and agricultural undertakings.

In Peru the Social Insurance Fund has, since February, 1941, opened the first units of its network of hospitals, polyclinics, rural health centers, and traveling dispensaries. Hundreds of thousands of workers have thus been given free access to polyclinics and hospitals and to the resources of modern medicine.

In Bolivia the Indian miners who, at twelve or fifteen thousand feet underground, hew out the tin ore which is essential for the armament program of the United States, benefit by a better system of prevention of silicosis and tuberculosis and by more adequate accident compensation.

In Ecuador the sickness insurance scheme is being reformed, and the Insurance Fund has just opened its thirty-fifth polyclinic, which dispenses preventive and curative care.

In Colombia the introduction of compulsory sickness insurance is now being considered. Help is being given to institutions of every kind engaged in social medicine. A comprehensive plan will be submitted to the Congress which is to open in July.

In Venezuela a Social Security Act, which was adopted in 1940, establishes sickness insurance and accident insurance on a compulsory basis for workers in industry and commerce.

All these reforms are in line with the decisions of the Second Labor Conference of American States held at Havana in November, 1939. At this Conference, at which the United States was represented by a tripartite delegation led by the chairman of the Social Security Board, it was decided, as the result of a convincing speech by a United States workers' representative, that insurance against occupational accidents and diseases ought to be compulsory and administered by institutions of a social nature. Already, this decision, important from the standpoint of the prevention of acci-

dents and the provision of more adequate compensation, has set in motion a whole series of legislative measures in Chile, Ecuador, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The social conscience of the New World is awake, and its awakening constitutes the bond of a new and active solidarity.

What of the future? This is not a moment for vain prophecy; nevertheless, the work of today must have for its inspiration a sense of direction and a goal toward which to strive. That direction and that goal have been defined in large measure by a steady evolution of social consciousness, by an increasing awareness that there can be "no inner and abiding strength" in democracy unless democracy provides for itself the conditions in which it can function. But there is now a new element—the element of external danger. That element brings with it a new and urgent motivation. The noble springs of humanitarian sentiment, the enlightened pursuit of social justice, our strivings within the community to translate both of these into practical achievement, are overshadowed by a danger from without which threatens, not one aspect of the community's aspirations, but the fundamentals of its existence.

There is a deeper and a graver issue: not the issue of more or less social security, not the issue of a slower or a faster adjustment of social necessities to economic possibilities, but the issue of the very purpose for which social work has been promoted and pursued in the free countries of the world. It is possible to conceive of social security without democracy. In the modern economic structure it is not possible to conceive of effective democracy without social security. Hence, when the democracies are threatened by external danger, when they need to function with the greatest possible strength and efficiency, social security becomes of necessity a central and a major preoccupation. The role of social workers becomes a role in national defense. It is their task to shape for the nation the principles on which united coöperative effort should make a comprehensive social contribution to the nation's strength, to organize that effort, and to pursue it until its objects are achieved.

Since the menace of total war implies total defense, an ade-

quate program of democratic social security must be broad, effective, lasting; and must spring from the will of all concerned. It must be broad: its scope must embrace all who need collective protection against the vicissitudes of life. It must be effective: it must aim at prevention rather than cure, since the necessity for curing social ills which could have been prevented means unnecessary suffering and human wastage. It must be lasting: it must bridge the generations by using the constantly increasing productivity of our working years to afford the fullest opportunity to youth and to provide for the honorable comfort of the aged. It must spring from the will of all concerned: no social security imposed from above can satisfy the innermost aspirations of the free. A program which springs from the central spirit and purpose of the people will have a strength of fiber which artificial creation cannot match, and it will thereby quicken the response of the whole community to the supreme challenge of an "unlimited national emergency."

LABOR AND INDUSTRY: THE BRITISH SCENE

Mary Craig McGeachy

WE HAVE GONE A LONG WAY IN BRITAIN in the past months. For two years before the war I was living in the middle of the Continent, and there I used to hear discussions such as those that went on in all the little neutral countries that saw in the German policy a threat to their very peace. They were apprehensive then, and could not make up their minds what to do. At that time one heard two arguments, which greatly confused people's thinking.

One argument ran like this: "Of course, the Nazi system is horrible, concentration camps unspeakable, anti-Semitism disgusting. But we have unemployment at home, and the democratic countries do not seem to be finding a way out. Young people are dissatisfied and see no future. On the other hand, whatever may be said of the Germans, they are forming a new social and economic order." The lines of that New Order are all too clearly drawn in the occupied countries now, but at that time they were still sufficiently vague as to becloud thought.

A second argument, one heard from the very people who held most dear their liberty and the free social institutions which their country had developed: "Obviously," they said, "the Germans have a great machine. If one were to attempt to oppose it, one would have also to build up a great machine. Natural resources, industrial plant, financial power, and men and women would have to be organized to meet the Nazi machine. But would not this very process inevitably mean the end of our own free institutions? Would we not, in other words, in the very act of organizing our country to defend its freedom, destroy the real meaning of that freedom?"

That is the question which was asked widely in the neutral

countries of Europe, in France, and in Britain, three years ago. We had a perfect right to ask it, and you have a perfect right to ask it of us; and I hope you will ask it, because I think that an attempt to find an answer, however partial, will give you some very heartening news about people who have been trained in freedom.

What has happened in Britain as a result of the war? Have we destroyed the freedom which has been built into our institutions throughout the long years by attempting to adapt those institutions to war conditions?

If one were to look on the surface only, he would find in Britain today many of the features that one is accustomed to find in a totalitarian State. We have conscription for the armed forces; we have made rules which prevent workers from moving away from the industries and other undertakings that are of primary defense importance; on March 18 of this year, all women of twenty and twenty-one years of age were required to register for national service.

There is a good deal of restriction in Britain today. The lovely spots along our coast, to which people used to throng in the summer, are now prohibited areas, inhabited only by our coastal guard and their machines of defense. We cannot do what we like with our money: everyone in Britain is obliged to declare to the Treasury his holdings of foreign currencies or securities. A private individual in London may not operate on the market of New York today. We have a scale of income tax such as has never before been seen in the world; the industrialist who operates a plant producing war materials operates now without excess profit, or hope of such profit.

Our everyday life is surrounded by restrictions and limitations. At sundown the black-out curtains must be drawn, and one is liable to a heavy fine if an air-raid warden finds light shining through a chink in his window. Some foodstuffs are rationed—butter, sugar, meat, tea—and for the housewife, the business of doing her shopping and managing meals within the restrictions of her ration card is often tedious and onerous.

We have a censorship. It is a rather curious censorship, because, while the news of movements of our own troops or ships may be

withheld or delayed for reasons of security, there is no difficulty in Britain about listening to any radio broadcast from anywhere in the world. There is no curb on editorial discussion either. Indeed, in this respect, our Parliament has led the way in showing how liberty must be kept functioning within our country, if people are to be asked to make the sacrifices necessary to defend it. Compare Parliamentary debate in the two years before the war with what goes on nowadays, and you will see what I mean. Early last autumn, when we did not know at what moment our enemy might try to invade, when our coastal units were standing on the *qui vive* at the lookout posts of Britain, a great battle was waged in Parliament and in the press, to oblige the Government to provide more healthful conditions in public air-raid shelters.

Do these restrictions upon our daily lives mean that the essence of liberty is being sacrificed? The important thing is not the kind of restrictions that are adopted to meet an emergency, but the method by which those restrictions have been drawn up and adopted. If they have been imposed by a central authority; if they have been promulgated throughout the land by royal decree; if they have been foisted upon workers by a sort of blackmail, under threat of withdrawal of benefits, then we are in the midst of tyranny. There would then be no point in saying that we are fighting for liberty. However, no compulsion or restriction has been imposed upon the people in Britain. In no case have the regulations which have altered the habits of living in Britain been adopted excepting by the action of Parliament, or of responsible Ministers, placed in office by the people. The regulations have been open to discussion in Parliament and in the press, and have, in the end, been adopted in recognition of the fact that they were essential for our defense. Moreover, the common law of England remains unchanged; the common courts continue to meet; the principle of equality for every citizen before the law remains unchanged; the Habeas Corpus Act has not been suspended from our statute books; and any man may claim to be heard before a court of his peers.

In addition to the consultation and discussion that have gone on in Parliament, steps have been taken to insure that the meas-

ures adopted for the defense of Britain are the expression of the will of our whole people. The trade unions in England have established their claim to be recognized as the representatives of the people and, as such, have been consulted by the Government whenever action was taken that touched upon the work and welfare of working people in Britain.

This consultation did not happen automatically at the outbreak of war. The unions had to press for consultation during the first eight months of war, but they won their claim to be heard as it became increasingly clear that the well-being of the people who are producing our arms and keeping the wheels of civilian life moving normally is a matter of major importance. Labor today stands in a vital sector of our defense. If we did not know this before the *Blitzkrieg* began, the Germans have taught us. Our factories are chosen targets for the *Luftwaffe*. The conduct of defense about our coasts, as well as the maintenance of civilian supply and the whole machinery of normal living, depends upon the efficient functioning of industry, transport, and public services. There can be no distinction, when one is organizing the country to meet a total attack, between the responsibility of the man who is firing the gun and the man or woman who is producing the shot.

None of us need be ashamed to admit that there were internal struggles in Britain during the first year of the war until the workers established their claim to direct consultation in regard to problems connected with total defense. This struggle was evidence of life in Britain. It was part of the business of adapting the machinery of a free country to the bitter necessities of a total war. Don't think for a moment that such adaptation is painless or easy. It hurts. But the fact that the British people are making these difficult adjustments, through a system of ever broadening consultation that takes in every group in the country, is a tribute to the reality of their conception of freedom. While they are defending freedom from attack from without, our members of Parliament, our leaders of public associations of all kinds, and our press, are insisting that freedom be given leave to function within our society.

At the outbreak of war, the Government ordered a calling up of reservists and territorials and the conscription of certain age groups under the National Service (Armed Forces Act), but it was abundantly clear that if we were to carry out defense against modern attack, we could not call up every man, irrespective of his civilian occupation. In the last war, we sacrificed a generation; the most promising, the most adventurous, the most daring, were the first to enlist, and we had no organization for keeping men at home in essential occupations. This time we profited from that tragic experience. The Schedule of Reserved Occupations was drawn up which provided the machinery for keeping at their posts the men who were taking important training (medicine, chemistry, engineering, etc.), the men essential for teaching the techniques vital to defense or to the problem of reconstruction that lies ahead of us, the key men in the highly skilled occupations. Machine tools are an essential of our defense, and the Government had the assistance of the trade unions in defining the occupations in industry and building which must be kept manned during the war.

This policy, however, did not provide enough man power to meet the tremendous demand for skilled work in our munitions industries, and so the unions were faced with a challenge to their standards. They had to work out a way in which semiskilled labor could be used for skilled jobs. They did this in coöperation with the Ministry of Labour in order to facilitate mass production, on the understanding that this letting down of their standards for skilled jobs would be regarded only as a temporary war measure.

In May, 1940, the trade unions concerned agreed to have women introduced into the engineering industry. In the following November, forty Government training schools were opened to women for the first time. But the unions were concerned with the maintenance of standards of pay, and so women went in on the principle of equal pay for equal work. A wartime emergency was thus met; and the concern of the unions that essential standards of pay should be maintained while necessary adjustments of personnel were being made, has resulted in what every woman worker must regard as a great triumph.

Welfare conditions within the factories were not forgotten. The Minister of Labour who came into power in the spring of 1940 created a new Factory and Welfare Advisory Board. On this board sit trade unionists, civil servants, and specialists in industrial welfare. It is their business to make plans to maintain the health and efficiency of all workers who are now serving under the strain of war conditions. Factories are required to set up medical services and to install welfare officers. Communal feeding is being extended. The fact that many of the essential factories have been dispersed throughout the country in order to remove them from attack has meant that many workers have been searching for new homes or lodgings.

The whole problem of the transfer of labor from nonessential to essential industries and the housing and welfare of the workers who are obliged to move away from their own homes is now being dealt with by the Labour Supply Board. This board is another result of the entry of labor into the government in May, 1940. The Labour Supply Board consists of two industrialists and two trade unionists and meets under the chairmanship of the Minister of Labour. Four hundred Labour Supply officers drawn from industry and trade unions now review the labor requirements of the different areas of Britain, seeing to it that each individual factory is using its labor, particularly its skilled labor, to the best advantage, arranging for the transfer of workers to places where they are needed most, and looking after all the details such as traveling allowances and living allowances for workers who are moved away from home.

Skilled labor became so precious as the wartime industries developed that measures had to be taken to insure that employers could not be deprived of the services of skilled men already engaged in an essential undertaking. The Emergency Powers Defence Act of 1940 provided that people engaged in essential industries could be sought for other work only through a Government employment exchange, or a trade union employment office. By this machinery, the trade unions assist the Ministry of Labour in keeping track of the men whose skills are an invaluable part of our national armament. The unions have gone

further; they have helped the Government set up machinery to prevent labor disputes leading to strikes or lockouts during the war.

In October, 1939, the National Joint Advisory Council was set up. It consists of fifteen representatives of the Trade Union Congress and fifteen of the British Employers' Federation who meet under the chairmanship of Mr. Bevin, the Minister of Labour. Other Government departments send their representatives, too, and this body has become a central clearinghouse for the discussion of a great many problems connected with labor and standards of living of working people during the war.

The Council members have discussed relations between wages and prices and so have kept real wages from falling too severely. They have considered the scheme put forward by the Treasury to increase voluntary savings throughout the country, and as a result of their discussions the Trade Union Congress published its commendation of the Voluntary Savings Scheme. They have gone into all the many questions of detail involved in setting up adequate systems of air-raid protection in factories. The National Joint Advisory Council worked throughout the first winter of the war and by the spring of 1940, when the representatives of labor came into the War Cabinet, the responsibility of the workers' organizations was well established. The Government had already imposed a 100 percent excess profits tax upon industry so that no employer could make a greater profit out of the war than he had in the years preceding it. It remained for labor to impose a comparable limitation upon itself in the interest of national defense.

In May of 1940 a small consultative committee was set up, consisting of seven representatives of the Trade Union Congress and seven of the British Employers' Federation. This has been working in close contact with the Ministry of Labour. Its great problem was how to set up machinery to prevent trade disputes leading to strikes and lockouts.

When this small committee held its first meeting, the Low Countries had just fallen. The machine which the Nazis had forged to extend oppression and tyranny was moving nearer.

There had never been any doubt in the minds of British trade unionists about what the German threat meant. The Trade Union Congress meeting on September 4 and 5, 1939, had adopted a declaration which expressed its belief that the Nazi Government "must be opposed by all the forces that the civilised nations can concentrate for its defeat and overthrow. The defeat of ruthless aggression is essential if Liberty and Order are to be re-established in the world. The Trade Union Congress with a united and resolute nation enters the struggle with a clear conscience and a steadfast purpose."

From the outset, then, the trade union leaders had declared their determination to resist aggression from abroad, while they sought to protect the essential rights of working people at home in the midst of the centralization that was developing. The proof of their devotion to the struggle is to be found in the fact that the Trade Union Congress has surrendered its right to strike during the war. Recommendations were drawn up by the consultative committee. These required that the existing voluntary joint arrangements for the settling of trade disputes should be employed to their full extent. Where these failed, and a dispute remained unsettled, the Ministry of Labour might refer the argument to a newly appointed body, the National Arbitration Tribunal. This body consists of three members appointed by the Ministry of Labour, one of whom is the chairman, the other two represent employers and workers respectively. Both parties to the dispute are obliged to accept the ruling of the Tribunal.

The working people of England have had to make many adjustments and to suffer many restrictions. But these restrictions have not been created by some tyrannical power which shifts labor about like so much machinery. They have been set up as a result of consultation in a Parliament elected by the people, by Ministers responsible to the people, and by the trade unions which are directly representative of working people.

How has this happened? The reason has been best expressed by Mr. Bevin in a speech that he made on September 8, 1940.

Our enemies rely on compulsion, the Gestapo threats of the Concentration Camp, fear: we work on the basis of confidence and freedom.

Wages are regulated by our enemies by decree from the top; pay is cut without as much as "by your leave." In our case we have maintained the joint machinery which existed in peace time. It is true we have introduced arbitration, which is essential under war conditions. We have recognised the right of the people to organise for their own protection so they may, through their free and independent organisations, express their desires and settle their problems. Our enemies abolished the Trade Unions: we have encouraged them and they have responded and all the evidence goes to show that our system is giving much better results than theirs.

No one in Britain would quarrel with the representatives of workers for wishing, while they are laboring to maintain the means of defense, to keep up the standards for skilled work and for conditions of work upon which the standard of life of many thousands of people depend. Indeed, one of the strange paradoxes about Britain today is that everyone is becoming more concerned about standards. We are going through a period when one cannot plan the simplest operation without the risk of having all one's program thrown out by an untimely bomb. There can be no element of our social living that does not stand in daily danger of dislocation and loss. We have had to transport thousands of children out of vulnerable urban centers to quieter parts of the country. We have had to adjust business to early hours of closing because of black-out regulations and the difficulty of running a full transportation system once the early evening raid begins. We have had to carry out hospital and public health services in a situation where water, heat, light, or telephone connections may be cut off at a moment's notice. This has developed in our people that strange quality which is beginning to be known as the "spirit of Britain"—a spirit that carries on with the daily job in spite of danger, discomfort, anxiety, pain, and loss.

But the "spirit of Britain" is not careless about the standards of health and social care in the country. In October of 1939 the Germans were attacking us at the rate of four or five hundred bombing planes a night; only slightly less violent was the attack launched upon the Government to oblige the authorities to improve conditions in our air-raid shelters. No single feature of that discussion was kept from the public press at home or abroad by

the censorship. In fact, the Germans used to quote it back to us over their wireless with some gusto.

Thousands of homes have been broken up and children removed from familiar surroundings. Yet we have today more nursery schools for babies and young children, more women engaged in civilian nursing and public health and social work than ever before. The incidence of the diseases which are epidemic in childhood was never so low as in the first year of the war.

Another of the problems which have resulted from total attack has been that of feeding our people. When a house is destroyed, the corner grocery shop also goes, and the restaurant or tea shop, and in these circumstances the authorities must quickly get food to the people who will be leaving their homes for their jobs the next morning after a bombing raid, quite as usual. In addition to canteens set up by voluntary services, our Ministry of Food has in operation some two or three hundred feeding centers. The wife of a businessman, a docker, or a factory worker may or may not give her husband a balanced dinner, but the Government of Great Britain cannot afford to set down anything but a well-balanced meal before one of its citizens. Criticism in the press and in Parliament would be much too active. One of the curious paradoxes of this war will be that when it is over, the loss of their homes and the destruction of their normal habits of living will have given many thousands of people better food habits.

I am afraid that all this may sound much too favorable. I do not wish it to seem so. We have many defects; we have many problems still to work out; and so long as these attacks on our civilians continue, no solution will be more than a temporary one. A children's home which we create today may be bombed out the day after tomorrow. What is important is not the degree of perfection which we may achieve, but the fact that imperfections will not continue without comment and criticism. We are fighting for our freedom: but in the very process of that fight, in the very presence of menace, we are redefining what we mean by freedom in terms of standards of health, social welfare, justice, and a fair sharing of responsibility in our country.

What is the meaning of what we are undergoing in Britain?

Surely something like this: We are having quickly to adapt the machinery of living that grew up in a free country to a new condition that requires unity of action, economy of effort, the pitting of all our resources behind our blows. This has required tremendous adjustments, and there is no group of people in England who have not contributed some personal sacrifice to this adjustment. People who live on incomes now sacrifice more of that income to the war effort; owners of industry must deal with a myriad of difficult problems of supply and management and will never make a penny more profit during the war than they did before the war; workers have accepted more circumscribed lives. Many of them, both men and women, live almost as soldiers do, quartered in hostels, and working in factories away from their own homes. Everyone is contributing some part to the effort. Why? Because everyone realizes that this is his war, his defense, his stand for the free way of life.

If any further evidence is needed, we have it in this: We have in Britain today, as well as our military forces, a great voluntary army for civil defense—air-raid wardens, auxiliary workers, firemen, ambulance drivers, nurses, first-aid workers. These are voluntary workers who can give only their spare time to take their part in the defense of Britain. Men and women, old and young, from every walk of life, from every kind of occupation, during a certain number of hours in their free time stand watch, completely responsible for the safety of the people in their district. You cannot have this sort of system which places people side by side, in face of common danger, without knitting your people together into a real unity.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND RIGHTS OF LABOR IN A PERIOD OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY

Robert J. Watt

LABOR IN AMERICA has the same basic interest in this defense emergency as the rest of the community. Labor is a part of the community, not a class apart. It has as much interest as any other group in defending the free institutions which make up our way of life. The only distinctive feature is that labor as a whole constitutes nearly a half of the population. Beyond that, labor's particular reason for interest is that, in the immediate problem of national defense, it is labor's tremendous task to produce the equipment needed to defend our democracy against the forces of aggression.

That equipment must be moral as well as material. We face dangers from within which are as serious as the threat of armed invasion. There undeniably are Nazis, Fascists, and Communists in our own land. There are paid agents working here to enlist the support of every grudge-carrier, of every "ism" devotee, and of every ambitious or venal crackpot they can find. These seducers are skillful. They do not ask people to betray their country—at least not until there has been ample opportunity to mold their thinking, invite grievances, and test reactions. They seek to enlist misguided citizens under the guise of patriotism.

Tolerance, which is a sparkling treasure in our character, can be a source of weakness because it kindles the lust and increases the confidence of those who would deprive us of our material wealth and because it dazzles the judgment of our own people. In our tolerance we open ourselves to the flattery of those super-patriotic appeasers, some of whom are within the left wing of labor, and some of whom are in the innermost circles of big

business. They tell us we are too strong to be attacked, too noble to be influenced by traitors, too resourceful ever to be caught napping.

Any individual who today tells the American people that they are not in danger is a stooge, consciously or unconsciously, for the worst pirates, the cruelest savages, the most systematic *saboteurs* of civilization ever recorded in the pages of history. Some of the stooges may be fine men, on past records—but there are times in the progress of humanity when there should be no complacency toward treason, even if it is unwitting.

Our big problem, of course, is to avoid delusions in our study of the facts. We cannot afford to ignore civil liberties, tolerance, or patience. We cannot let the Red-baiters or the Nazi-baiters turn the processes of law into the sadism of the vigilante. But neither can we let the dictatorships destroy us, trample on our liberties, rape our wealth, and enslave our people, just because a lot of jackasses are braying so loud at the moon that their noise drowns out the shuffling of fifth columns within our midst.

There should be no question whatsoever as to the interest of the workers in this emergency. I have no sympathy for those who are complaining that we should ignore what is happening abroad and devote ourselves exclusively to the cure of social and economic ills. We must make every effort to correct existing abuses as rapidly and completely as possible, but it is simple common sense to devote every energy to safeguarding the basic institutions under which alone we can enjoy the opportunity to correct those ills.

Labor wants full defense against any attack from any source whatsoever upon the American people, American possessions, American institutions, or upon the American principles of democratic liberties and representative government. It is the responsibility of labor to warn against possible danger arising from the stupidity or selfishness of a few employers or Government officials which would cause real grievances which agitators could skillfully twist to their own purposes. Once a grievance exists, it hinders rather than helps to denounce the labor leader. The first job is always to cure the grievance in good faith and thus remove the

issue upon which, if given time, the agitator will raise other false issues.

Because labor unions cannot exist except under free institutions and because workers cannot progress and prosper except under free institutions, we have the duty today of insisting that the democratic institutions, including not merely the political, but equally the social and economic machinery of our land, function efficiently and freely to accomplish for our people a fuller measure of justice than ever before. We must do so well that the flouziest propaganda of Nazi, Fascist, or Communist will look like cheap and shabby tinsel in comparison.

Today American labor enjoys better standards and working conditions than existed in any other land even before the blight of aggression struck down the old economic order of Europe. But we are far indeed from having the conditions we can and should enjoy. Labor must not be shackled. This is the time to expand the rights and responsibilities of labor organizations and to give to them an ever increasing responsibility to keep pace with demonstrated capacity. We must and we can do that. It is our right and responsibility to insist on progress to strengthen the defense program. It is our right and responsibility to insist on making our democracy one of the dearest and most productive possessions of every American man and woman.

We must not forget, however preoccupied we may become with the problem of national defense, that the preservation of labor's gains is one of the bulwarks of our national defense. It is our task to keep these gains, which constitute the workers' Bill of Rights, and extend them as rapidly as possible, but no more rapidly than the national economy permits.

In the operation of labor and social laws it is the right and duty of labor to demand that the Administration keep step with the laws. Labor is concerned by the number of careerists who jump from one Government job to another without an iota of honest concern for the purpose of the program or the welfare of those to be served. We must develop a real career service which will encourage primarily the employment and promotion of individuals who will understand, respect, and honestly serve their

fellow men. We must get rid of aggressive schemers who dominate and betray programs which workers, after years of struggle, have put on the books for the benefit of the people as a whole.

Labor has a responsibility today to demand that it share in the councils of democracy on an even footing with capital. The problem of fair labor representation in the councils of our democracy is one of human relationships rather than theoretical economics. It is of first importance in any effort we make for national defense. It involves that intangible which we call "morale," that inner conviction which leads workers to give their utmost for a cause. Fair representation can make all the difference between wholehearted, energetic coöperation in defense production and a halfhearted, halting effort which falls far short of its goal. Wholehearted coöperation on the part of both workers and employers is essential if America is to meet the challenge of the battle of production. This coöperation can best be achieved by giving labor a functional, responsible part in the operation of the defense program with labor representation in all agencies where policies of vital concern to wage earners are formed.

Labor says with conviction that this is our democracy and this is our struggle to defend it. Labor asks that any employer, whether he builds airplanes or automobiles or makes steel or rubber, obey the law of the land, just as faithfully as labor is expected to. Our charter of economic liberty must be respected, because our defense of democracy is a defense of democracy, not of special privilege.

The right to strike is, in another sense of the word, the right to work on suitable terms. A bona fide strike is not an effort to stop work. It is rather a stopping of work to win the privilege of working on satisfactory terms. An employer who refuses to bid on a contract is not denounced in the headlines as a striker. Quite the contrary. Employers, on the whole, failed to respond to labor's needs until the Government satisfied their demands concerning tax arrangements or financing.

From a purely practical point of view, a ban on strikes would be stupid. If there are legitimate grievances, it is best to vent them. Wherever decent bargaining arrangements exist, a safety

valve is already at hand. But where an employer has refused to meet his workers on decent terms, any attempt to straitjacket labor would be to break down morale and accumulate grievances which would be destructive to production. Most labor contracts and many international constitutions provide for a period for negotiation. Usually employers and workers get together during that period. Strikes can most easily be settled in this democratic way before they begin. I don't refer to a mandatory "cooling-off" period—which often serves more as a steaming-up session—with strike votes taken first.

I strongly object to the calling of strikes for ideological reasons. There have been a few instances in which the class struggle seemed to be the chief grievance rather than the wages and hours or conditions of work. Wherever such a cause for unrest exists, the workers are not being represented properly, because no strike on such a basis is, or can be, to their advantage.

Our right and responsibility is to defend civil liberties. Labor would be the first to suffer if the rights of free speech, free assembly, and free press were to be suspended or ignored, although labor seldom finds the press free from prejudice against labor. Labor wants our liberties fully and completely defended, because it knows that the vigor of our democracy lies in the freedom of the minority to criticize and suggest. Conservative policies of today include many of the most "subversive" doctrines of yesterday. Defense of the Bill of Rights is the responsibility of every American.

Labor wants to preserve our freedom so much that it will insist that our liberties be defended against internal sabotage as well as against external assault. It is possible that some of those who are shouting loudest now about civil liberties may be among the first so to abuse this ancient privilege as to undermine its sanctity in the American mind. Civil liberties must be protected even more vigorously from the treachery of so-called friends than from obvious enemies. I have learned from long experience to beware of the union member who loudly demands that we break up the employer's plant. The fellow who does the shouting is often the one hired to break up the union.

Civil liberties must not be trampled upon, but neither should we tolerate a treason which might jeopardize every vestige of civil liberty in our land. Labor believes in a democratic society in which the constitutional protection of minority rights can best be safeguarded by the intelligent recognition of the equally basic rule, that the majority has some rights, too. The majority has the right, for instance, to insist upon vaccination against typhoid or smallpox, even if some of the minority object. The price of living in a civilized community is respect for our neighbors' integrity. Liberty, to the masses of American workers, is freedom under law, and not a license to destroy liberty.

In critical days like these when the consequences of the failures of peoples of other lands are plain for all to see, the defenders of civil liberties should recognize that their defense of minorities should not lead them into becoming the stupid accessories before the fact of a revolutionary process which would destroy the civil liberties of a great majority. Honesty and sincerity should be the yardstick by which we judge the virtue of an issue involving civil liberties.

I deny that the individuals who shrieked at the betrayal of democracy in Spain and Czechoslovakia have any right to command us to be silent when the workingmen and women of Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Luxemburg, Belgium, and France are swept into slavery. I deny to them the right to say that war was less brutal when unleashed upon the people of Finland by Bolshevik bombers than it was for the people of other nations when the Nazis and Fascists dumped high explosives upon their defenseless heads. I deny that Communists, Nazis, or Fascists have any right to speak for American workers or American democracy.

I challenge anyone who believes in civil liberties to question the fact that civil liberties cannot exist under a totalitarian state. Totalitarianism is essentially a denial of the right of human beings to live as individuals according to their likes or dislikes. It is an attempt to use a brutal military machine like a ten-ton press, to stamp out identical models of yes-men and yes-women. It is an attempt to deny the right of individuals to have any

thoughts, to make any statements, or to act in any way except that which is prescribed.

This stage in our history may test whether we are to survive as a representative democracy. We can survive, if the crucial test comes, only if our people, as a whole, are awake and alert, united and determined to preserve our system of government. We can survive only if we can destroy the rats who are gnawing away at the foundation and walls of our storehouse of freedom. We can survive only if we defeat within our gates those who would destroy us, whether they wear the swastika of the Nazis, the black shirt of the Fascists, or the hammer and sickle of the Communists—enemies all, of America, civil liberty, and freedom.

From the loyal millions of American workers comes this sober plea: Let all of us who love America defend democracy, and do it side by side in the factory or forum, through the newspapers or on the street corners, by radio and by conversation, and most of all by the determined energy of an intelligent and wholehearted recognition of our respective duties and responsibilities.

We have a job to do for ourselves and civilization. We must prove that democracy can defend itself by democratic processes, by infusing an intelligent zeal into the task of production while living together in a civilized structure of mutual understanding, confidence, and helpfulness.

Like every real American, and with even added reason, the men and women of labor unite in asking wholehearted and untiring effort to help democracy win the battle of armies and armaments, airplanes and navies, institutions and ideologies, to win it against any foe or combination of foes, to win it against those who plot against us from abroad or within our own borders, and to win it as quickly as possible by giving full aid to those who are struggling to protect democracy in Europe or Asia or Africa.

THE NEGRO AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Lester B. Granger

ANY DISCUSSION of problems of racial relationships usually presents a serious hazard from the very start. The danger is that one will assume common information and agreement on certain fundamental points. My experience is that there are few fundamental points on which any large number of persons are apt to agree in a subject such as this. This is because in racial problems, as in possibly no other field, the individual's reaction to factual information is largely a reflection of his own personality and a projection of his past environment.

However, I assume a familiarity, not only with the history of racial conflict in this country, but also with the economic results of it as manifested in the present-day exclusion of Negroes from a large share of economic opportunity in the United States. We realize how more than two hundred years of chattel slavery in this country made the badge of color that the Negro wears a symbol of social inferiority in the mind of the average white American. We know how that has produced a stereotyped thinking with respect to the Negro, has created a "place" for him in the American community, a place that may be established, changed, and re-established according to the convenience, or prejudice, or self-interest of powerful individuals and groups who have a chance to mold public opinion.

This stereotype of public opinion has had an effect on every single situation in which the Negro citizen finds himself. When the employer looks at a Negro applicant, for instance, he sees, not a skilled workman with the will and the ability to do a creative job to his own satisfaction and the profit of his employer, but rather a *Negro* looking for a job, an infinitesimal subdivision of the "Negro problem," an obtrusive factor who, if inserted into

the plant's personnel, may cause ill feeling among his white fellow workers. Or, if the employer is more imaginative and none too scrupulous, he may see in the Negro a tool which can be cleverly used to create disunity among a plant's working force and aid the employer in dominating a labor relations situation.

Similarly, white workers themselves, viewing the Negro worker, see not a fellow worker with the same skills, the same needs, and the same aspirations as themselves, but rather a dark, hovering menace which threatens, in some mysterious fashion, the security of labor; that is, those white workers already on the job, or any other white workers who may wish to apply.

In the same fashion the true role of Negroes in American society has been distorted in various other situations where the reactions of the individual are largely controlled by historical public concepts. Thus we find social agencies falling into repetitious error when confronted with problems, or fancied problems, involving race. We find recreational workers unable to plan for professionally sound group work programs because they insist on seeing differences between white and Negro children instead of likenesses between human beings. We find "research scholars," comparing the health records of a poverty-stricken Negro neighborhood with those of a middle-class white community, and drawing conclusions therefrom regarding "physiological differences" between races. We find housing authorities trembling in panic before the momentous question of whether Negroes and whites can live together in the same low-cost housing project, when they have lived together in tumble-down neighborhoods for generations. We find highly paid statisticians studying population figures with apprehensive eyes to discover how far the Negro family is included in the natural migration of population that brings families from rural to urban surroundings, from Southern to Northern states.

All of these things are common knowledge, and we realize, therefore, what a crazy quilt of fantastic nonsense is this whole question of racial relationships and how it has prevented common-sense, constructive American progress in a hundred important directions. It is probable, however, that very few of us realized

how dangerous our racial stereotypes of thought have become, not only to the security of Negroes, but also to the safety of the entire nation. Very few of us realized this danger until preparation for national defense became a going program and the exclusion of Negroes therefrom became a stench in the nostrils of thoughtful American citizens.

The facts of discrimination against Negroes must be fairly well known. What was originally a matter of concern to a few organizations, such as the National Urban League in its program of social work among Negroes, soon received serious attention from the more than a hundred Negro weekly newspapers around the country. The Negro public became exercised and expressed its concern so effectively that some of the more important of the country's daily newspapers took up the question from an editorial as well as a reportorial angle. Such publications as the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Nation*, and the *Survey Graphic* have presented excellent articles on the facts and underlying issues of racial discrimination in defense industry.

Thus it has been authoritatively established and widely publicized that many American employers would rather perpetuate old, hateful, and stupid prejudices than speed up production of defense materials in this national emergency. It has become recognized that a great part of the old and, thank God, slowly disappearing type of labor leadership is willing to keep Negro workers out of jobs in which they are badly needed rather than relax the viciously undemocratic membership policies denying Negroes union admission. Green, untrained, white labor is accepted for work in skilled industry while capable and experienced Negro applicants are barred. Second-class white labor is accepted for defense industry training, while first-class Negro material is ignored. Personnel officers of important industrial plants have been willing to send from Ohio or Pennsylvania or Michigan down to Tennessee, Arkansas, and Georgia, or out to Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri, for labor replacements and reserves rather than use any of the hundreds of Negro applicants thronging outside their employment offices or waiting on the call of local employment services.

Rather than to dwell at length on the actual facts and extent of racial discrimination in national defense, I recommend the June issue of the *Survey Graphic*, in which Beulah Amidon has presented an excellent article giving in detail some of these conditions. That article is necessarily sketchy, but it is largely based on material gathered from the forty-five local affiliates of the National Urban League and on similar material in the files of the League.

Nor should it be necessary to emphasize how dangerous a threat to our unity and efficient defense preparation is this insistence on undemocratic practices in the very moment that we prepare to defend democracy. Visualize, if you will, the reactions of the 13,000,000 Negroes in this country to these practices. We have an idea of the complete disillusionment that must be in progress, the intense resentment that must be mounting up, the many ways in which that resentment can manifest itself, ways that can be equally disastrous to the Negro population and to the national welfare.

My purpose is to indicate what steps have been taken, need to be taken, and can be taken to check, ameliorate, and eliminate these hateful undemocratic practices. The same barriers stand in the way of Negroes that have always stood, and it is to the shame of a nation professing the democratic way of life that not even the pressure of the present emergency has sufficed to push those barriers away. American employers for fifty years have been opposed to using Negro workers in accordance with their skills. (I speak generally, with full knowledge of the encouraging exceptions that can be cited here and there.) And those employers today are still using the same shoddy excuses, expressing the same timidities and uncertainties, exposing the same lamentable ignorance of past and current history.

The survey made eight months ago by the Urban League of Kansas City, Missouri, covering racial policies of local firms holding defense contracts, is now a classic. It is a classic because it reflects the unyielding obstinacy of many Kansas City employers in the face of appeals of patriotism and social decency; at the same time it is an example of the attitude of the average employer in

other sections of the country. The survey was made only a few weeks after the National Defense Advisory Council had officially urged employers to avoid racial discrimination in hiring defense workers so as to provide more fully for a large and efficient labor reserve. The Kansas City Urban League found that this appeal to the patriotic instinct of employers went almost completely unheeded. Industrial concerns holding defense contracts and standing to make fat profits from the public treasury insisted on regarding Negro labor as of no consequence in the defense program. Fifty-four employers were interviewed by questionnaire and twelve unions holding agreements with their employers. Twenty-seven employers hired no Negroes and expressed no intention to change that policy. One firm, spokesman for this group, responded: "We have never employed Negroes in twenty-five years and see no need of doing so now." Only eight of the fifty-four employers indicated any willingness to consider relaxation of discriminatory hiring practices.

Of course, the Federal Government recognized these and similar obstacles at the start of the defense program, and made tentative, though largely ineffectual, efforts to remove them. Some steps to further the integration of Negro labor into defense industry have been taken by the National Defense Advisory Commission and the Office of Production Management, some by the Office of Education, some by the Bureau of Employment Security, and some by the Federal Works Agency. All of these steps have been in the right direction; in no case have they gone far enough to bar discrimination by employers holding defense contracts. The obduracy of aircraft manufacturers, with the exception of one or two recent developments, is an example of employer resistance to national needs as pointed out by the labor division of the OPM.

Similar obstinacy is shown by unions holding closed shop agreements in defense industries. For instance, it is hard to forget the action of the A.F. of L. Shipbuilders Union of Tampa, Florida. This union last fall succeeded in signing a closed shop contract with the Tampa shipyard building defense shipping. The union refused membership to 500 shipyard Negroes then employed and enforced its closed shop agreement by throwing the

Negroes out of work. We certainly cannot afford to forget that the International Association of Machinists holds closed shop contracts with twelve aircraft manufacturing companies, and the Machinists Union bars Negroes from membership by ritualistic oath.

The OPM has similarly failed in preventing boards of education from barring Negroes from defense courses. Out of fifty-four defense training courses made available to workers of Atlanta, all but five are definitely closed to Negroes; at least they were up to a few weeks ago, and I have had no word that the situation has changed. Similar reports come from Chattanooga, Tennessee, where it is charged that fourteen defense courses were set up for white students and none for Negroes. One course in "automobile mechanics," was finally established; this course actually consisting of washing and polishing cars in a vacant lot. Nor has the OPM opened to Negroes the right to promotional opportunities provided by the training-within-industry program. A striking example is to be found in the Newport News Shipbuilding Company Yards. This company has an excellent record as far as the proportion of Negroes employed is concerned. Thirty-five percent of this company's working force were Negroes a few months ago, but no Negroes were being trained for promotional opportunities in the skilled trades such as electricians' or machinists' work.

Thus, in the midst of a crisis that grows more frightening each week, we face the almost unbelievable fact that a nation preparing against the threat of war wants no effective help from one tenth of its citizens. We may recoil from this blunt way of putting the fact, but look at the record. Let us take the United States army or navy as a test of how badly this country wants the vast help available from its Negro citizens. The world's greatest aviator, if he were a Negro, would be refused admittance to the United States air corps today, in all probability, because the army has no place for Negro flyers beyond the grudgingly established quota of thirty or forty Negro trainees for whom a separate training field has been established at Tuskegee, Alabama. No engineer, electrician, or radio operator, however trained, can find a place

on a United States navy vessel if he be dark of skin, for the navy wants no Negroes except as mess attendants. As long as our major arms of defense, maintained and controlled directly by the Federal Government, are allowed to operate on such policies, what right have we to be surprised when their example is followed by employers and unions in private industry?

This is the position that Negro citizens are taking today with increasing vehemence, and it is one of the reasons why a people of normally pacific inclinations should be fighting with such militancy for admission on equal terms to the armed forces of the nation. Negroes recognize for instance, that one reason for the almost complete exclusion of their race from aviation transportation and industry is the fact that in the last World War, the United States army rigidly banned Negroes from any kind of aviation service, whether flying or ground. Thus commercial aviation, which drew its personnel and its practices very largely from the army, naturally inherited the army's color bar. This is another example of how careless thinking develops into a mental stereotype and makes the readjustment of ideas on a more intelligent level almost impossible.

Moreover, Negroes suffered for a full decade after the World War from the kinds of attitudes and opinions developed among impressionable young white soldiers through their exposure to despicable racial policies. Young whites saw Negroes herded off in army camps and given the least desirable living quarters; saw them provided with inferior equipment, or given none at all; saw Negro college men reduced from fighting units and assigned to labor battalions with ignorant, Negro-hating white corporals in charge, in keeping with the best traditions of the plantation South. Negroes experienced all these things and saw their result; for it would have been impossible for 3,000,000 young whites to witness and share in so undemocratic a procedure without readjusting their ideas of what was right and proper in a democratic society.

Why do I inject a discussion of army and navy policy into a discussion of employment opportunity for Negroes? It is because army and navy service today is the greatest single conditioning

program in the country; because our military oligarchy has the power to say, within tremendous limits, what our boys of today are going to be like tomorrow; because that power is being used today with potentially vicious results to democratic thought in America. With due regard for the seriousness of the statement, I am obliged to declare that the gravest single subversive movement in this country today is to be found in the anti-Negro policies tolerated by the Federal Government and practiced directly through the military and naval arms of defense. Thus one step in expanding economic opportunity for Negroes in America is to proceed immediately to break down the employment barriers erected by the biggest employers of them all, the United States army and navy.

Another step is one directly within the present scope and authority of the Federal Government. I refer to the United States civil service. I wonder how many of us, in going through the Government offices at Washington today, stop to wonder about the racial complexion of the workers who throng the corridors. Do we think it is by accident that a Negro is seldom seen, except as a messenger, an elevator operator, a cafeteria employee, or a janitor, or a maid? Have we counted the number of Negro typists, machine operators, interviewers, bookkeepers, clerks, to be found in the departments of the Government? Have we stopped to consider what happens to the thousands of Negroes who qualify through examination for civil service employment? Do we realize that officers refuse to appoint a Negro, because of contemptible color prejudices, no matter how well qualified or highly placed the eligible Negro may be? The extent of racial discrimination that exists in the appointment of personnel in the Government service is more than a shameful practice by our Government itself. It is also a standing encouragement to private employers throughout the country to practice similar discrimination. Under these conditions small wonder indeed that the OPM finds itself handicapped in its almost tearful pleas to employers not to discriminate against Negroes in the present emergency. As long as discrimination is rife in the very building where the OPM is housed; as long as discrimination remains practically unchecked throughout

official Washington; as long as attack on this discrimination remains a sporadic activity on the part of this or that arm of the Government, the efforts of this war-emergency agency must be handicapped. Indeed, OPM as a whole has never attacked the problem of racial discrimination in industry.

This is not to say, however, that the efforts of other individual governmental agencies cannot and should not be increased and made more effective. For instance, a responsibility rests upon the Bureau of Employment Security, through its United States Employment Service, to bring the public employment services throughout the country in line with the labor policy of the OPM. It is an encouraging thing to find employment officials beginning to awaken to a sense of responsibility for giving equal employment opportunity to all applicants regardless of race. It is the position of the National Urban League that a public employment service is more than a passive agent for transmission of an employer's prejudices. We feel that the service has a responsibility, not only for supplying the employer with the kind of worker he wants, but also for supplying the worker with the kind of position he needs and wants and can fill. Where employers are not ready to offer such jobs, education on the part of the service is indicated. There is work for the interviewer that has not yet been sufficiently recognized or accepted. It is the job of building the morale of the applicant, softening the attitudes and broadening the vision of the employer. It may be that in many public employment services there is little place for this kind of enlightened practice and special professional skill. But neither was there a place for present-day standards, such as they are, in the public employment offices of 1920. Just as we have revised the public employment service in the past few years to meet the needs of a depression period, so we should reorganize that service again, if it be needed, to meet the needs of a nation that demands, above all other things, unity of national spirit and belief in the American way.

It is this ideal of democracy and national unity that should drive every agency toward re-examination and re-evaluation of its program. For example, the OPM has been urged to take posi-

tive action in letting defense contracts by including a clause which would penalize an employer practicing racial discrimination in defense employment. The OPM insists that this is not the "practical thing to do." Yet, the experiences of the Public Works Administration and the United States Housing Authority under Secretary Ickes and Commissioner Straus have shown that the democratic thing is definitely the practical thing to do. The housing division of the PWA and, later, the United States Housing Authority included nondiscrimination clauses in the low-cost housing construction program. The coöperation of the Labor Department was secured. The Housing Authority conferred with contractors, with union officials, with municipal authorities. The solid shell of resistant building trades unions and contractors was broken. Timid city officials were heartened. An unyielding stand was taken by a democratically administered phase of the Government, and the task was accomplished with almost miraculous simplicity. Negroes were hired as skilled workers on low-cost housing projects all over the country in quotas matching their proportion to the working population, and with no friction to justify the earlier hesitations of municipal authorities. If such a program was possible five years ago when jobs were scarce and unions resisted the entrance of new elements into the labor market, there is no earthly reason to suppose that it cannot be done today if the Government is sufficiently anxious.

There must be a similar revision of our ideas regarding the labor movement when we realize the extent to which racial discrimination in organized labor acts as a block to the entrance of Negroes into defense industry. One is apt to be accused of "labor baiting" if one dares to question the integrity of the labor movement as at present established. Yet, the facts uncovered by the National Urban League in 1930 regarding racial discrimination in organized labor still remain largely unchanged so far as the A.F. of L. and the big railway brotherhoods are concerned.

The twenty-four international unions, ten of them within the A.F. of L., that barred Negroes from membership in 1930 have been reduced in number by only three. In only one of these cases does there seem to have been an actual honest change of

policy. The deliberate barriers set against the Negroes by labor unions still range from the outright exclusion practiced by the Machinists Union through the qualified acceptance given by the sheet-metal workers down to the effective exclusion practiced by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. These unions hold important positions in many defense industries, and their opposition to Negro labor will be more and more effective as the defense program develops, unless corrective steps are planned immediately.

Of course, the rise of the C.I.O. and the increased organization of unions on an industrial basis have included hundreds of thousands of Negro workers and have given to black labor a membership and a protection largely lacking a decade ago. It is true also that the rivalry offered by the C.I.O. has caused several A.F. of L. unions to relax restrictive policies and to adopt, on the surface at least, a more welcoming attitude toward actual and potential Negro membership.

There remains a need for official governmental action to alter this situation and to speed the encouraging tendencies. The facts I have reported illustrate the need for amendment of the National Labor Relations Act so that the support of the Government shall not be placed behind the union which follows an openly avowed policy of exploiting one group of labor for the benefit of another. To put it simply, no union should be allowed the protection of a national or state labor relations act which excludes workers from membership solely on grounds of race, religion, or nationality. Such a union cannot be considered as truly representative of labor, for in the last analysis, its policies are detrimental to the future of labor. The state of Pennsylvania has pointed the way by including in its state labor relations law a clause denying the protection of the act to unions that discriminate against groups of workers because of race, color, or creed. Bills to this effect have been offered in other states, notably, New Jersey and New York. In New York, the bill was killed because of the opposition of organized labor and of self-avowed liberals. There is hope, however, that future reintroduction of the bill in New York and in other states will gradually induce a liberal

public to understand the need for qualifying the protection which the state gives to a labor movement. That protection must be measured in accordance with the responsibility demonstrated by union leadership and by the readiness of the union to give to the workers it professes to represent the same measure of protection and democratic opportunity that it demands from the state. A union which does not accept this responsibility cannot be considered an instrument of democracy, and sooner or later it will meet the opposition of those minority groups to whom the union has refused its benefits.

It is significant that a community of interest is gradually developing among several minority groups in different parts of the country. Negroes, Italians, Jews, Poles, and, in some cases, Catholics, are beginning to recognize that discrimination practiced against one minority is apt to be used against another minority. Thus, in a number of communities, these minority groups, recognizing their common interest, are beginning to develop intelligent action based upon it. The Welfare Council of New York City has appointed a committee on employment problems of minority groups. This committee has published a pamphlet, *Toward Job Adjustment*, aimed at acquainting employment interviewers with effective techniques in placing members of minority groups. The Governor of New York State recently appointed a committee on discrimination in national defense which is meeting regularly and developing a program to combat discrimination against minority groups in defense industries in New York State.

Projects such as these are an important development of recent years because they recognize the fact that seldom is one single minority such as the Negro strong enough to exert effective pressure in the face of strong opposing influence. The significant openings made for Negroes in the defense field have developed only because organizations like the National Urban League, concerned with the welfare of Negroes, have found their efforts backed by truly patriotic groups, church organizations, and civic committees who see the welfare of Negroes as part of the problem of national welfare and security.

Of course, jobs which appear and multiply today will disappear tomorrow as the defense emergency passes. We are concerned about defense employment opportunity for two reasons: One is our desire to establish the Negro worker as a full participant in this program; second, is our recognition of the lasting effects of ideas that are developed and promulgated during the emergency period. We must make a place for Negroes in this emergency program as a means of perpetuating that place when the emergency is over. We must protect the claims of Negroes to equal citizenship by establishing their right to defend their country, whether on the battle or the assembly line. America is giving birth to new ideas overnight. Old habits of thinking are being destroyed. Old principles and ideals are being refurbished and a new understanding of them is being developed. While America's thinking is being renovated, we have an opportunity to shake to pieces this mental stereotype which has frozen public opinion into a highly patternized and undemocratic kind of racial thinking. The Negro will never have a better argument for increased economic opportunity than the need for total national defense. Not again for a long time will he find training facilities so plentiful as today. He may never again find enlightened industrial leadership or Federal and state governments so deeply concerned with the most effective use of all labor. The extent to which the Negro can be integrated into the defense program can be considered as a measure of his chances for economic opportunity in the country of which he is part by birth, by tradition, and by personal devotion.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES IN THE UNITED STATES

I: FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

Jonathan Daniels

I AM NO WELFARE WORKER. I am no social scientist. I am no expert. Most of what I know about the problems of people in defense I learned by talking with them over tin-can coffee in the woods or over beer in the joints from one end of the country to the other. The radios blared or the nickelodeons played while we discussed a sociology which includes us all. This much I think I learned: The problems of defense are no more the sum of statistics than peace was. I think there are few of us who can understand the geometric sums of defense expenditure. It is hard to see the soldier as man in an army increasing to more than a million men, or towns in terms of the even more millions of defense workers. The boom towns are not collections of cases but of people—and a grand people, the whole sum of the possibility of our power. Defense has only made them dramatic and important. What has happened is that the increasingly disturbing foreign situation and the defense which has grown from it have crowded the home problems into a few communities where little that is new has happened, but where the old has been so concentrated and magnified that we can see America, its dangers and its problems, all at once unless we prefer to be blind. We have a chance to understand how to deal with America in terms of democracy, or we may act in the terms of a rich, sprawling land of pushed people such as a lanky, drawling planter once described to me on a little dirt road in the Mississippi Delta. I had stopped to ask my way. He described the dirt road with all its twists and turns and then said: "It messes around a little like

everything else in Mississippi, but I think you'll get there." And sometimes, despite our mobilization for human welfare in the United States in the last eight years, that has still seemed one American way in the great human migration to important jobs which we call defense.

There is no one truly typical defense town. Defense towns include the semirural construction settlements around the new army cantonments and camps, the new flying fields, the new navy posts. They include the settlements around powder factories and shell-loading plants. There are the urban aircraft and shipbuilding centers from San Diego to Bath and from Bremerton to Norfolk. Defense towns are, too, the rapidly expanding old centers of steel and brass and machine tool manufacturing.

Sometimes large cities are able to hide the crowding. Occasionally they are staffed to deal with it. Often they hide deeper and more desperate problems than those which are so evident in the towns without facilities sprawling back from the highways, around the gates of camps where barracks are rushing up from the mud and in localities where factories are being built on ground which only last summer waved with yellow corn.

Everyone must get his first clear picture of the drama of this situation, and mine came at Christmas time last winter in Alexandria, Louisiana. Santa Claus in the little town on the Red River was grinning on the men in that middle South who had money in their breeches, earned from building three near-by camps. There were little Cajun Frenchmen, Texas cowboys in worn, high-heeled boots, farmers from the Feliciana parishes. In that country along the dirt-red river where the year before the frost had killed the cane and stunted the cotton, I know the pay checks raised more "thank Gods" than one.

But there is more to the story. I was in Mobile where work moved in the building of ships and the development of a Caribbean air depot when I received a wire from an editor in New York asking me to go to Alexandria, where flu cases by the thousands had been reported in the press. People were said to be sick in the pews of churches and on pallets in the jail. I went to Alexandria. The situation which had sounded like a plague in the

papers was exaggerated. What influenza there was, was mild. There were no more funerals than usual. What impressed me there was not death, but life. And there was nothing exaggerated about the people crowded in the town and in a whole wide area around it.

Waiters imported from New Orleans were selling drinks on the cash-on-delivery basis in the biggest bar. It was a boom town—a gold-rush town in a land where cash cropping and row cropping, waste of the land and the people, had across the years made a promised land seem at last a land of exploitation, poverty, and pain. And the boom spread in widening circles around the little town, and out there in those circles defense made it possible to see America.

There was enough out there in those crowded woods to be disturbed about. There were children sick in the rain. There were no sanitary facilities except such as the forest afforded. People had to walk far for water, and sometimes it must have been very questionable water. But the impressive thing was not the problems, but the people. They were good, stout, strong people, ingenious in a crowded wilderness, amused often about their difficulties, proud of their cooking in tin cans. I remember some coffee I got there from a man who meant to use the crude shelter he had put up as the material for a hen house when he got back home. He and other men around his coffee can looked, in this modern America, as vigorous and independent as any Americans did in the past. There were boys in those woods (safe from the schools, or denied the opportunities of education, whichever way you want to look at it) who reminded me of Huckleberry Finn, who had come down the big river which was not very far away.

In a war-crowded wilderness, where amoebic dysentery might be more dangerous than a wildcat, they were pioneers still; they were frontiersmen, profoundly changed only by the tremendous significance of the Fords, the Plymouths, and the Chevrolets. They had the old vices and the old virtues of moving Americans. They were as ready to move on in response to the promise of wages as long ago they were ready to move on to new Wests of land or gold—readier to move maybe; certainly abler to move.

For many of them the automobile and not the hearth had become the center of their living. In agricultural regions the defense pull is going to separate many more of them permanently from the land and turn them permanently to the town and the road or a rootless combination of both.

No other fact about defense, North or South or West, is so dramatic as the defense worker's mobility. If the army failed to mechanize, the people did not. There were ten times as many automobiles in America last year as there were in 1915 when the last war boom in America began. The number had not only increased, it had spread downward to the masses of the people. And defense showed that many of them looked for security, not in a home, but in the chance to move after the hope of a job. That, in addition to crowded houses, made workers prefer to live in trailers, even when the snow was up to their hub caps. Wheels have changed our country and altered the pattern of this boom. Wheels have served to reduce the pressure on defense towns by the long riding of workers between beds and jobs. They have increased the range of the crowding in a movement of job seekers across whole regions. Indeed, at a time when some sections were complaining of overcrowding, Wyoming wondered about the social problems which would be created by people moving out. The deserted village is the other half of every age's boom town.

But defense seems to be where the people are—the workers and the soldiers, and not only the workers and the soldiers, but the women and the children. And people mean, or ought to mean, houses. No sensible person should minimize the size of the job of putting shelter over the heads of a million new soldiers. That means construction equivalent to fifteen cities larger than Atlantic City, not counting the need for housing civilians and defense workers. In a remarkable fashion, it has been done. Much fun has been made of cotton choppers who turned up as carpenters, and of welders who until they were on the jobs did not know a blowtorch from a popgun. Their achievements are often more thrilling than amusing.

There has never been in America any worse housing than that which sheltered a great many men who built the barracks

for the soldiers. Anything that anyone has ever heard about bad housing could be duplicated in some of the towns which the army created overnight around its camps and its factories. You cannot bring 14,000 workmen into a town of 500 people and hope to house them. Yet that was the expectation at Childersburg, Alabama. Such military planning sometimes seemed, indeed, to be a scheme against housing. That happened not only in the towns, but in the open country too. Indeed, through its land acquisitions before the first year of defense was ended, the Government had taken away the homes of almost as many farmers as the Farm Security Administration, in three years, had helped to acquire farms under the Tenant Purchase Act.

In the eight years before the defense movement began there was more thinking about housing done on the Government pay roll than in the whole previous history of America. That thinking did not keep men out of the rain. In fact, when a whole year had passed after the German invasion of Norway, after billions had been spent for defense, less than two thousand dwelling units had been provided out of Federal funds for all the defense workers in private industry in America. The situation is improving. But bad conditions still remain. Big wages go in big rents. The fear of future ghost towns sometimes protects present "grab" towns. Problems of housing are sometimes considered more in terms of industry's desire to have its workers sleeping over half of New England or a big part of the Middle West, and organized labor's wish to have them congregated near their organizers, than in terms of the shelter of the people. It has been a sad story, and as a friend of public housing it does not please me that the flophouses beat public housing to the job by almost a year.

Public health in defense is a part of the same picture. The American genius for construction showed itself in the swiftness with which thousands of workers were rushed into the building of the giant powder factory close to Charlestown, Indiana, which had a population of 800 people. But the construction was practically finished before the town had a sewer line. And some little towns—towns which have grown for the job and for the job alone—see no prospect of ever having any. Fortunately for the

substantial villages which have grown up at the gates of some camps, health officials have developed a sort of demountable sanitary privy which can be brought in by the truck load. But in the small towns near the big camps the absolute lack of toilet facilities for the soldiers and civilians is a problem not yet solved. The army undoubtedly has to protect itself first. At its camps it has been building some of the best and most modern water and sewerage plants in America. But those plants are for the camps alone. The soldier-serving communities about their gates, where the soldiers go, where the soldiers eat, have been denied the right to participate in such facilities, although the towns in many cases only exist because of the soldier community. Health seems to some military men to be a problem which can be limited by a fence.

That fence is an important thing in all this American defense movement. It rises not only between the soldiers and the civilians, but also between the divisions of our government, local, state, and Federal. It rises also between divisions in the same government. Drainage ditches to remove the danger of malaria in some camp regions where malaria is common (and also where, though harmless at the moment, the yellow-fever-carrying mosquitoes exist too) are subject to some sort of supervision by officials who seem to be more concerned with saving wild life than with saving people. I listened to a health officer explode because his malaria-control program had been, as he felt, endangered by another official who feared that it might hasten the extinction of the ivory-billed woodpecker. I'm afraid his interest in human life dulled his enthusiasm for wild life at that moment.

There is scarcely any limit to the health problems involved, particularly in the smaller defense towns, which are closest to the soldiers. There is a lack of hospitals. There are the women (some with babies coming) in crowded boardinghouses and hardly habitable shacks. Not long ago a California health officer declared that so far no babies had been born in the streets, but that a good many had arrived under very undesirable conditions. Food preparation and dishwashing in cafés and lunchrooms large enough to accommodate fifty people in an evening leave much

to be desired when goo come in to be fed. I was in one defense town where not a single café, according to health officers, was entitled to a better rating than Grade C.

Increasingly around all the defense towns, particularly in those closest to the men in our armed services, the problem of syphilis infection mounts in disturbing degree. Vice, apparently, is an inevitable aspect of boom. Vice has always followed mobilized men, but the decentralization of vice which had already occurred in this automobile age in peacetime gives a different pattern to it now and increases the problem of dealing with it. Charles P. Taft and his associates are giving proper attention to this problem. They have secured legislation to assist in repression and have wisely understood the need for decent recreation as a means of reducing dangerous vice. I do not mean to be critical of their activities when I point out that while the Government is just now preparing to build necessary recreation houses and facilities, the "juke house" has been on the job from the beginning. Juke houses, dine-and-dances, honky-tonks, taverns, and the like have undoubtedly done plenty of damage in the past year. Those soldiers of Fort Knox knew what they were talking about when they named one such rendezvous the "Plus Four." But we might as well remember that for literally thousands of Americans they provided the only available gathering places. A young mother in a tent near her husband's job depended on such a place for the only drinking water she could get for her children. And she got advice there, too, and neighborliness.

Since I am assuming the position of the devil's advocate for the juke houses, I want to say also a word for the prostitutes. It is proper for us as a people to take such measures as are being taken to protect the young men of America from the dangers of syphilis which the presence of such women means. But in an America concerned presumably with the quality of its democracy as well as with its defense, it seems to me that we should remember that the prevalence of prostitution and the incidence of syphilis in these United States follow almost statistically the level of poverty in the states. Just as the rush to the defense jobs indicated more dramatically than any statistics the unem-

ployment, the underemployment, the need of men, so the prevalence of prostitution indicates, not any special disposition to wickedness, but a determination by young women to eat. That is no basis for neglecting the danger, but it is a basis for understanding the proportions of a threat to security in our democracy which does not come from overseas.

Recreation is more important, I think, for all concerned than repression. Indeed, the absence of decent places of recreation and amusement has been responsible, in large part, for the big crop of pay-day-night drunks in defense town police courts, for disturbing venereal disease statistics in some camps. In construction camps as well as in military camps, for a long time, recreation simply did not exist except in the shooting galleries, the joints, the stands of the tattoo artists and the fortunetellers, and in the liquor stores. Even access to movies has been limited.

I remember one old fellow in the crowded little town of Tullahoma, Tennessee, where men lined the sidewalks in aimlessness at night. "What do you do for fun?" I asked. "Oh, we just stand around and look at each other and laugh," was the reply. It is not a form of entertainment which will suffice forever. More entertainment on military posts and off them is essential. And it must be recreation which is not only safer and purer, but just as satisfying, as exciting even, as that which threatened their safety and their health. Men want to be gay and not merely good. We need decency but we won't get it with any insistence on solemnity.

There are solemn things enough to contemplate. Every problem of human welfare in America can be found in the two-hundred-odd places which are the centers of defense. There are people broke in localities where men draw big wages. Educational authorities have estimated that a quarter of a million new children will crowd the old, inadequate schools. Not only are there girls coming to the towns, but also there are the wives left—and sometimes forgotten—in the country. There are local schoolteachers and welfare workers watching rents going up while their salaries stay where they were. There is the coming problem of tenants who will never find a place on the land—or

never want one—after the layoff from their defense job. There are the sick and the stranded beside the skilled and the strong—America bringing all its problems and all its hopes to the jobs.

It is a grand America and it has already done a magnificent job. Indeed, the native wisdom and the native willingness of the ordinary people have impressed me more than anything I have seen in defense. Sometimes the ingenuity with which a laborer has built a shack has impressed me more than the manner in which a general has planned a camp. They are good, strong, work-ready, laughing people. The soldiers are the same folk. It seems a pity that sometimes there is a sort of fence between them, that there is a cleavage in thinking like that represented by the "other side of the railroad tracks" in old American small-town social thinking. And in health and welfare I doubt that any nation any more than any small town can intelligently draw that line.

Although the line remains, it is disappearing. Already Congress is providing funds to relieve the pressure on the bulging towns. Workers will be housed and hospitalized. In the army camp towns, the naval cities, the industrial centers, there are plans for schools and health and welfare. The dirty cafés may be expected to be cleaned. Bad girls will be driven away—how far away, I do not know. Both factories and camps are being completed and crowds disperse as quickly as they came, though the dispersal is not without pains of its own. Around completed camps and factories the worst conditions will disappear. In the new camps and new factories, by means of a program which nobody in America dares limit or measure, there may be more initial planning and less initial planless push. The planners for people might even get to those camps along with the military engineers and before the prostitutes. They might even make clear sense out of the complexity of the experts, civil and military, social, legal, agricultural, medical, and scientific, who come out of Washington. Nothing is more to be hoped for.

All the Americans I have seen were laughing at their difficulties if they were not angered or frightened by some immediate

emergency. Sometimes they laugh even in trouble. Indeed, a sense of humor seems everywhere most keenly developed where living is not easy. But in defense you cannot laugh off sickness and accident which mean more loss in labor than do strikes. You cannot laugh off labor turnover at a time when all emphasis is upon the development and use of skill. Nothing has been made more apparent in this war than that the civilian forces in defense are as essential as the military forces and that the productivity of one is the absolute basis of the power of the other.

In this age of specialization it is perhaps no wonder that action in terms of this knowledge has been of slow growth. There have been some jurisdictional strikes between officials in Washington as well as in plants across the nation. It is probably an essential of doing a good piece of work for every specialist to think his job is the most important. But even if most of us work as specialists, we live as a whole people dependent upon all the protections a variety of specialists and officials can provide—or which, in competitive confusion, they fail to provide.

I believe that confusion is waning in the defense centers. We approach, I think, a time in which coördinators can coördinate in human terms and coöperators will be the servants of coöperation instead of confusion. We are beginning to get over the conflicts and the complexities of Federal, state, and local divisions and the divisions of responsibility so far as the defense centers are concerned. I think the fence between the soldiers and the civilians, and the fence between workers in the factory and out of it, has less barbed wire than at first it did. Indeed, sometimes we seem almost to be approaching an overemphasis on problems in a few places where the defense importance is most apparent. As always in America there seems to be a tendency sometimes to make a showy solution of showy problems. It is proposed that we as a people deal with education, housing, welfare, morality, recreation, in these few places, in terms of an opulence unknown in the surrounding country where thousands of people live who are not drawing defense wages. Nothing is too good for the men—or their families—who with tool or weapon serve our security, but we

must remember that in important particulars the problems of defense boom towns provide only a dramatic, spot-lit presentation of the problems of America. The tragic thing about some of the worst conditions has been that they seemed neither remarkably bad nor remarkably strange to many of the people who shared them. In a real sense, defense boom towns have dramatized the faults of our democracy while we prepared to defend it.

The problems in those towns must be met, and quickly. Our special interest in them is our special interest in our security. Even if some say we have not time to think about it now or to do much about it now, we must remember that many of the ugliest aspects of the defense towns were merely a concentration of the ugliest aspects of America where they could be seen. We are not going to win the war for democracy—not this particular war, but the long war for democracy in terms of the American dream—until we make democracy everywhere something which is not a problem for welfare workers but which is a decent home for people.

The American people are worthy of such a democracy—the steam fitter, the soldier, the woman hanging out the wash in the woods, their children and the children of all America. The emptied farms and deserted towns are as much parts of America as the crowded places. The selectee's morale depends not only on conditions around a camp in Georgia, but also upon the situation he left behind him in Kansas or Vermont—and that is equally true of the man in the aircraft factory. There may be, as some men have said, who looked at the maps instead of the people on the roads, no longer any frontier in America. There are also no dependable distances. Our unity is inescapable. This is the one America of a tough, hearty, humorous, work-ready people. The only way to deal with its morale in defense—to protect its health and welfare—is in recognition of the fact that defense is the business of the whole people and that it is the whole people who are to be defended. The task of maintaining decency in democracy is not interrupted by democracy's defense. It becomes, indeed, that defense itself.

II: FROM THE NATIONAL VIEWPOINT

Charles P. Taft

IN CONSIDERING the place of social work in a time of unlimited emergency, the most important question is the simple one, "What are the jobs to be done?" That is what we need to keep always in front of us.

In the field of health our first problem is to insure adequate hospital facilities and medical care for the sick at reasonable cost. When both facilities and care are inadequate to start with, and then 1,500,000 people are dislocated by defense activities of various kinds, a problem that has been chronic becomes acute. You need doctors first of all. The army and navy call enough to active duty to care for the 1,500,000 soldiers and sailors, but those doctors do not take care of the new migrants to defense areas. Because reserve commissions in the medical corps were distributed without any particular plan, the calls to active duty have seriously affected many geographical areas and some lines of specialization. Resident physicians and internes for hospitals are at a premium, and the supply of nurses is equally short. The resident and interne situation has recently been greatly improved by new selective service rulings, and we have hopes for an improved plan for the selection of doctors. We are recommending an appropriation to some five or six hundred schools and hospitals for refresher courses in general nursing, for post-graduate courses in specialties, and to stimulate an increase in original enrollment of students and nursing aides.

The Public Health Service has made reconnaissance surveys of three hundred or more areas affected by defense activities, and gone vigorously to work with the state departments of health to provide adequate public health personnel. The Service has been conducting training courses for many recruits who are already reaching the field. This process is typical of the pattern of operation in the Coördinator's office. Federal personnel

does not do this job. It analyzes the need and stirs up the localities through the states to do their own job. It has used the grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act—both those for public health and those for venereal disease control—to stimulate a special state and local attention to defense areas. There is really one big team going after the national public health problem, training personnel, planning for pure water supply and adequate sewage disposal and treatment, extending the control of venereal disease and malaria and every other disease that blocks our defense efforts.

Because venereal disease and social conditions in areas outside Federal reservations and defense industry have such profound effects upon health and morale, we are recruiting a new staff to conduct an especially vigorous campaign for social protection. A group of men in our twelve regions and some special localities will undertake to explain the Federal policy on this problem. It calls for prompt and thorough treatment of all infected persons, including quarantine for all venereal disease carriers; convenient prophylaxis for all who have been exposed; reduction of the number of exposures by vigorous suppression of commercialized prostitution; and a thoroughgoing educational program about this health menace to the armed forces—which in peacetime is four times greater than any other single health hazard. The chaplains, the medical officers, the commanding officers, and our civilian representatives join in the determination to reduce the venereal rate to the lowest possible point. That does not mean Federal law enforcement through the Department of Justice unless it is absolutely necessary, for in nearly all cases local law enforcement and public health officials will produce results when they know we mean business. Half of this staff will work on the problems of delinquent and predelinquent girls, again not by doing the job themselves, but by an educational program which will lead the communities and states to employ additional children's and women's protective workers.

In the case of family welfare it is the old problem of enabling local and state welfare agencies to employ enough competent people to handle the extra load put on them by the new transients.

We hope for a sufficient appropriation to enable us to study the permanent effects of these mushroom growths around camps and defense industries. From those investigations we expect to get facts upon which the states and localities can base policies which can help their new citizens to decent community living. The recommendation of the Social Security Board, the National Resources Board, and the Tolan Committee has now been endorsed by our Family Security Committee for a grant-in-aid under the Social Security Act for general relief, based upon equal treatment for transients and residents. Such legislation would undoubtedly call for additional personnel in many of the states which now have no general relief at all.

A different kind of personnel is called for by the recommendation of the Family Security Committee for the encouragement of volunteer service. That takes equally careful selection and training so far as the case work agencies are concerned. It is the first step and the most important one in a most necessary effort to improve the public relations of social work.

In education we have a small temporary staff which is reviewing the needs of the communities that are going to be burdened next fall by 250,000 extra children without schoolrooms. That staff comes mostly from top people with state departments of education. In the field of nutrition we are hoping to supervise a considerable volume of research by outside agencies, but for the dissemination of existing information and the stimulation of the use of good food and sound food habits we are counting heavily on existing field services of the Public Health Service and the Department of Agriculture and of the state departments of health and education. We work through representative nutrition committees in each state.

In the field of recreation we have completed the first phase of our defense effort. Since the middle of February we have recruited seventy men, of whom ten are regional workers and the balance, local representatives of our office. They are trained recreation and council-of-social-agencies people with competence in community organization. They have brought nearly two hundred defense areas to an understanding of their local responsi-

bility. They have organized community councils, representative of all interests, to undertake the provision, at least on a temporary basis, of simple necessary facilities, and to build normal home hospitality for men in uniform. They are now working out with these councils and the United Service Organizations individual community patterns of service, as well as plans for sites and types of more or less permanent facilities to be constructed by the Government. This process has been and continues to be a real education in democracy.

Of course, the most interesting element in this whole program, and the most important, too, in its success, is the selection and training of personnel, not only the personnel on our own staff, but the personnel we induce the states and localities to employ. In business as well as in social work there is no more difficult problem. It seems to me that in this field of human welfare there are three basic elements that are generally overlooked, or at least not always recognized in exactly the terms I shall use to describe them. The first is political sense; the second is general competence; and the third is religious dynamic.

By political sense I do not mean playing politics. Playing politics means something petty which loses sight of long-time goals in some immediate and personal advantage. Political sense, to me, is that understanding of human nature which shows you how to act and what to say in order to persuade individuals or groups to do and believe in the objectives for which you are fighting. Political sense also shows you what not to do and not to say. F. S. Oliver described politics as the endless adventure of governing men. That comes close to it, but from the politicians' angle. I'm thinking rather of the social worker's problem of dealing with families, with public officials, with boards, with newspapers. You might call it public relations.

Political sense does not mean cynicism. The greatest politicians, the really great ones, are idealists. When a person is dealing with human lives, trying to build character, to rebuild families, to rehabilitate broken-down bodies, and bring back the waters of life into parched souls, that person had better be an idealist or find a different job. The greatest politicians are

idealists as well as realists. They really believe that democratic government can work. They can take a licking and come back for more. They have a sense of humor and see their own lives in proportion. They have to deal with people and persuade them. They can't sit back and feel hurt or angry because people don't appreciate what they're doing. They have to see to it that people do understand their objectives, and want them too. They have to be patient and work for the long pull.

I plead for general competence. I am in favor of thorough educational processes, but those who have tried to build a science of society comparable to a science of mathematics or physics have not yet succeeded and have often produced pretty sad results. The civil service of England is built, not upon this cubbyhole process of ours in the United States, but upon general education and in-service training. The American nation of a hundred years ago was wrong when it thought that every citizen was competent to hold every public office in rotation, but we are equally wrong when we think a specialized degree is the answer to a personnel officer's prayer. It isn't. The "Message to Garcia" is shopworn, but it still carries the truth that "by their fruits ye shall know them," especially when you need fruit in a hurry. Let's have more people who can do things they weren't trained for, who have gumption and resource and a broad way of looking at things.

By a religious dynamic I do not mean a formal acceptance of a creed, although even that ought not to be held against an applicant. Neither do I mean something sanctimonious or sentimental. I mean two things. The first is that conviction about a moral purpose in the universe that keeps one driving toward perfection without haste and without rest. The second is that feeling for people which grows out of belief in the dignity of human personality. I don't know how much thought is given to what it is in people that produces drive toward a goal, in spite of hell and high water and dumbbells and geniuses and just ordinary stubborn humans. I say that when that drive is for the meeting of human needs, it had better be associated with the Jewish-Christian conviction about a moral universe which Wal-

ter Lippmann says is one of the two main sources of our modern democratic civilization.

So far as the second point is concerned, a belief in people and their capacity and affection for them in all their funny and tragic aspects, that is equally a key to real social reform. It is significant that Karl Marx didn't think much of people. I have known of welfare operations in which those in charge could, without a quiver, contemplate hundreds of men and women in need waiting in line to be interviewed all day and all of two or three days, and then shuttling back and forth with similar waits elsewhere and never a simple answer to a simple question. They could even send them away with a card to return in a week, and only an untrained administrative work reliefer to say whether it was an emergency case deserving immediate care. I'm not a softy. In fact, I can say "No!" quicker to some of those people than the interviewer or case worker or administrator who thought it a kindness, or at least less wearing, to stall with a promise when the right answer was "No!"

The public welfare case worker and many another social worker has God's power of life and death over his cases. Without humbling yourself in seeking a goal far bigger than yourself, and without deep feeling for humankind, you can't draw that line between cruelty and sentimentality.

That kind of personnel, with a religious dynamic and general competence and political sense, is terribly needed today. I believe the leaders of social work can perform a tremendous service for their profession if they talk more about those elements and less about professional standards. We need standards but we need more of the amateur spirit. We should work for standards of training, but we need, too, to shout more for the other things. I am more than proud of what social workers have done in the depression; they have been the real front line. Analyze the motive power that has produced their most successful individual accomplishments. Describe that and tell people about it. Then perhaps you can look for reward before you get to heaven.

TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS IN THE UNITED STATES

Arthur J. Altmeyer

THE COUNTRIES of the American hemisphere threw off their colonial status and emerged as independent nations at approximately the same time, as world history goes. In the course of their relatively brief histories these American nations have faced three major problems in common: first, the establishment of each nation as an independent entity; second, the establishment and development of a democratic foundation; and third, adjustments to increasing industrialization.

Democratic principles first developed in a setting which was primarily agricultural. The onset of the industrial age brought new problems which required a rethinking of the objectives of democracy and the development of new methods to meet new conditions. It became increasingly important that society, in order to preserve and strengthen its own healthy development along democratic lines, should preserve and strengthen the individual security of its members.

Throughout the American republics, the goal of social security represents a major effort of society to maintain and promote the security of its members, and through this healthy development of personal security to strengthen the foundation of democracy. As is characteristic of the democratic way of action, different countries are using in many instances different methods, appropriate to the varying needs and customs of their several peoples. I can make no pretense to a comprehensive acquaintance with social security measures throughout the Western Hemisphere, yet, I have been especially impressed by a number of instances in which the signal achievements of one country offer

examples of special interest to all. Our own social security program, here in the United States, was instituted less than six years ago, and although important gaps and inadequacies remain, our progress has been truly notable.

The old age and survivors insurance program is the basic provision against old age insecurity. The benefits of the program are available to all who qualify under the law. The means test is neither a condition of eligibility nor a factor in determining the amount of the benefit. The 1939 amendments, by providing that benefits be payable earlier and to family members as well as insured workers, have increased the potentialities of this program and have lessened the tendency in some quarters to consider old age assistance, which is a program based on individual need, as the basic protection of the aged. Thus there has been clarification of the purpose and function of the old age assistance program, which is to care for those not covered under the old age insurance program and for those whose needs are not adequately met through their old age insurance benefits, and the pressures to convert the assistance program into a flat pension program have been greatly lessened.

Under the 1939 amendments benefits were provided for certain dependents and survivors of insured workers. By taking account of the increased need of the worker who has dependents, and the needs of families deprived of their breadwinners, the law offers more generally adequate benefits and, therefore, benefits that are socially more effective. In other words, the emphasis is now placed upon the immediate and social effectiveness of the program in terms of families, rather than upon long-range and individual savings aspects.

The employment security program has had in the past two broad aims: placement of workers in jobs through the employment service, and payment of unemployment insurance benefits to workers thrown out of jobs. To these are now added the special services geared to the immediate needs and the prospective economic and social repercussions of our country's program for national defense.

The employment service is already an integral part of the

defense program. The 1,500 local employment offices and 3,000 part-time offices covering the entire United States are the recruitment centers for men and women in the army of industry. The task of finding men for defense jobs is no longer an easy one. During the past year unemployment has sharply declined and employment is now at an all-time peak, surpassing the 1929 level. There are already labor shortages in over a hundred essential defense occupations. In sixteen defense occupations we do not have a single person registered at any employment office in the entire United States. Consequently, from now on, more and more of the skilled and semiskilled labor needed in key defense occupations must be recruited from among workers employed in less essential industries.

There are several sources of labor supply, however, which have not been fully utilized, and all of us must bend every effort to see that the nation makes maximum use of existing skills and man power. The restrictive hiring practices of some employers prevent employment of qualified Negro workers, qualified physically handicapped workers, and foreign-born persons. The imposition of such restrictions creates artificial shortages; it encourages unnecessary migration; it is a waste which impedes the successful operation of the defense program.

The work of the employment service in making maximum utilization of all available human resources must be based upon detailed information concerning the labor market and related matters. Surveys of labor shortages, future labor needs, wage rates, transportation and housing facilities have been completed for about a hundred communities, and another hundred surveys are in progress. In addition, the employment service is advising training agencies concerning labor shortages so that training may be geared to the real needs of employers and the defense program. The employment service is also engaged in the task of advising employers concerning the best utilization of local labor, the need for elimination of restrictive hiring practices, the availability of labor in other communities, and similar problems.

While the number of persons receiving unemployment insurance has been dropping under the stimulus of defense production,

there will undoubtedly still exist much short-time unemployment due to priorities, completion of particular construction projects, and the restrictions on production of less essential goods. Therefore, the unemployment insurance system will continue to meet a real need. Unfortunately, however, under most state laws the weekly benefits are too low, the duration of benefits is too short, and the waiting period is too long. Moreover, the available reserves are too large in some states, and too small in others. In other words, we must admit that our unemployment insurance system is neither adequate nor safe. If this situation continues, the ability of unemployment insurance to meet its post-defense obligations will be seriously impaired. The general failure of state legislatures to plug up wide gaps in state laws reflects failure to prepare for the cessation of defense production. Unless a sound benefit and financial structure is assured, we will enter the post-defense period with social facilities sadly deficient for coping with the problem of unemployment.

The social insurance programs are affecting the special assistance loads only slightly as yet. Therefore, during the six years of the social security program, there has been a steady rise in the number of persons assisted and the amount of money expended under the three special types of public assistance now included under the Social Security Act. The general relief case load is decreasing, at the moment, under the stimulus of increased industrial activity. However, it appears likely that the number receiving general relief will not continue to decrease at the same rate, since an increasingly large proportion of the households remaining on relief do not contain an employable person. Moreover, the number of dependents of those in military service who will be in need may increase. Some men discharged from military service or returned from induction centers as physically or mentally unable to perform military duty are finding themselves unable to obtain employment. Establishment of defense projects, which employ large numbers of workers away from their homes, has increased need in many ways. When such workers become sick or unemployed in places where they do not have residence they are usually not eligible for public assistance. Increased living

costs, especially in defense areas, intensify need among those already dependent.

The attitude of the community toward any minority group is significant today when, throughout the world, so many minorities are being ignored and persecuted. Some four million persons in receipt of assistance under the Federal-state programs represent a significant minority of our population, which is very greatly increased when one adds the number of persons aided through the state and local general relief programs and the various Federal work programs.

Once public relief carried with it a severe stigma for those who had to seek aid. Now it is becoming generally recognized that dependency upon the community for support does not and should not deprive individuals of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. There is a growing realization, encouraged by certain provisions in the Social Security Act, that persons in receipt of assistance have a right to plan their own way of life (as is made possible by unconditioned money payments); to know and to share in the decisions regarding their eligibility for assistance (as guaranteed by the right to a fair hearing before the state agency); and to protection from humiliation and exploitation (as guaranteed by legal and administrative provisions which restrict the use of information concerning applicants and recipients to purposes directly related to the administration of assistance). While these ideas are not yet thoroughly understood and accepted in every locality, there is a growing appreciation that they are necessary to preserve the integrity of the individual and the family. Thus our democratic way of life is being strengthened through practical application of these principles.

At this time of national stock-taking and preparation it is necessary to consider the capacity of the social security program to take on added duties and responsibilities, both with respect to existing activities and with respect to new types of activities.

In contrast to the situation in previous periods of emergency, there is now a far-flung system of organizations in local communities throughout the nation, including old age and survivors insurance field offices, employment offices, and public welfare

agencies. They are competent and ready, through an expansion of their present operations, to take on whatever additional responsibilities they may be required to shoulder. For example, there is now, in every county in the country, an agency administering one or more types of public assistance. The Social Security Board has encouraged the states to provide integrated administration of the public assistance programs, and most states now have one well-organized public welfare agency instead of a multiplicity of small agencies in each county. It would be a logical development if these established agencies are called upon to perform duties incident to civilian defense. The Federal Security Administrator is the Coordinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities, and the regional directors of the Social Security Board are his representatives in their respective regions.

That public welfare agencies alone are not in a position to meet all the needs that may arise in the present emergency is also generally accepted. For the nation as a whole, as well as on a regional, state, and local basis, social and health agencies under private auspices, sectarian and nonsectarian, are also playing an integral part in planning to meet welfare and health needs so that the internal defense of the country may be preserved. Based on a mutual respect which has resulted in part from the leadership of private agency representatives in obtaining social legislation, and in part from the exchange of experience following the transfer of many persons from private to public social work, effective joint planning by governmental and voluntary agencies is now possible and practical. It may confidently be expected that the coöperative efforts now well developed will lead to a further clarification of the functions and a strengthening of the position of both the private and the public agencies of the country.

Throughout its course one of the most important aspects of the social security legislation has been that relating to effective administration. To this end, state programs for public assistance and employment security have been required to provide for the employment of personnel on a merit basis. As a result, agencies have analyzed their functions and operations, and are selecting staff members on the basis of competitive examinations. Improvement

of performance can be anticipated as a result of the plans for staff development which are following the installations of merit systems. Personnel administration on a merit basis will contribute to the development of "proper and efficient administration," and will relieve administrators of undesirable political pressures and reduce the rate of staff turnover. The operation of merit systems should result in an improved quality of administration and permit the Federal role in Federal-state programs to be more truly advisory and consultative than it has been heretofore.

Improvement of administrative techniques and organization has an especially important bearing on the future of the program for old age and survivors insurance. The original exclusion of certain employments from the program was due to the administrative difficulties which would have been involved, particularly in the early stages of operation. The increasing facility and efficiency with which wage records have been maintained and benefits paid have prepared the ground for early extensions of insurance coverage. These administrative developments have also prepared the ground for early extension in the scope of protection afforded by the program, for example, to include permanent total disability.

Our future goal should be the establishment of a comprehensive system of social insurance to provide a minimum basic protection against the economic hazards of unemployment, sickness, disability, old age, and death. Extension of the present old age and survivors insurance and unemployment compensation programs to include groups now excluded is of major importance, as is the establishment of a program covering the risk of disability. There is a growing demand for protection for groups now excluded, notably the self-employed, employees of certain nonprofit organizations, and employees of state and local governments who are now without retirement protection. There is also a growing realization that the program will be incomplete until it provides insurance against that premature old age which is permanent disability.

In the slump that is likely to follow the defense program, unemployment compensation will become of crucial importance.

It should prove a bulwark against the demoralization and suffering that have been taken for granted in major depressions of the past. But if unemployment compensation is to serve this purpose, three conditions must be fulfilled. Benefit provisions under state unemployment compensation laws must be made more nearly adequate. The coverage of these laws must be extended. At present only half of the gainful workers of the country are covered by unemployment compensation. Unless coverage is extended, any increase in benefit rights to workers now covered will only emphasize the inequity of restricting the plan to a fraction of our workers. Further, there must be no reduction in unemployment compensation taxes. A reduction at the present time would prevent the accumulation of reserves which are necessary for future benefit payments.

In addition to the cash benefits provided under the various social insurances we must provide constructive social services. Our principal need is a program to make medical care more generally available to individuals and their families so that we may build a healthier and happier nation.

No social insurance program can cover all possible contingencies. It is essential, therefore, that the present public assistance programs be made more nearly adequate. In particular, there should be special Federal aid to low-income states, more nearly adequate aid to dependent children, and more effective provisions for the medical care of recipients of all types of public assistance.

For many years the Federal Government has assumed responsibility for certain aspects of public health work. Services and research directed toward the prevention and control of communicable diseases have had far-reaching effects on the health of the country. Under the Social Security Act research work has been extended and grants are being made to states for maternal and child health, for crippled children, and for the expansion of state and local public health facilities. Under the Venereal Disease Control Act research work has been increased, and grants are being made to states for venereal disease control work. State and local funds are used to provide medical care for persons who

are unable to provide it for themselves, but such funds, in many places, are woefully insufficient. That Federal funds should be made available to assist the states and local communities to meet these needs is becoming recognized. Health needs are now prominently before the public because of the high proportion of medical rejections among young men subject to Selective Service and the acute health deficiencies in certain defense areas and industries.

The need for Federal grants to the states for assistance to needy persons not included in the present Federal-state programs has been recognized for several years. Despite the present reduction in general relief for the country as a whole, there is now and will continue to be a very real need for an adequate general assistance program in many areas where little if anything has been done. A Federal-state general assistance program would be the most flexible of all the social security programs and the most readily adaptable to emergency situations, such as those which have already arisen in certain defense areas. The dislocations due to the national defense effort are causing unexpected needs to arise. A program with the flexibility of general assistance would be the best mechanism to meet needs wherever and whenever they might arise and to direct the expenditure of public funds toward the most urgent situations.

In addition to our long-range programs, the present emergency requires us to give consideration to certain special problems which will arise, especially if the emergency becomes more serious. Among these are the problems of preserving the social insurance rights of men inducted into the armed forces, providing for the families of these men while the breadwinner is serving the country, and providing for that future period of transition when huge numbers of men and women will be leaving the armed forces and the defense industries and will be seeking to re-enter other jobs and to make readjustment to normal community life.

With a flaming continent across the seas, the nations of the American hemisphere cannot count themselves secure. The American nations must draw upon all their material and spiritual forces to defend themselves. To these ends, the contribution of

social security is basic, for it is through social security that great masses of the citizens of our countries can be assured decent food, clothing, and shelter, and essential health services necessary to make them able and willing defenders of their country and their way of life.

In the past, when the pace of national as well as individual life was slower, there might have been some cold comfort in the acceptance of social inadequacies because we believed that social programs develop only gradually and slowly. Now, when our democratic institutions are under attack, it is imperative that we quicken the tempo of social progress and demonstrate to the world that the goals of humanity can best be met through democratic government and the democratic way of life.

TRENDS OF SOCIAL WORK IN CHILE

Luz Tocornal de Romero

CHILE IS A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC which has about five million people, the Government of which is of a unitary character; that is, all the power is concentrated in the President and in the two legislative chambers. Provinces are under the jurisdiction of deputies of the President. Thus all laws apply to the entire country and there are no local governments. Individuals over twenty-one years of age who know how to read and write can vote, although women can vote only in municipal elections. Women have had this privilege for six or eight years, and during this period the conservative parties have received more votes in the municipal elections than in the national ones. There are numerous political parties with a marked tendency toward the left, which is perhaps too pronounced for the present state of our culture.

We have a homogeneous race, which is chiefly of Spanish origin. Mixture with other Europeans dates back eighty or ninety years, and has produced good results. Since there are no Negroes and the few remaining Indians live on reservations, we have no racial problems. Generally speaking, individuals are sturdy, which has allowed them to endure years of malnutrition and precarious economic conditions. This strength has been preserved by geographical circumstances as well as by a good racial origin. We are isolated by a chain of mountains, which before the days of aviation were impassable during most of the year, and by the Pacific Ocean. The opening of the Panama Canal diverted shipping which formerly went through the Strait of Magellan and used our ports.

The national language is Spanish and the Indian dialects have disappeared. Primary education is compulsory up to the age of

fourteen, and for the large part of the population this is the only education they receive. Control is wholly in the hands of the State. Although the country is Catholic the sentiment is not as strong as in other countries. There is religious freedom, perhaps only nominal since there are no other denominations.

Our population density is very low, but there are extensive nonarable areas. This circumstance also explains why communities are isolated and distant, roads not always good, and communication difficult. Such hindrances of transportation are enhanced by the fact that the people have a tendency to live on the land that they till rather than to congregate in small villages. This dissemination of the rural population makes difficult communal sanitation, commerce, education, and social work.

As a nation we should be classified as agricultural, in spite of the fact that we have rapidly developing industries and rather important mining projects. Development of synthetic nitrate and increased duties on our copper have diminished the sources of income and have struck a severe blow at our economy. It is no exaggeration to say that the country is really poor and the exploitation of its resources entails constant and tremendous effort. This poverty is partially compensated for by a complex of laws and social organizations which work rather efficiently.

Among the most important of the social organizations is the Workers Compulsory Insurance Fund (Caja de Seguro Obrero). State, employer, and employee must all subscribe, and the money is spent for general medical care, including maternity care, old age, disability, etc. The provisions of the law include not only medical care, but also drugs, sanatorium care, and care during pregnancy and of the child during its first two years of life. During sickness, pregnancy, and nursing, part of the worker's salary is paid. These measures are intended to protect not only the workers, but also industry, because efficient treatment of the patient means less absenteeism and less compensation for disability and old age. With some differences in the organization there are compulsory insurance funds for the white-collar workers. The benefits of these funds are also felt in the purely economic field, since an insured person is allowed to borrow in order to buy

urban or rural properties. Besides permitting the individual to become a landowner, this measure has had the additional beneficial effect of dividing the land.

Recently a so-called Preventive Medicine Law has been promulgated, which establishes occupational medical services to which individuals may go for a complete pre-employment and periodical medical examination. Curiously enough, the same law provides care when the disease found on examination is tuberculosis, heart disease or, to a certain extent, a venereal or occupational disease.

The majority of the hospitals in Chile are either free or almost entirely so. All of them are grouped together under a single board, upon which the Government can exert direct control. The Welfare Board (*Dirección General de Beneficencia*) also takes care of a large number of dependent children. This institution, the oldest and having the most prestige, was born out of private charity to which Government monies have been added.

Public health is under the charge of the Department of Public Health (*Dirección General de Sanidad*), the organization of which has been intelligently conceived, but it has not worked very satisfactorily up to the present time.

These three main departments—the Workers Compulsory Insurance Fund, the Welfare Board, and the Department of Public Health—are under the Ministry of Public Health and Welfare. The Minister has a portfolio and is a member of the Cabinet.

As previously mentioned, the hospitals and the above-named institutions provide medical services and take care of their own clientele. Consequently, a social medicine of considerable proportions is being born. The majority of the doctors receive a salary from one or more of these institutions, and private practice is rapidly vanishing.

As a corollary of this social consciousness, it is not surprising that Chile was the first country of Latin America to establish a school of social service. In its genesis, several factors must be mentioned:

1. The social condition and consciousness caused the different laws and institutions to be created.

2. This elaborate machinery required an agent who would help the recipient to take full advantage of the privileges to which he was entitled.

3. The analysis of statistics on morbidity and mortality showed that mere medical care was insufficient and that it was necessary to consider all the moral and material conditions of the patients.

4. Some of our best doctors were aware of discoveries and progress in the foreign countries which they frequently visited.

5. Everywhere there was that ideal of equality and fraternity which followed the first World War and out of which the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and the Pan American Union were born.

The school of social service under my direction is nonsectarian, nonprofit, and free. It was organized in 1925 by the Board of Welfare, which still maintains it. The school capacity is 150 students, all of them women. The director, the administrative staff, and part of the faculty are all graduates of the same school. The rest of the faculty is composed of university professors.

Studies extend over three years and include conferences, seminars, and, especially, field work. The curricula are intended to train social workers who will have a broad knowledge in all branches. Specialization is carried on by the students on their own initiative, encouraged by the school, and is often acquired in actual practice. The subjects of study include social, medical, and legal sciences. The education is oriented toward the formation of professional women; that is, of persons who perform remunerative functions, rather complicated and of a superior character and for the realization of which they have received a systematic training, both academic and practical. In connection with the school there is a department of field work, which not only provides practical training for the students, but which is also devoted to public service and information. Anyone can go there for help with social assistance problems.

The school is a center of sociological studies. With a cultural purpose the school has organized national conferences of social work and has contributed to congresses in criminology, medicine,

and other fields and has also participated in international meetings.

The school maintains a classified list of all the social agencies, both public and private. Moreover, it provides an employment bureau for its graduates. The growth of social work in Chile has been astonishing. Our graduates work in the most varied fields. A good number of them are working in hospitals, sanatoriums, clinics, dispensaries, asylums. Some prefer positions with the army, navy, or air force, while others are employed by industries, commerce, railroads, public health and welfare institutions, prisons, and children's agencies. The rural program has been overloaded with difficulties and is just beginning to be tackled. In these various positions, the principal function of the social worker is her case work, and she is only indirectly concerned with administrative responsibilities.

Today the general tendencies in social work in Chile include the following:

1. There is an acute and growing desire to improve the situation of the lower classes, which explains the existence of a Popular Front Government.
2. There is a progressive tendency toward the intervention of the State, which merely increases existing Government control in our Latin American countries. In spite of this marked centralization, there is no effective coördination of the different social agencies, either for the raising of funds, or for their investment and expenditure.
3. There is a delayed but growing preoccupation with public health, in which there are problems of great importance, such as infant mortality, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases.
4. There is a trend toward greater infant protection and welfare which is more than justified by the enormous infant mortality and the high birth rate. Much would be gained if we could successfully cope with the illegitimacy problem.
5. Since the mere raising of wages is not a solution of economic ills we are trying to establish the minimum salary and the family allocation.
6. A pressing concern is education, which is exemplified by the

multiplication of schools of primary education, of trades and crafts, and of popular culture, whereby the worker may use his leisure time advantageously. Physical education has not been overlooked.

Undoubtedly, the foremost contribution of social work to these different goals is that of the protection of children. In Chile it is now inconceivable that there may exist a service of this kind, be it a foster home, mother and child agency, nursery, milk station, or behavior clinic, in which the social worker does not play a dominant role.

In the hospitals the social worker executes with the doctor the medico-social treatment of the patient. In every large industry and in some of the smaller ones there is a social service, which, as a rule, works in connection with the personnel department and is concerned with the welfare of the employee and his family. In this capacity, social workers are found throughout the country, from the nitrate fields in the northern deserts to the coal mines in the south.

An interesting phase of social service is to see that the social legislation is enforced. In some circumstances, especially concerning work of women and children, social workers perform a task more effective than that of factory inspectors. It is impossible to enumerate all the emergencies in which the social service has been called upon. During the depression it was in charge of relief and at the time of the earthquake it took care of the homeless.

This picture would be too rosy if its limitations were ignored. Among them one of the most prominent is the incomprehension of our co-workers, especially of the doctors. This misunderstanding is due partly to our recent entry into the field, and it is frequently exemplified either by an underestimation of our abilities or by an unjustified extension of our functions. That is, a social worker may be asked to perform the tasks of a secretary or of a nurse or some other work for which she is not especially qualified.

An enormous stumbling block is the inadequacy of the means that the community puts at our disposal and the disproportionate needs we have to attend, which make our task as heroic as it is ineffective. After sixteen years of continued work, we would like

to cease being pioneers or crusaders and not be constantly confronted with new enterprises for which additional funds must be found. We would like to be engaged in a stable and regular work in such a way that we could, within human limitations, foresee what is ahead of us, and also evaluate and analyze what we have performed.

TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN BRAZIL

Stella de Faro

BRAZIL, a conservative country of deeply rooted Christian traditions, is now rapidly developing toward a main goal—social reform—and aiming at improvement in health and working conditions, and at a higher standard of living, all this well within the limits of our own possibilities. Thus the problems of reorganization and rehabilitation of the working classes are being taken care of in a way that promises a fair and harmonious solution in complete accord with our economic and social organization, and also in conformity with our native tendencies and the specific conditions of our collective psychology.

Evils such as class strife, division of minds, and clash of interests have never attained in Brazil the degree of intensity they have reached elsewhere. So it was not under pressure of force that the country took upon itself the study of social problems in the interest of the proletariat. The concrete and systematic achievements of our social legislation since the creation of the Ministry of Labor in 1930 were spontaneous efforts of the Government itself in favor of the working classes, as a natural result of the expansion of industry in Brazil, which for some years had required an adequate and uniform legislation.

The social legislation adopted in recent years applies to working conditions in general: an eight-hour day with extra pay for overtime, which must not exceed two extra hours; obligatory Sunday rest and a fifteen-day paid vacation; adequate minimum wages. Our legislation takes also into consideration exceptionally heavy working conditions, unhealthy labor conditions, problems concerning women's labor and children; the stability of jobs; health conditions of workrooms and plants.

The attention of legislators turned also to the advantages of the foundation of social security and mutual aid organizations, in an effort to insure workmen against accident, illness, old age, physical incapacity, and death. For the provision of such funds employers, employees, and the Government contribute in equal parts, with amounts estimated upon the value of the employee's wages. Attention may also be called to the professional organizations of employers and employees which in Brazil found a solution in the "single" syndicate, a form which has its own peculiar advantages.

Loan facilities for building or buying homes by the poor; arbitration in case of dispute between employers and employees; our labor court (*Justica do Trabalho*), which has been created recently, are so many other important assets to our already vast body of social achievements, wherein one clearly perceives the influence of the teachings of the encyclical "*Rerum Novarum*," the jubilee of which has recently been commemorated. This influence, that one may say has presided over the elaboration of all modern legislation, is perhaps more openly acknowledged in Brazil owing to the almost direct influence of the Catholic Church on the minds of Brazilian legislators.

All new policies adopted by the Government which bear upon matters of social security and working conditions are issued through the Ministry of Labor. We have no department corresponding to your Federal Security Agency. On the other hand, our Ministry of Education (*Ministerio de Educacao e Saude*) takes care of all activities concerning public health in general, and in the fields of education and health, throughout Brazil. This Ministry has achieved remarkable improvements in recent years. It was established, as the Ministry of Labor, in 1930, comprising two great divisions: the National Department of Education and the National Department of Health, to which was added last year the National Department of Children, which corresponds to the Children's Bureau of the United States. Our Department of Children is an enlargement of the old Division of Maternity and Infancy whose activities have been so useful throughout the country.

Among the services of the Department of Health those connected with the study and fight of tuberculosis, leprosy, and syphilis, as well as the great enemies yellow fever, malaria, and hookworm, deserve special mention. Oswaldo Cruz was the chief pioneer in combating these diseases. He was the founder of sanitation in Brazil, to whom we owe the important institution of experimental science, Institute Oswaldo Cruz, and the undertaking of the great sanitation works which virtually extinguished yellow fever in Brazil.

Since 1931 the Government has understood in a more realistic fashion the necessity of promoting and developing all through Brazil a decisive fight against tuberculosis, the rate of mortality of which is among the highest in the death rates of the great urban centers. The coöperation between private agencies and the Government becomes closer every day and is helping to develop a large and efficient antituberculosis machinery. Three units are employed in fighting the scourge: the dispensary, the preventorium, and the sanatorium. After 1935 the Federal Government established throughout the country twenty-two tuberculosis hospitals with capacity for 3,488 beds. Large subsidies were also granted to private institutions dedicated to the same aim, to the amount of about \$100,000.

Yellow fever presents no problem in Brazil today. In 1902 Oswaldo Cruz undertook the task of eliminating it from Rio de Janeiro, and he carried out his promise, with the generous coöperation of the Rockefeller Foundation, to which Brazil owes an invaluable service. The Government fought later a victorious campaign against yellow fever all over the country.

The fight against malaria is also being pursued with equal intensity. In the northeastern section where that enemy had become a real continental danger, the struggle against it, carried out under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation, was specially successful. In other sections of the country, the National Department of Health, with the assistance of the same organization, is conducting an energetic fight, having expended large sums in prophylaxis as well as in sanitary engineering. Considerable results were thus secured, such as the sanitation and

dredging of swampy lands which afterward became fertile and productive. In several states courses in rural hygiene were established, and in the Federal district a rural sanitation service was also created.

In the problem of leprosy, as in the case of tuberculosis, private initiative was far ahead of Government action. However, public administration has considerably facilitated both directly and indirectly the solution of this health problem by means of a systematic and well-organized plan.

The Ministry of Justice and Interior Affairs through the juvenile court (Juizeok de Menores) maintains five schools for dependent and delinquent children. This court places the children under its control in numerous private organizations where they remain subject to its supervision and responsibility. They are, in general, undernourished children, predisposed to tuberculosis, requiring an adequate education in order to cope with their biological, intellectual, and moral deficiencies. The juvenile court in the Federal district has also under its direction seven rural *patronatoes* and it expects to inaugurate shortly the largest institute for professional teaching in Brazil with a capacity for 1,260 children.

The National Council of Social Service, a part of the Ministry of Education and Health, is composed of seven members appointed directly by the President of the Republic and chosen from among persons especially dedicated to social welfare. The magistrate of the juvenile court and two directors of divisions of the Ministry of Education and Health especially connected with social welfare, one of whom is the director of the National Department of Children, must participate in the work of the Council.

The main duties of the Council are the following: (1) to draw up the plan of organization of social welfare work to be carried out throughout the country and to promote inquiries and researches connected with the living conditions of persons or families socially maladjusted; (2) to suggest to the Government measures designed to enlarge and improve the works maintained by it. In addition, the Council recommends to the Government the distribution of federal subsidies to private organizations and agencies

for health and welfare. This year, 3,002 private agencies were recommended and will receive, in all, more than \$100,000.

Humanitarian work inspired by the sentiments of Christian brotherhood is carried on by private institutions through the Houses of Mercy (Santa Casa de Misericórdia) scattered all over the country, many of which still keep their old colonial appearance. The House of Mercy of Rio de Janeiro represents an ancient and beautiful tradition dating back to the origin of the city. In many cities of the interior, indeed in the most remote corners of the country, beside the main church rises a House of Mercy. Around it and preserving its peculiar Brazilian tradition are the *orfanatos* for homeless children, and *azylos* for those who are left alone in the world after having lost health, happiness, wealth, and family.

In the large centers the Houses of Mercy are supported by constantly increasing donations. In less favored localities, Government subsidies add to the funds raised by private agencies. In the current year the Federal Government alone distributed to the Houses of Mercy and hospitals of the country subsidies of approximately \$200,000.

Well-equipped dispensaries and polyclinics for detecting and treating tuberculosis, and excellent preventoria and sanitariums for the fight against leprosy and venereal diseases are among many other institutions maintained in Brazil by the efforts of private agencies. The first organization for private assistance to lepers was established in colonial times side by side with the Houses of Mercy and functioned in connection with them. The Lepers' Hospital (Hospital dos Lazaros) of Rio de Janeiro, founded two centuries ago by the Confraternity of Candelaria, is a notable example.

The campaign against leprosy, although beginning its work efficiently here and there, did not follow a well-organized plan. In 1933, however, all the organizations created for the purpose of combating that scourge were united in one large federation. The Federation has been successful in raising funds by means of "solidarity drives." These funds have three purposes:

1. Assistance in the construction of sanitariums for lepers.

2. Preservation of the healthy children of lepers by means of preventoria. (The Asylum of Carapicuíba in São Paulo is held by experts to be the best preventorium of its kind in the world.)

3. Defense by intensification of the prophylaxis of leprosy in all the states of Brazil.

The Federation has seventy-six affiliated societies and this number is constantly being increased. The financial campaigns have already supplied more than \$150,000, and contributions raised in recent years amounted to about \$800,000.

The Government is also giving considerable assistance to this work. Last year a subsidy of \$50,000 was granted to the Federation in order to assist in the construction of sanitariums and preventoria. The fight against venereal disease is led in Rio de Janeiro and Santos by the Gaffree Guinle Foundation, which, in addition to operating a model hospital, administers a network of dispensaries directed by a body of prominent physicians.

We must not forget the useful work being done the country over by the societies of St. Vincent de Paul and the Ladies of Charity. The members of these organizations visit the poor in their homes, help them to meet their problems without breaking up their families, and provide shelter, food, and clothing. They place the children in schools, advise the families, and discreetly protect the proud poor, in coöperation with other organizations. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul often takes the initiative in the construction of small houses for sheltering its poor, some of whom pay very low rents. The Villa Ozanan in Bello Horizonte, in the state of Minas Gerais, is a striking instance of this achievement.

The Association of Proletarian Homes (A.L.P.) was founded in 1937 by a group of individuals interested in the housing problem. After an interesting survey the housing question in Rio was studied during the first Social Week held at Rio de Janeiro in 1936 by the Group of Social Action created under the auspices of Cardinal Archbishop D. Sebastiao Leme. On the many hills surrounding the city of Rio, nearly one hundred thousand people live in wooden and tin-plate huts under most inadequate conditions. Most dwellers are employed in small local trades and do-

mestic jobs in the residential sections. They cannot pay the usual rents in the residential quarters, yet, on the other hand, they cannot live far from the place where they work. The Association undertook, therefore, to build large groups of low-rent houses in the various districts of Rio. It is now working on its first experiment in the quarter of Bemfica, not far from the Rio docks. The Government has gladly accepted the idea and offered the first great plot of land on which the first Association village is being built.

A substantial loan has been granted to the Association by a Government-controlled banking house, in order to complete the construction of the first village of 400 houses. This will be provided with school, auditorium, first-aid station, day nursery, playgrounds, etc.

The houses will be sold at very low prices (about \$500) on the installment plan, exclusively to poor families with children. An effort is being made to accept only former inhabitants of the hills, although these people do not respond as readily as might be expected to the facilities made available by the Association. They seem to fear financial entanglements owing to the uncertainty of their budgets, and they are, therefore, being instructed concerning the advantages offered them by the A.L.P. This educational work is being done by the social workers who have undertaken to make the indispensable inquiries which must precede the selection of the future tenants of the A.L.P. village. Almost one thousand visits have been made in connection with the housing of the candidates, with ample support from the Government, the police department having allowed the A.L.P. to use its files for checking the information obtained locally.

An insurance policy, made possible by a very small increase in the monthly rental, provides for the entire payment of the property in case of death, or incapacity of the head of the family. The houses will belong to the purchasers after fifteen years of monthly installments not higher than about \$10.

The Social Action Group, which took the initiative in organizing the Social Weeks held in various parts of Brazil every two years, is an organization both of study and action. After its first week, held at Rio de Janeiro, this organization sponsored two

weeks in other places, where the important problems of the moment as well as local conditions were carefully examined. The Pernambuco meeting discussed the question of housing to which the Government of that state was then giving considerable attention with the purpose of eliminating slums. Last year the Social Week held in São Paulo dealt with the most urgent social problems, and reached practical conclusions about the necessity of intensifying the activities of Workmen's Clubs and the creation of a School of Business Administration, which is now in operation.

The Workmen's Clubs, the aim of which is to inculcate the ideal of the dignity of labor and to develop the associative spirit among workingmen, render the following services:

1. Physical, intellectual, social, and moral culture
2. Material and moral assistance at home, through medical, dental, and pharmaceutical assistance; in the professions, by stimulating professional organization, self-help, and mutual assistance; and in schools, by providing courses for adults

All these activities imbued with Christian spirit are founded on the encyclicals "Rerum Novarum" and "Quadragesimo Anno" which are the Magna Charta of Christian sociology relating to social questions. They repudiate the struggle of classes and uphold the rights of property and State intervention in the regulation of salary, production, and prices.

This movement, begun in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in 1932, is spreading throughout Brazil, uniting today more than a hundred clubs or associations with about one million associates, distributed in six federations. As the number of workers' organizations increases, the federations are compelled to adopt a greater measure of coördination. Workmen's Clubs are rendering a great service to the Ministry of Labor by exerting through the members a conciliatory influence in the syndicates, by making an intelligent propaganda of the principles of social justice among employers and employees, and by settling satisfactorily individual and collective conflicts between them.

The Government recognizes the remarkable influence exercised by "Rerum Novarum" in the policy of workers' security. This is proved by a recent decree declaring a national and civic com-

memoration held on the fiftieth anniversary of that important document, which constitutes today a real patrimony of mankind.

Another interesting organization is the Shelter of the Redeemer of Rio de Janeiro (Abrigo Redemptor) where more than eighteen hundred destitute persons of both sexes are cared for. This organization receives tramps, ex-convicts, and social derelicts and seeks to reform them by methods based on persuasion and work and principally by a true understanding of human misery.

In the professional school Getulio Vargas numerous boys from fourteen years of age, coming from the lower strata of the population, not seldom delinquents, are re-educated by work and by adequate teaching. Raphael Levi Miranda, the same apostle of the poor who conceived and executed this gigantic work of assistance is transforming a stretch of lonely and swampy seashore into a fishermen's village, where a school of fishing is being established with a capacity for 700 children, who were previously living in the worst distress, both physical and moral. In that picturesque corner of the state of Rio de Janeiro, the idealism of a man has wrought a miracle. The village is gaining all the elements of economic independence, thanks to intelligent organization and planning.

In São Paulo is a notable organization founded by the League of Catholic Women (Liga das Senhoras Catholicas). With the practice followed by the juvenile court of the city of São Paulo, of entrusting to the League the dependent children to stay under its care and responsibility, there came the idea of the City of Children (Educandario D. Duarte), which bespeaks the spirit of initiative and organization of the Brazilian woman. This "city" is composed of twenty-five houses, where trained couples having each under their charge twenty-six children, care for their education and well-being in a family environment. The children are admitted from seven years of age up, and the primary education received in the City is later completed with professional training. This organization, essentially modern and entrusted to a couple of educators, follows a strictly pedagogical direction.

Let us not forget the civilizing influence exercised by the Catholic Apostolic Vicariates, called missions, in the most distant sections of the country, among natives and Indians. Their task is

arduous. They have to overcome numerous difficulties of climate, disease, lack of communication and of all kind of resources. They cover a large territory infested by malaria, subject to periodical droughts and floods, in order to bring to its sparse population the light of education and the means of development and progress. Each Apostolic Vicariate is a focus of civilization, health, instruction, education, professional and rural training. They found and maintain hospitals, schools, dispensaries, shelters, nurseries, and maternity homes, thus striving to transform the people of the remotest corners of Brazil into human values. Among the missionaries there are doctors and experienced nurses, who besides healing the wounds of the body give to the souls courage and inspiration. The Government, which also maintains outposts for the protection of the Indians in those regions, is giving its assistance to this difficult and important work of education and welfare.

The enormous and constant development of organizations of security and welfare both public and private required a body of specialists capable of fully coöperating with them. In the field of social welfare, which has to struggle with the human element and its hard problems, there is no place for dilettantes. Everything has its technique, its methods which not only simplify the task, but also bring better results. This shows how necessary are the schools of social work.

A dream which for many years was cherished by those interested in the expansion of social action, as developed and perfected by modern methods, was not realized until 1936. As the result of the presence in São Paulo, in 1932, of a teacher from the School of Social Service of Brussels, and of an intensive course given by her on the doctrine, methods, and technique of social service, the first school of social service in Brazil was founded. Two young Brazilian women interested in that subject left for Belgium where, after following a regular course, they obtained a diploma of Social Worker. Returning to São Paulo, they helped to direct the systematic training of social workers.

Some time afterward, in response to an earlier invitation, a group of specialists from France founded in Rio de Janeiro the School of Social Service (*Instituto Social*), under the auspices of

the Association of Brazilian Women and other social organizations. At the end of a three-year course, the first diplomas of Social Worker were then conferred. One of the graduate social workers who obtained a scholarship from the New York School of Social Work is now in the United States doing field work. Besides those two schools which gave to Brazil its first social workers, many others were founded, among them the Technical School of Social Work in Rio de Janeiro, under the auspices of the juvenile court, and the School of Social Service, recently established in connection with the Anna Nery School in pursuance to the decree which incorporated the latter into the University of Brazil.

Such is the need of trained specialists that everywhere social service courses and schools have been founded. In spite of the good will revealed by this fact we still observe a certain confusion and dispersion, as always happens in the first steps leading to an important enterprise. The Brazilian Government, realizing the great need for trained social workers, has encouraged the movement. The diplomas granted by the private institutions are not valid as long as the official model school has not been established, for the law requires the program of private schools to comply with that adopted by the official institution. To obviate this situation, the Government is now taking steps toward the foundation of an official social work school and at the same time has appointed a commission to study and formulate an official program in order to permit the courses given by the private schools to be properly recognized.

While in other nations the destructive forces of war spread in the most terrifying way, the American continent wishes to cultivate and increase feelings of solidarity, strengthened by links of Christian fraternity. Love supposes understanding, and understanding means mutual knowledge. Everything has its qualities or deficiencies, and this may be said of organizations as well as of individuals. When the world is going through an unparalleled crisis, it is the duty of each one of us to gather around a common ideal of civilization and good entente in order to look, through a supreme effort of charity, for a balm which will heal the wounds

of the world, caused principally by a selfish materialism breeding discord, rivalry, and death.

We American women are strengthening the bonds of friendship among us, thus serving the superior cause of the common good, in accordance with our traditions and within our possibilities. We shall work with loyalty for the realization of our great desire for collaboration and concord in the American continent.

INTERSTATE MIGRATION AND INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY TODAY

Will W. Alexander

THE UNLIMITED NATIONAL EMERGENCY challenges the machines and the man power of our nation as they have never been challenged before. While the world presents a chaotic picture, from the American standpoint certain fundamentals are completely clear:

1. Democracy and its free institutions are menaced by the forces that seek to destroy all freedom and substitute state slavery.
2. The menace is the menace of battle on land and sea and in the air.
3. Battle today is a matter of machines, the most complicated and destructive machines ever known to man.
4. Machines are manufactured in workshops, by plant capacity, labor capacity, managerial capacity, working all together.

Thus the war of democracy becomes ultimately a war of the workshops—democracy's free workshops against the slave workshops of the totalitarian system. And because the democracies were peaceably minded, their workshops started late. Free industry now must overtake the mobilized production of regimented Germany, plus the additional production of the countries Germany has overrun. This is a terrific task. And the whole future of democracy is at stake.

As matters stand, approximately forty-two billions of dollars—with more to come, for the measure of what we must do is Hitler's and not ours—must be converted into ships, planes, tanks, food, clothing, and the thousands of other items needed for democracy's defense. Of this sum, about thirty-seven billions have already been appropriated or authorized by the Congress.

We have made good beginnings toward the fulfillment of this

objective. But they are only beginnings. There is no basis for complacency when we examine our efforts in the light of what we and other democracies must do in order to survive. It is true that in April, nonagricultural employment reached a new all-time high of 37,617,000. It is true that for the sixth consecutive month employment has exceeded the levels of corresponding months for all years on record. It is true that more than two million persons were absorbed into defense industries between May and December of 1940, and that 4,000,000 are at work in those industries today. But it is also true that defense industry should require 3,000,000 more workers by January, 1942, than were employed at the start of this year; and that an abnormally high percentage must, because of the nature of the work, be skilled workers. For example, the machine-tool industry, in which skill is very high, must employ 25,000 more workers by the end of the year; they may be hard to find. The aircraft industry must have 200,000 more men in its plants of final assembly than it had on January 1; and the shipbuilding industry must have 325,000 more than its present 300,000 workers on the pay roll by September, 1942; both including a high proportion of skilled workers. Any shortages that develop in material, capacity, man power, or skill must tend to frustrate the necessary industrial expansion.

It is in the light of this necessity to expand, and to avoid all factors of waste, that we must look at the problem of industrial migration. This, of course, is not a new problem. We are, characteristically, a migratory nation, and it is a familiar fact that a whole assortment of economic and social problems hinges about the migration of workers—problems ranging from those of health, education, and family life to those of losses in productive efficiency by industries and by communities. But in this emergency all such problems have an amplified significance. The Labor Division of the Office of Production Management from the outset has taken cognizance of these problems, involved in migration, which accentuated our unpreparedness during the World War, when (to quote the familiar study of Clark, Hamilton, and Moulton) there was "little or no guidance from the top, since the industries and

labor resources of the country had never been effectively catalogued and classified." There was also a "tremendous concentration of contracts. . . . The war-industry districts . . . reached out to the rest of the nation for materials, money and men. They required that scores of thousands of workers be transferred to them, from districts where war work was not being done." Along several concurrent lines of attack within a unified policy of action, the Labor Division is coping with this general problem now.

Uncontrolled, helter-skelter migration of labor has presented itself, during this first year of the defense program, certainly not on any such scale as existed during the World War, but still to an undesirable extent. For example, by the middle of last November, 10,000 more persons than could secure employment had poured into Camp Blanding, in Florida. They came from every state in the nation. Many of them came with their families; they had little or no knowledge as to the number of jobs open or the precise skills needed. There was no housing for them; no sanitary facilities; it is fortunate that prompt action minimized the effects of this planless migration. Similar situations were reported incipiently in Fort Bragg in North Carolina, Fort Meade in Maryland, Camp Beauregard in Louisiana, Fort Allen in Vermont, and in other places. While these areas were construction sites, which require a highly mobile labor supply, nevertheless somewhat the same condition has been in evidence in other parts of the country and in other than construction projects.

Ohio reports that many of the 7,000 migrants who flocked in from Kentucky and Tennessee in January, remain unemployed. In California, only a fraction of the thousands of agricultural workers who have moved toward areas of defense production have found work. The Northcentral and Midwestern industrial areas report a considerable influx of workers of all kinds. Massachusetts has drawn many migrants, and Connecticut reports that migratory laborers are streaming into the state "to a large and alarming extent," and that a great majority of these workers "do not have much to offer in the way of skill." In many communities reporting labor influx, resident labor is not yet fully employed.

In some cases, workers are migrating from areas where they

could actually have been more easily and more effectively employed than in the areas into which they are streaming. Their hopes for employment often have no substantial basis in fact. The communities which they left may be adversely affected: we often forget that the problem of out-migration may be just as important as in-migration. Our surveys have indicated a surprising number of small "ghost towns" and overlooked communities with idle plants and machinery which can and should be put to work, and will be, if their labor supply is not dissipated.

On the other hand, there is a definite need for the importation of certain types of labor, to speed defense production. But the types must be carefully selected and are usually highly skilled. A specific indication of the extent of this necessary migration is contained in a survey of sixty-eight labor market areas with a total population of close to seventeen million people. The survey, compiled by the Bureau of Employment Security, reveals that these particular areas must absorb more than a million persons of the approximately four million new workers needed this year. Of this million, more than three hundred and fifty thousand will have to be of special skills. For the San Diego, San Francisco, and Vallejo areas of California alone, there must be either local development or in-migration of 31,000 skilled workers. Detroit will need 66,000 to 88,000 skilled workers more than it has now. Philadelphia needs 70,000 such workers; northern New Jersey needs 30,000; the Dallas-Fort Worth area requires 17,200; Wichita must find 7,000. And so on for other specific industrial districts.

This, of course, adds to the already enormous problem of allocating our man power efficiently. While we cannot establish any strict ratio between industrial expansion and necessary migration, it is apparent that considerably more than three hundred and fifty thousand workers will have to be resettled. Moreover, thousands of new service workers will be needed to supply the immediate wants of these in-migrants. And when we remember that many of these workers will have families, and that there are approximately four persons in the average American family, we begin to appreciate the tremendous scope of the undertaking and the danger of chaos which it represents.

Unplanned, chaotic, haphazard migration of labor, as well as the immobilization of labor in particular areas, can disturb the national defense program as much as any other factor. Thousands of man-hours can be lost, machines may remain idle, costs can jump to fantastic levels, health and social problems can develop, unless there is complete and wholehearted coöperation of both industry and labor with the agencies of government that are working to systematize this gigantic jig-saw puzzle.

From the very beginning, the Labor Division, first in the National Defense Advisory Commission and now in the OPM, has concentrated on this problem. Its Labor Training and Supply Section is coördinating the work of seven governmental agencies, as well as the army and navy, in locating, training, and placing workers in defense industries. These agencies include the Bureau of Employment Security, the United States Office of Education, the United States Civil Service Commission, the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, the Works Projects Administration, the National Youth Administration, and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Nearly six million unemployed workers have been registered with the Bureau of Employment Security by occupation, by kinds and degrees of skill, and by communities. Some illuminating cases of economic waste turned up in the course of this notable achievement of registration. A spot welder was discovered making \$49.40 a month as a member of a WPA weed-eradication crew. An expert on cannon rifling, trained in the Skoda works in Czechoslovakia, was found herding sheep. One defense manufacturer appealed to a state employment agency for a good man at slide-rule and blueprint work. In half an hour, the agency called back. "We've found him," they reported. "He's right in your own stockroom, making \$20 a week." We have developed an effective mechanism for securing an inventory of our labor resources and we now have the basic inventory. But still more workers must register, and more employers must utilize the free public employment service, so that greater coördination can produce a more systematic matching of worker-skill to worker-location.

In addition, monthly reports are being made on labor market

conditions. The network of 1,500 public employment offices today can transfer workers from one area to another quickly and efficiently, and with knowledge of conditions in both areas. It might be added parenthetically that the labor organizations, both A.F. of L. and C.I.O., have helped very greatly by cataloguing and transferring their own membership, when they have received requests for skilled workers.

These labor market surveys are proving invaluable in another respect, namely, in the location of plant sites. While it was necessary in launching the defense program to let 85 percent of the contracts in twelve states with 48.3 percent of the population, a special Plant Site Committee has been established within the OPM to avoid any such undue concentration of defense work as occurred during the first World War, and to ascertain that the contracting plant and its labor requirement are within economical touch. New plants and the major expansion of previously existing plants are now being located with a direct view to the avoidance of all possible migration or importation of workers. The use of resident labor is the key.

The training of existing resident labor reserves to fit the needs of defense industries offers an obvious means of reducing migration. Such training, as you know, is being applied on a very large scale. Refresher courses have been instituted to polish up rusty skills; apprentice courses have received new impetus; defense vocational schools, and such agencies as the WPA and NYA, are training workers day and night, with funds appropriated by Congress and supplied through the agencies indicated. I am happy to report that these vocational classes, in June, 1941, graduated their millionth trainee, whereas during the entire World War period, only 60,000 persons received vocational training for defense. Here is the basic training; however, the higher advancements in skill can best be gained on the job, and to that end, a special Training-within-Industry Section has been set up in the Labor Division. It is under the direction of Channing R. Dooley, formerly personnel director of Socony-Vacuum Corporation. He has secured the coöperation of 430 representatives of management and labor in twenty-two industrial centers throughout the

country who are now engaged in installing these training systems in the defense industries as rapidly as the coöperation of industrial management will permit.

General ability must be trained into specific skill; nondefense skill must be modified to defense purposes; highly skilled operations must be put on a mass-production basis by isolating techniques. At the same time, up-grading of all workers into higher skills or into leadership capacities must go on constantly if the expanding plant organizations are to remain efficient. And training of resident labor skill in the localities where that skill is required is the fundamental answer to the problem of migration. As a further answer to that problem, the OPM is urging the greater development of subcontracting. It has asked time and time again that prime contractors do not hog defense awards, but break up the large contracts into bits and pieces and farm out all possible work. We want every bit of capacity—no matter how small, no matter where—to be utilized. We want every community, its people and its workers, brought into the work of defense. Fortunately, we can point out some outstanding successes in subcontracting, such as Sperry Gyroscope, York Safe and Lock Company, Kearney and Treder, William Sellers, Allison Motor, and many other companies. But these are not enough. We want subcontracting and more subcontracting and then subsubcontracting again. We want the skill requirements of the subcontracting plants coördinated with the employment program and the training program. In this way, only, can the nation utilize every item of mechanical and labor capacity that can be turned to defense purposes and, at the same time, cut down the need for migration, as local idle labor and local idle plants are brought together, adapted to defense production, and given work to do.

It all sums up to this: We are trying to substitute occupational mobility for geographic mobility. We are trying to bring the job to the worker rather than having the worker roam in search of the job. And while the coöperation we have received has on the whole been encouraging, there should exist no place in defense industry where that coöperation is not forthcoming. Employers must recognize that not only will these programs mean so-much

and so-much in dollars and cents of plant economy, but that system is imperative to the work of national defense. As with the supplies of materials, so with the labor supply—it must be systematically and economically routed to the point of need, and no defense contractor should indulge in practices that disrupt the major program. The maximum utilization and training of adjacent idle labor is the key.

In March, the average rate of absorption of new workers into defense employment reached 5.62 per 100 workers on the pay rolls. While this was the highest rate for any corresponding period in several years, voluntary separations or quits also were reported at the rate of 1.7 per 100 employees, which was a greater percentage of separations than in any month on record. Here is one statistical reflection of a condition of labor turnover that must be coped with; and we may ask: To what can we attribute this high rate of so-called voluntary separations? A great deal of it can be said to be induced separations—to put it bluntly, labor-pirating by scouts and advertisements promising higher pay and ideal working conditions. It is strange that some who complain most bitterly about strike stoppages, which have amounted so far to but a fraction of one percent of the man-days actually worked, will competitively bid for another plant's workers, and create delays and disruptions in defense production, through failure to utilize local resident labor, train it to the full and so aid both the nation and themselves. It is strange that some who have the opportunity to stabilize their labor supplies do not learn the familiar truth that migration flows from areas of less economic opportunity to areas that have higher wages, lower hours, better conditions, and offer the worker better opportunity for employment and advancement on his job.

And here we encounter a problem long existent in this nation of ours, a nation whose population has been assembled from all the races, creeds, and peoples of the earth. This is the problem of prejudice, of intangible lines of cleavage operating to prevent the full usage of our man power in the cause of defense. We have found in area after area that it is not the nature of the labor supply which is restricting the man-hours of production, but the

nature of the labor demand. And here is a restriction that grows ever more acute as the many divisions of defense industry concurrently expand.

Age requirements have gone by the board to considerable extent. Increases have been registered in the employment of women. But racial and national lines of discrimination have remained damaging bottlenecks in the utilization of America's labor strength. Here is a situation in which, for the sake of the nation, we must examine our own souls.

Negroes with necessary skills or capacities for skills are still denied employment by most companies. Specifications as to national origin are tending to reach alarming proportions, especially in the industrial areas where aliens are most numerous, and where skilled labor shortages are most likely to develop. Extreme variations in the individual and regional specifications indicate the purely arbitrary nature of these restrictions. Some employers want both grandparents to be American born; others will take aliens, but not first-generation Americans of particular national origins; others refuse to take any naturalized citizens at all; and there are many other variations. These employers have stretched to unnecessary and detrimental lengths the only actual legal restriction on alien employment, which is in regard to defense work of a highly confidential nature. It should be remembered that the category of "alien" is not only, by itself, an insufficient criterion of disloyalty, but that in many cases, the exact opposite is true. We cannot afford to cast aside democratically minded men and women of racial and national minorities who want to do their utmost for the defense of liberty, nor can we allow ourselves to be led into the totalitarian practice of intolerance toward any group or groups in our midst.

The Negro and Minority Sections of the Labor Division recognize that the few advances thus far made in coping with this deeply rooted problem are insufficient. In support of our efforts, Sidney Hillman, Associate Director General of the OPM, recently issued a letter to all holders of defense contracts, pointing out what such discrimination means in the face of threatened labor stringencies.

TO ALL HOLDERS OF DEFENSE CONTRACTS

Pursuant to the decision of the Office of Production Management, I wish to advise you as follows:

Current reports on labor market developments indicate skilled labor stringency in a number of fields vital to defense production. This threatens to become more general within the next three months. Artificial factors, however, are tending to aggravate this increasingly serious situation. In some of these occupations, we are informed there are good workers available who are not being hired solely because of their racial identity.

The Office of Production Management expects defense contractors to utilize *all* available local labor resources before resorting to the recruiting of additional labor from outside their local areas. Our Programs of training and labor clearance are being established in accordance with such a policy.

In many sections of the Nation there are today available labor reserves of Negro workers. Plans for their training and employment in capacities commensurate with their individual skills and aptitudes should be undertaken at once.

In many localities, qualified and available Negro workers are either being restricted to unskilled jobs, or barred from defense employment entirely. Because of this situation, Negro workers of skills and aptitudes are in many instances not being included in many of the training programs for defense.

Such practices are extremely wasteful of our human resources and prevent a total effort for national defense. They result in unnecessary migration of labor, in high rates of labor turnover, and they increase our present and future housing needs and social problems.

All holders of defense contracts are urged to examine their employment and training policies at once to determine whether or not these policies make ample provision for the full utilization of available and competent Negro workers. *Every* available source of labor capable of producing defense materials must be tapped in the present emergency.

Yours very truly,

SIDNEY HILLMAN

Associate Director General

Is it not fundamental to the national emergency, then, to insist that all local labor be utilized before recourse is made to importing workers? Is it not fundamental that the gates of local opportunity should be wide open to all, thus counteracting the temptation upon individual workers to migrate? This is pre-eminently a

time when we must consider every phase of our national life in terms of the threats presented by the international scene and the effort our workshops must make. Individual prejudices and preferences must be re-examined; management and labor must do some joint industrial housekeeping; utilization of our industrial and labor and other civilian capacities must keep pace with the military branches in being based on national needs rather than particular desires or emotions.

Time runs out. There is an enormous job to be finished. This task was not of our choosing. But having the supreme advantage of being able to shoulder that task with the spirit and the fortitude of free men, we must and will finish it in triumph and success. In no other way can we hope for a world in which human beings can control their own destinies—a world of sanity, of stability, of peace and freedom, and the participation of all who have contributions to make, under that creative tolerance which is the program of democracy.

AGRICULTURAL MIGRATION—PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Robert M. La Follette, Jr.

IN THE DECADE JUST PAST, three concrete patterns of agricultural migration have emerged as a permanent part rather than a temporary phase of the American scene. First, there is the periodic movement of the so-called migratory farm worker who, often accompanied by his family, seeks employment as a hired laborer in agricultural industry. This migration is characterized by temporary, intermittent, and seasonal employment from a mobile labor pool of otherwise unemployed workers. This labor pool is composed of fellow migrants and local residents in the communities through which they travel. Second, there is the migration of large numbers of agricultural families who move from their posts as farm operators, either owner, tenant, or share-cropper. Sometimes these displaced farm families crowd the shifting agricultural labor market; sometimes they compete for the ever decreasing opportunities to become independent farmers on suitable financial terms and with adequate land to provide a decent standard of living; sometimes they move into semi-urban or urban communities seeking relief; mostly, they wander until some member of the family finds a job. Third, there is the constant migration of rural youth coming of age on the land but seeking a place in industrial society with an urban environment. Sometimes they are successful and stick; sometimes they hang on only temporarily; many of them are forced to secure relief or go back home to subsistence farming and rural unemployment.

These three movements of migratory farm workers, displaced farm families, and surplus rural youth, often accompanied by the

most shocking misery and deprivation, have become recognized in the last decade as symptomatic of a whole complex of problems which are related to destitute rural migration. What is the meaning of these migrating peoples? Upon close analysis and investigation, it has become evident that these various types of migration are not simply a function of a temporary disaster such as a dust storm or a severe drought; rather, they are responsive to underlying causes which, with monotonous regularity, impel members of rural communities to become needy migrants, either temporary or permanent. Far-reaching developments in the techniques and organization of American agriculture toward mechanized farming and industrialized or commercialized operation, excessive farm debt, the depletion of soil resources, an expanding rural population coupled with a marked reduction in the working force required for farm production, and a drastic reduction in opportunities for employment in urban centers, have been accounted as the principal causes of destitution in agricultural migration. Hence, we must conclude as a major premise for social action that agricultural migration with its by-product problems is a definite, permanent, and complex reality for which a definite, permanent, and integrated social policy must be devised. Temporary palliatives and half-way relief measures will not suffice. We must meet the problem head-on.

Moreover, we must be careful to avoid taking a futile or constricted approach in building this social policy. We must not confuse agricultural migration with the destitution and disadvantaged economic, social, and political status that oftentimes stimulates, accompanies, or climaxes it. Migration is only a normal means for the adjustment of population to better economic opportunity; it must not be choked off; state and local barriers to this migration are not consonant with our national traditions of freedom. The real evils for many who are forced to move are unserved human needs, the lack of adequate protection in the harsh competition of a crowded and disorganized labor market, and the difficulty of any individual solution to the problem of personal security. Agricultural migration is only the passing parade that reflects these disadvantaging factors in a rather dramatic

and observable fashion. We must attack the substance, not the shadow, of the destitution and underprivilege. That is the second principle which should ground the formulation of a wise and effective social policy on this subject.

Perhaps some will wonder about the scope and magnitude of this complex of problems. Is it peculiar to a given area or region, or to a few isolated unfortunates? It was my privilege, as chairman of the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, to become intimately acquainted with these problems during the course of the committee's last field investigation, which largely concerned the violation of labor's rights in California's mighty agricultural industry. What the committee saw and heard there in late 1939 and early 1940 persuaded us that back of the fictional story of agricultural migration, then popularized in book and motion picture, was a vast national problem that touched and concerned not a relatively small geographical region or population group, but the whole nation. In May and June, 1940, this was confirmed by the testimony of expert witnesses called by the committee to describe generally the various facets of a national farm labor problem. Contemporaneously, the House of Representatives established the Select Committee to Investigate Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens. Since that time, the invaluable results of the researches of that committee have made many parts of the nation conscious of the fact that no single state or area has a monopoly of the destitution that is related to agricultural migration. Both before and since these inquiries, far-seeing students in various public agencies and universities in all parts of the country have paved the way for a fairly complete understanding of the scope of this problem.

Let me briefly indicate the magnitude of the problem of formulating a social policy responsive to an analysis of needy agricultural migrants. There are the people whom we call farmers but who play a relatively minor role in supplying our needs for foods and fibers. Most of them would not be on the land if there were other work for them to do. In 1929, nearly one half of our six million-odd farm operators produced, per capita, less than \$1,000 worth of crops and livestock; nearly one third produced

less than \$600 worth. These farms producing less than \$600 worth of products sold less than 4 percent of the crops going to market. For the most part these small farms were not very efficient. A substantial amount of this income had to be used for fertilizer, machinery, stock, and the other essentials of farming.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture has estimated that more than six hundred thousand farms today are located in areas where the soil is not suitable for cultivation. Hundreds of thousands of other farms are too small. This sort of agriculture is the spawning ground for destitute migrants. To condemn these people to a continued low level of existence by encouraging them to stay where they are is to betray the great agricultural traditions of our nation. Our agricultural civilization envisages a healthy, happy, independent life on a standard of living capable of producing a vigorous and independent citizenry. It has never envisaged as ideal a subsistence agriculture, maintained as a national poorhouse, peopled by millions of disadvantaged families.

Another great reservoir of destitution related to agricultural migration is the plight of the uncounted, unorganized, and inarticulate millions who depend upon seasonal and intermittent employment on the nation's farms. They have been truly the forgotten men of our economic democracy. Not counted as farmers, they have been largely ignored in the formulation and administration of agricultural policy, with minor exceptions in comparatively recent years. Not esteemed as laborers, they are left outside the protection of labor legislation, state and Federal. As a result of this rather complete relegation to the rock pile of relief, to the meager extent it is available, farm laborers are at the very bottom of our economic and social ladder. They epitomize underprivilege.

In recent years their numbers have so far exceeded the numbers needed to produce the country's crops that desperate competition for the available jobs has caused farm wage rates to lag far behind as farm prices began to recover from depression lows. It has been reliably estimated that in 1940, there was a reserve of 5,000,000 unused or ineffectively used workers pressing upon

the agricultural labor market. Unemployment and underemployment are common. Full employment is available only to a relatively small proportion. There is, in some quarters, a detestable exploitation of these workers, who, generally, have been unable to offer effective resistance. Their very numbers, their racial and social heterogeneity, and their exclusion from protective social legislation have made them easy prey to vicious recruitment and employment practices. By various devices, including opposition to relief projects, attacks on relief and security wage rates, the circulation of false information concerning job opportunities, open recruiting activities, and often with the assistance of public employment services, employers have striven successfully to maintain surplus reserves of farm labor in order to maintain sharp competition for available jobs.

Haphazard and disordered migration is the result of a completely disorganized labor market. Inadequate housing, insufficient public health and educational opportunities, and a lack of opportunity to participate fully in the benefits of community life are common. It has been estimated that there are upward of a million of these regular migrants, who, in addition to their disadvantaged place as farm laborers, suffer the handicaps of a disordered migratory existence for all or substantial periods of the year.

Also, there are the large numbers of additional rural residents who may encounter destitution, but have not yet suffered. Approximately two hundred thousand farm boys, annually, must find jobs in urban industry, or crowd the agricultural labor market, or settle down to a subsistence level of existence, or crowd some other person out of his tenancy or sharecropper position. The same is true of the 350,000 to 500,000 agricultural workers who will be displaced as a result of technological changes during the next decade.

The appalling magnitude of this many-sided problem should not deter us from meeting it. In all its ramifications and complications, we may boil it down to several fundamental issues which, in my judgment, the researches of the past few years have tendered our democracy in fairly sharp and precise terms. The first

question we must answer is this: What is the nation going to do to provide a useful place in our society for surplus rural people who feel forced to move in order to live? Recognizing this problem of adjustment as necessarily involving a considerable movement of peoples from one area to another, one occupation to another, and, necessarily, one community or state to another, we have our second issue: What is the nation going to do by way of organizing and conducting a determined and intelligent fight on the destitution that is bound to occur during this process of movement and adjustment, particularly that destitution which is too large for purely local groups to handle without national aid, leadership, and coördination? It is not necessary to dwell at length on the sad fact that the year 1940 had not brought a solution or even the adoption of a plan or policy that promised a satisfactory answer to these two fundamental issues.

Yet the decade from 1930 to 1940 witnessed earnest and significant attempts to analyze the scope and character of the task; it witnessed the first few feeble, but nonetheless encouraging, efforts to build a democratic machinery for solution of the dilemma; it witnessed the stimulating recognition of the facts by an increasingly large and intelligent citizenry. The early work with transients, the first measure of farm relief, the development of the great program of the Farm Security Administration, and the splendid efforts of many private groups, local and state agencies, can be viewed as positive accomplishments. Yet these works, no matter how worthy or zealously furthered, are pale and insignificant beside the magnitude and scope of the problem that our research and investigations have clearly etched for the American people to see and understand.

But, now, in the year 1941, this great giant, and, sometimes, sleeping, America of ours, is throwing off its lethargy and mobilizing its mighty resources in a huge effort to make our national defense secure. We will commit a grievous error in judgment if we fail to consider fully agricultural migration and its by-product problems in the context of this mighty national defense program and the eventual transition which must come when the crisis is past. For our program of national defense is activating forces

that are beginning to answer in some fashion on a temporary emergency basis the broad issues I have described. If we can bring an understanding of the problems of agricultural migration to those who are in charge of formulating and administering our national defense program, we will do a great service to both national defense and the victims of underlying economic problems that are a part of agricultural migration. Indeed, the way in which our defense program is shaped may have much to do with the ultimate destiny of uncounted millions of our rural population who face destitution.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of this phase of the current situation. Stories of farm labor shortage in certain areas, stories of rural idleness in other areas, stories of the lack of trained skilled workers for our expanding defense program, make us conscious that the absence of adequate techniques of utilizing our wasting man power is a peril both to our defense effort and to the welfare of our rural population. Our nationwide system of public employment exchanges must be geared for an effective national effort that will decasualize the agricultural farm labor market and maintain a well-ordered system for fitting the available man power into this great national effort. There is both a unique demand and an opportunity to develop vigorously vocational training and guidance for farm-reared people into non-farm occupations. Such a program would assist in the mobilizing and training of our man power for defense activities; it would facilitate the movement of surplus rural population into non-farm occupations, thereby reducing the number of farm people to be supported by the farm income of any given size; it would greatly increase the flexibility and mobility of farm-reared youth and displaced farm families, and to that extent facilitate readjustments to a normal economy when we have accomplished our defense aims.

To protect and render effective this organization of man power and to avoid needless suffering, we must regulate those private recruiting agencies to conform to the public interest. Unnecessary and disruptive labor recruiting, training for unnecessary

surpluses at given points, and the stimulation of useless and harmful migration must be avoided.

Many of the problems of caring for needy rural migrants encountered in the 1930s have now become part and parcel of our national effort to relieve destitution in so-called defense migration. The provision of adequate housing facilities and additional educational and health facilities, the assistance to local communities in meeting large influxes of population have now become a vital part of our defense program. As such they are an answer to the same problems of agricultural migration because many of those whose needs as migrants will now be met are the rural people whose plight was too often ignored in the 1930s.

Reports that some of our vital industries have productive capacities far below that necessary to produce both the materials essential for defense and the normal pursuits of life reveal the unhappy fact that the vain and fruitless migration of our rural population during the 1930s in search of a place in our industrial life was a tragedy, not only for them, but for the nation. There is a great opportunity—indeed, a necessity—for organizing our economy so that this hitherto wasted human resource can be usefully employed. Perhaps we are at the beginning of a permanent rehabilitation of these needy rural folk. Certainly no opportunity must be overlooked in the location and development of new industrial capacity that looks to a better life for them in the post-defense years.

All of these points touching the defense program and the relief of the destitute rural peoples have a common thread. They indicate that the failure of a democratic society to solve the problems that are related to agricultural migration is a threat to the very survival of that society when confronted either by brute totalitarian economy or military force or subversive totalitarian philosophy. Hence, we must bend our every effort to develop plans and policies for our current defense program that are sufficiently broad, flexible, and integrated with other plans and policies so that they will make a substantial contribution to agriculture and national welfare in the post-defense period. The lessons taught in the 1930s, confirmed in 1940 and 1941, must

be put into effective practice. We cannot wait until tomorrow; we must begin today. The struggle for democracy in which we are now engaged will continue in a postwar world. It will demand the same level of national attention to problems related to agricultural migration as we are freely and willingly giving to problems of military defense. I venture to assert that the lessons we are learning today in putting America to work show conclusively that those who said before, "it cannot be done" were guilty of a grievous error and a lack of confidence in the vitality of the democratic process.

Let us assume that this policy must look to a definite, permanent, and integrated solution; it must broadly attack the underlying causes of destitution and not cramp the healthy process of adjustment through migration; it must be broad and bold in scope; it must be initiated in high gear now as a part of, and a worthy aid and accompaniment to, our national defense program; it must be carried through into the postwar period.

PLATFORM ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION

*Prepared by the Special Committee on Interstate Migration
of the National Conference of Social Work, 1941*

PREAMBLE: Migration is necessary in America. It offers new opportunities in normal times. It makes possible the full use of our resources in times of crisis. National defense demands migration, and America is on the move. This is no new phenomenon. America has always been on the move. Now the process is more rapid and more people are involved.

Migrants are people. This fact must be recognized if we would solve the problems associated with migration. Since migrants are people, their problems must be treated on the basis of individuality, regardless of length of residence.

Though they present problems, migrants contribute to the well-being of the communities to which they come and to the nation as a whole. Most migrants are unrecognized. Though they are newcomers, they are clothed, housed, fed, and employed sufficiently to require no public assistance or special attention. Yet along with their benefits to the community these migrants bring difficult problems affecting all phases of community life. Those who fail to make a go of it and require assistance represent a small percentage, yet large numerically, of the total migrant group. A still smaller number actually ask for aid. But the failure to provide such help, the restrictions of settlement and residence requirements, and the antagonism of communities to needy newcomers aggravate the situation and magnify its related problems out of all proportion to their actual size.

To obtain the maximum benefits from the mobility of our population, to establish methods of dealing with the problems of migration whether in normal or abnormal times, and to eliminate discriminations which impair our national security, intensi-

fied efforts must now be directed toward the development of programs designed to overcome the problems that grow out of the movement of people.

In furtherance of these efforts, the time has come to present, through the medium of this committee, a recommended platform on interstate migration. It is not designed as a guaranteed cure-all. It recognizes certain existing situations and offers recommendations for dealing with them. It is presented as a basis for discussion at the National Conference of Social Work.

Situation.—The revival of industry in large centers, the establishment of new defense industries, and the building of large military camps in small communities are stimulating a movement which is necessary, but which also magnifies community problems. Unguided movement of potential workers results in accentuating distress and waste of man power.

Defense activity may reduce resident relief rolls. At the same time it increases the relief needs among nonresidents, for there are more migrants searching for employment. Many are placed and need no further help; others secure employment but are soon laid off; others are unsuccessful in obtaining work; still others are unemployable. They need help but are ineligible. Some communities are unable to finance relief even to needy residents. Federal aid through the Social Security Act and Federal employment on projects of the WPA are relieving distress, but many resident persons requiring help are unable to secure aid through these programs. Migrants do not receive Federal aid through the Social Security Act because of state residence requirements. In general, migrants cannot obtain local relief because of settlement and residence laws. Migrants are not aided by the WPA, although WPA regulations permit such assistance, because of local unwillingness to certify nonresidents, quota limitations, and the recruiting of workers from relief rolls, for which migrants cannot qualify.

People in distress are denied help, not on a basis of unproven need, but on an artificial criterion of length of residence. The unfilled need creates continuing problems which only aggravate the situation.

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try, so that migrants soon become "stateless." Residence requirements have become more and more stringent during the past few years. The prospect of securing uniformity or abolition of settlement and residence requirements is not bright. Their undesirable effects might, however, be circumvented and thereby lead to their ultimate elimination.

Health hazards exist for both the community and the migrant because of the lack of medical care. Varying educational standards within the nation are a threat to the development of citizens capable of taking responsibility in community life.

Arbitrary restrictions on the free movement of people within the United States are undesirable, but people are now leaving home and joining the migrant stream when assistance or advice at the source might prevent wasteful and unnecessary migration.

Government and private agencies, local, state, and national, are concerned with the problems of interstate migration. Sporadic attempts are made to deal with emergency situations. Studies and surveys are conducted without sufficient appreciation of related efforts by other organizations. States and localities have no official place to turn for guidance in dealing with their migration problems. Duplication of effort, waste and confusion result.

Recommendations.—The Committee on Interstate Migration of the 1941 Conference of Social Work regards as fundamental the principle that migrants shall be accepted and cared for, if necessary, where they are and on the same basis as residents. In other words, there shall be no arbitrary distinction between people in distress based upon length of residence or settlement status. Toward this end, the committee has, therefore, prepared the following platform and presents it as a basis for discussion at the committee's sessions at the 1941 National Conference of Social Work.

1. Federal grants-in-aid for general relief shall be made available to the states to aid those not eligible under present categories of the Social Security Act, and for whom work on public work projects is not suitable or available.

2. Federal grants-in-aid for general relief shall be contingent upon the acceptance of a state plan which will guarantee assistance

to all who require it, regardless of any settlement or residence requirement.

3. Federal aid to states involving assistance or service to individuals, including health and medical care services and education and vocational guidance programs, shall be conditioned upon the willingness of the states to extend such benefits to all requiring them, regardless of residence or settlement restrictions.

4. The insurance provisions of the Social Security Act shall be extended to include occupations not now covered and provision shall be made for simplified and equitable payment of unemployment insurance benefits to persons crossing state lines.

5. Increasing use shall be made by workers and employers of expanded employment services on a regional and national basis to guide workers to job opportunities, both in industry and in agriculture, to prevent as far as possible wasteful and aimless movement in search of employment, and to reduce distress resulting from the concentration of surplus workers at points of potential employment.

6. Loans to maintain competent farmers on their land and to re-establish them on a self-sustaining basis shall be continued and extended to prevent the economic and social losses resulting from their enforced entrance into migratory life.

7. Provision shall be made within the Federal Government for centralized and continuing collection of current information relating to interstate migration, establishing a basis for the placement of such responsibility in Federal administrative agencies as will make possible adequate protection of migrants and the communities to which they come. Provision shall be made for the correlation of Federal administrative agencies concerned with interstate migration so as to establish a central body to which states and localities may refer problems relating to interstate migration.

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CIVIL RIGHTS IN TIMES OF STRESS

Francis Biddle

WE AMERICANS are somewhat inclined, I think, to take a legalistic view of our rights. We look to their origin in some written law. We assume that, once defined in the pronouncement of a statute, rights become self-exercising and self-enforcing. Our veneration for a written Constitution has extended to all written instruments. The pioneer mind, whose thinking is still predominant in a culture springing from such a rapid expansion of frontiers, welcomes written declarations in place of more ancient roots. The dualism of the Puritan—one day for worship and six days for business—may also be a source of our sense of comfort in written expressions of virtue. We like to have our cake and eat it—to frame prohibition in the dignity of an amendment; and then, having satisfied our moral impulse on paper, to gratify our thirst.

We are apt to conceive of our civil rights—our individual liberties—as originating in the first ten amendments to the Constitution. This is to lack the historical sense. The Federal Bill of Rights was adopted by the first Congress in 1789, and within the next two years ratified by eleven states, because the states feared the new strength which had been handed to the Federal Government and deemed it safer to outline the limits of its exercise. The inhibitions were against that strength. "Congress shall make no law . . ." the first Amendment begins; and the rights thereafter asserted are the rights of individual citizens to be free from excesses of the United States Government. In part, these assertions resulted from the experience of the Revolutionary War, and a hatred and fear of recent tyranny, and of the old grievances. But in a deeper sense they also reiterated the ancient freedoms stemming from the long fight of the people and of Parliament

against an absolute King—free speech, free press, free assemblage. It is idle to speculate how the United States Supreme Court would have defined and developed these ancient, hard-won liberties if their protection had not been thus specifically written into our Constitution, although it is pretty certain that our basic rights of freedom would not have lacked recognition from the courts even without the Bill of Rights.

We have come to realize that all personal rights are relative. The interest of society continually conflicts with the interests of the individual. Law in a democracy is largely an attempt to resolve that conflict. Free speech is forbidden if it becomes slanderous. The press is not at liberty to interfere with the orderly procedure of a court trial. The right to assemble must yield to the policing of the mob. The duty of the law is to draw the line between the individual's right and the protection of society, and that line must necessarily vary as the needs of the one or the other seem at any particular time to be more imperative. The constitutional protections of the individual and correlative powers granted to the state, general as they are, suggest emphasis and direction. They are implemented on the one hand with the ancient Anglo-Saxon tradition, which has held the State in a functional view, always subservient to the individual; and the long line of court decisions which have dealt with the conflicts as they arose, determining them empirically, in accordance with the method of our common law.

Realizing this we come to see that, in the larger sense, a time of stress does not alter this balance. Preparation for defense points a new set of facts. Emphasis shifts. The life of the nation is at stake, and that life is infinitely more important than the temporary individual considerations. Otherwise a nation would be helpless to protect itself in an emergency, for swift preparation for war cannot be achieved in the leisurely decisions which come from the free competition of ideas in ordinary times. Lincoln did not hesitate when he thought it necessary to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. As great a liberal as Holmes supported the Government when he conceived that the act which it sought to suppress could be said to be directed against the life of the

Government. This is not to say that during war all constitutional rights disappear. But it is to recognize that even a democratic state of war cannot brook interference, and that democratic courts will usually sustain its power. Said Holmes, in the court's opinion in the Schenck case sustaining the Espionage Act of 1917,

We admit that in many places and in ordinary times the defendants in saying all that was said in the circular would have been within their constitutional rights. But the character of every act depends upon the circumstances with which it was done. . . . When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.

Nor did he suggest any other conclusion when he dissented, the next year, in the Abrams case. He thought that, as he put it, "the surreptitious publishing of a silly leaflet by an unknown man" would not be construed a violation of the same statute. But he reiterated his belief that the Government in time of war had power to punish speech that was, as he phrased it, "intended to produce a clear and imminent danger."

It is not my purpose here to discuss how much suppression of opinions contrary to the Government's policy would be sustained in time of war. We are not at war. But we are in a curious twilight zone in which, on account of the war in Europe and its threat to us, it may be necessary at any time to take steps which would not be considered in ordinary times. Control of propaganda, censorship over the movement of vessels, tighter laws dealing with espionage, steps to suppress subversive groups—all of these controls are being now discussed and some of them applied. Doubtless the courts, realizing that the tactics of war have changed, and that preparation for defense involves many factors not present when we are at peace, will permit a broader field of control than in ordinary times.

But the temporary limitation of personal rights in times of stress does not mean, as is now in certain quarters being so casually asserted, that the citizen is without those rights, and that

we have turned, the instant we declare war, from a democracy to a dictatorship. The citizen lives still under a system of laws made by the Congress which he has elected. The courts are his, to protect his constitutional rights. The law of contracts does not cease to exist because, in time of stress, the enforcement of contracts is temporarily suspended, or because contract rights are voluntarily waived for the sake of some larger good. The laws are the laws of the land, not the decrees of an individual. So long as the writ of habeas corpus is not suspended—and it was not suspended in the last war—he is treated with due process of law—jury trial, protection against unlawful search and seizure, and the other protections which go with our ways of justice.

Of course I do not mean that in war, or in a time like this when we feel that our freedom is threatened, excesses are not committed, and cruel injustices done. The biased juries, the brutally long sentences, race prejudice, executive usurpations—we know these things followed in the wake of the last war, and our memories of those perversions of justice are still fresh. These are evil things; but death is evil; and if we can face the evil of death, we can face and see in its relative significance, the temporary suspension of our individual rights. Let us not then, eager as we are to retain these rights, lose our sense of proportion in regard to them. If our democracy is now profoundly threatened—as I believe it to be—let us not say we shall not fight to save it, if fight we must, because in doing so we cannot help but lose our rights. When Colonel Lindbergh said in his address in Madison Square Garden on May 23, "if we go to war to preserve democracy abroad, we are likely to end by losing it at home," that is what he meant. But our democracy has survived five wars, and it cannot be very deeply rooted in us if fighting for it will destroy it.

I wonder what has given us so much of this flabby thinking. Is it that we care less for our independence? Washington and Samuel Adams and the minutemen at Lexington surely did not discuss their loss of civil liberties, when they chose to fight; or the Confederates, before firing on Fort Sumter, or the men who thought it worth while to preserve the Union. We should do

everything in our power to hold these precious liberties in peace and at war. But do not let us become confused, putting the cart before the horse; the right to freedom of speech before the preservation of democracy itself; confused and timorous, not seeing the issue clearly and simply but encumbered by all those sterile doubts and fears with which the isolationists summon the liberals to their distorted view. Thomas Jefferson's phrase might be applied to them: "nervous persons whose languid fibres have more analogy with a passive than active state of things."

Shell shock, it is now believed, comes not from facing danger, from the shock of the battle itself, but from escape from the conflict, as if the imagination built terror in the isolation of the individual, ashamed that he was not with his fellows at the front. Reports tell us that the nerves of London civilians are cool and sound; but that they tend to be frayed when sent to the country for recuperation. The analogy to our psychological situation is apt. In these uncertain times, when we are neither at war nor at peace, urged by every generous impulse in us to act, we cannot escape a deep sense of frustration. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that excesses should be committed, and that the trained self-discipline which is the only ultimate safeguard of civil liberties should occasionally give way to the shameful excesses of the lurking mob instinct.

For nearly two years, since in September, 1939, Germany invaded Poland, that situation has existed. Intolerance is the most immediate expression—racial and national—and hatred of foreigners, of those who are different from us, surges up. Germans and Italians are suspect; but soon the circle widens to include all those whose language is not our own, and who, therefore, to the inflamed folk-mind must be inimical to the American way of life. No one stops to define what that way is or considers how differently it is conceived by different ideologies. The differences will soon be realized, when we begin to look into our own unity; but in the first wave of feeling, national unity is achieved, on the surface, by a common dislike of everything that is alien; and the tiresome necessity of redefining our own ideals is thus conveniently postponed.

Last spring and summer that impulse was rising. Little vigilante groups were springing up everywhere. In the Department of Justice we were swamped with letters from full-blooded Americans offering their services to the Government. Did the FBI need help? They were the boys to furnish it. They would round up the spies, the traitors, the fifth columnists. Troubled executives in the state governments appealed to us for assistance. Some legislation was surely necessary; popular opinion had to find a vent. At the very least, committees might be appointed; that would be something.

On August 5 and 6 a conference was called in the Department of Justice by three organizations of state executives—the Governors' Conference, the Council of State Governments, and the National Association of Attorneys General—and by the Interstate Commission on Crime. Representatives of substantially all the states and the Federal Government attended, with an impressive number of governors, attorneys general, and important state officials—250 representatives in all. The purpose was to discuss the problems of national defense and to devise ways to strengthen and unify local, state, and national measures for law enforcement in the defense area. The President, in a letter addressed to the conference, emphasized the danger of hysterical and undisciplined activities by self-constituted groups:

The common defense should be through the normal channels of local, state and national law enforcement. The untrained policeman is as ineffective as the untrained soldier. The amateur detective soon becomes a fussy and malicious busybody. We must be vigilant, always on guard, and swift to act. But we must also be wise and cool-headed, and must not express our activities in the cruel stupidities of the vigilante. There is where the Fifth Columns form the line.

The results of this conference have, in my opinion, been very valuable. Gradually the vigilante spirit which had been giving concern to responsible officials waned. Aliens were registered quietly and politely; they were treated with cordial friendliness, and their fears of the cruelties of the concentration camps were dissipated, while, on the other hand, the public was reassured

that most aliens were law-abiding citizens not very different from themselves. The first peacetime draft in the history of the country went through in the same orderly manner, without resistance, with but few conscientious objectors, and with no suggestion of violence. The governors went back to their state legislatures convening in 1941, with a clearer policy and with the benefit of the drafts of state legislation which had been recommended by the Joint Conference Committee in case such legislation was desired by the respective states.

The recommendations of the conference were unanimous: The states should review their statutes to determine whether there were effective laws relating to sabotage, criminal conspiracy, the control of explosives, the control of firearms, the reciprocal protection of public property, deputizing of special guards, regulation of subversive groups, and the protection of civil rights. Registration of aliens should be left to the National Government. Administrative handling of sedition and espionage should be under the control of the FBI, to whom the states and localities should report. A drafting committee, appointed to develop a program, after extensive discussion and study, disapproved the use of a model state act to regulate subversive groups; concluded that a statute regulating the deputizing of private guards to protect industrial defense property was not needed, and that similar statutes in the past had been abused; favored a Federal bill providing for the registration of all firearms (the Department of Justice for some time has backed such a bill); recommended an amendment to the Federal Sabotage Act, which has since been enacted; and, finally, prepared model state legislation on sabotage prevention, control of explosives, state home guard mobilization, and the protection of interstate public properties.

Only two acts—the State Guard Act and the Sabotage Act—aroused much controversy. They were vigorously opposed by labor unions, and, to a lesser extent, by individual liberals or liberal groups. The Department of Justice did not participate in drafting them or advocate their passage, or the passage of any state act. That is not our business. But we felt that the bills were directed at a problem with which all of us were concerned.

The State Guard Act, which has been passed in nineteen states and vetoed in three, has for its purpose to take advantage of the Federal statute which authorizes the states to organize state guards to take the place and fill the duties of the National Guard while it is absent from the state in Federal service. Sections 5 and 6 provide for the use of the state guard forces outside the state, upon request of the governor of another state, or in fresh pursuit where the law of the other state permits. The law was calculated, as the report shows, to prevent "damage to national defense brought about by organized subversive action behind the zone of the armies," a fifth column operating behind the army zone. Those who drafted it had in mind the campaigns in Norway, the Low Countries, and France. Objection was raised on the ground that experience showed the misuse of state guards in handling strikes. But the same may be said of police; and now that the state militia has been taken into the Army, I, for one, cannot see why it should not be replaced, and the geographical scope of its activities widened to make it mobile. Invaders won't stop at state lines.

More vigorous objection was leveled by union labor at the Model Sabotage Prevention Act, resulting in its veto in one state, although it has been approved in four states and is pending in about seventeen others. Promulgation of the act is based on the theory that under the Constitution the prevention of sabotage, which is really an extension of the doctrine of malicious mischief to property, is a state rather than a Federal function. It is an emergency measure, in force under the provisions of Section 15 only until May 15, 1945, the date of the expiration of the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940. It provides for the punishment of acts of sabotage; for the questioning and detention of suspected saboteurs unlawfully on properties essential to national defense; the regulation of the use of highways abutting on such properties; and certain changes in the law of attempts, solicitation, conspiracy, and the privilege against self-incrimination, to aid convictions. When the bill was drawn there were no peacetime sabotage statutes. The malicious mischief laws were not adequate. The proposed statute necessarily drew a broad defini-

tion of acts of sabotage. These acts were and are being committed in defense plants, and were committed in the three years which preceded our entry into the World War. The Model Act applies to whoever "intentionally destroys, impairs, injures, interferes or tampers with real or personal property," or "intentionally makes or causes to be made or omits to note on inspection any defect in any article or thing." You will note that both sections require intentional as distinguished from negligent or accidental destruction; and that both sections provide that the acts be done "with reasonable grounds to believe that such act will hinder, delay or interfere with the preparation of the United States or any of the States for defense or for war . . ." The act was obviously intended to apply only to acts deliberately intended to interfere with national defense. These words, however, are perhaps broad enough to permit an ordinary act of malicious injury to be so classed. That the statute is too broad in that respect is certainly arguable. But with that qualification I cannot conceive that any American would argue that sabotage should not be punished; and the necessary breadth of definition seems otherwise to have been adequately safeguarded against possible abuse. The maximum punishment provided is ten years.

Particular objection was leveled at Sections 7, 8, and 9. The first provides that a company engaged in national defense may surround its property with a fence and prevent trespassers from entering. Unlawful entry is then punishable by fine or imprisonment up to ten days, thus permitting identification. Section 8 permits watchmen to question intruders, and, in case of unsatisfactory answers, to turn them over to the police. Section 9 permits the public authorities to restrict the use of highways abutting plants essential to national defense, if, after due hearing, they find that the public safety requires such protection.

Such added emergency powers can, of course, be abused. All power is subject to abuse. But if the national emergency calls for it, the power must be granted. The fears of labor that Section 9 will be used to prevent the use of picket lines is hardly warranted in view of the language of Section 11, taken from the National Labor Relations Act:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to impair, curtail or destroy the rights of employees and their representatives to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection.

It is said that such legislation is unnecessary in a time of peace. But this is not a time of peace. War no longer begins when it is announced, but foreruns battle, and the enemy wedges the weapons of sedition, of economic penetration, of sabotage, into a country which believes itself immune. On January 24, 1915, one Nadolny, the liaison officer between the German foreign office in Berlin and the General Staff, sent the following cable to the foreign office:

It is respectfully requested to have dispatched the following telegram in cipher to the Imperial Embassy at Washington: "For Military Attaché: People fit for sabotage in United States and Canada can be ascertained from following persons [then follow three names and addresses in Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York]. No. 1 and 2 absolutely reliable and discreet. No. 3 reliable, not always discreet. . . . In United States sabotage can reach to all kinds of factories for war deliveries . . ."

The Black Tom explosions followed on the nights of July 29 and 30, 1916, at the Lehigh Valley Railroad Terminal in New York Harbor, located at Black Tom, New Jersey; and on January 11, 1917, the explosions and fires at the munitions assembling plant at Kingsland, New Jersey.

The rights of labor, during this past year, have not seriously been impaired. There is not as much pressure to repeal or modify the National Labor Relations Act as there was two years ago, in spite of the growing public concern over strikes in defense industries. Voluntary arbitration still functions in the place of compulsory laws providing for cooling-off periods. If organized labor, and the liberal group who support its rights, were less antagonistic to measures as carefully and moderately planned as those I have analyzed, which represent a genuine effort to protect us against crimes vitally affecting our national defense, there would be less chance of the adoption of those more extreme

measures which stand on the horizon. The tremendous strides in the organization of labor provide a means of protection against abuse of power, which did not exist in the earlier days, when many aspects of the liberal position first took shape. A primary democratic bulwark, the first to fall when the dictator strides in, organized labor must be strong, self-representative, free. But organized labor, as a part of that democracy, should be the first to defend it. Labor should not, by opposing measures of defense of so moderate a nature, because of an impalpable fear of how they may be construed or enforced, raise a doubt in the public mind of its disinterestedness and patriotism.

As a practical matter it is now, in most cases, impossible to deport aliens, because of the war. A bill was accordingly introduced in the last Congress providing for the establishment of places of detention for them. This was rightly criticized by liberal groups, and was not agreeable to the Department of Justice. A new bill was drawn, with the objectionable features removed, and was introduced this year with the Department's backing.

Alien convicts and revolutionaries, as well as that very large group of foreigners whose deportable offense is that they are here illegally, in most cases cannot be deported, though the law requires deportation. The Hobbs bill, introduced this year, authorizes, when and only as long as deportation is impossible, detention of the alien in Federal institutions. Supervision of non-deportable aliens is given to the Immigration Service, which may detain the alien for five months, pending deportation; and for one year and three months when the deportation is based on conviction of a crime not connected with entry into the United States, in which case the detention is found necessary to the public interest or safety, upon the order of a supervising board created by the act for such purposes.

Aliens of another class are subject to indefinite detention, until they can be deported, under order of the Board: those who have been sentenced more than once to a term of one year or more for a crime involving moral turpitude, pimps, narcotic peddlers, and aliens convicted for "treason, espionage, sabotage, kidnapping, extortion, robbing of the mails, or of a bank or of an

officer or employee of the United States, murder, rape, arson, or seditious conspiracy." The classification may not be sufficiently inclusive; but it should not shock our sense of fair treatment that such persons be shut up rather than scattered about the community while they cannot be deported. The bill is in a sense revolutionary, because it permits detention without trial by a jury. But when aliens cannot be deported, some such control is necessary. It is a very serious curb on civil rights, made essential by the circumstances of war.

I have not had an opportunity of looking over all the legislation adopted by the states during the 1941 sessions of the legislatures which might be said to affect civil rights. Much legislation of an alien-baiting nature has been introduced, such as forbidding relief rolls to aliens or excluding them from businesses in which licenses issued by the state are required. But little of this has been adopted, and in several instances such statutes have been vetoed. On the other hand, almost as many bills have been introduced to eliminate various kinds of discrimination. Bills of both types are now pending in several of the state legislatures which have not yet adjourned. In Pennsylvania a proposed measure would bar aliens from receiving state relief such as old age assistance and unemployment assistance. In Wisconsin a bill prevents aliens from being granted licenses, with a few exceptions. So far as I know, only one state has enacted a statute frankly discriminating against aliens. In Montana the law now prevents aliens from practicing dentistry—American dentists in that state must be peculiarly patriotic. In the same session of the legislature, however, Governor Ford—all credit to him—has vetoed a bill that prohibited the employment of any alien by the state, its subdivisions, or the public schools. On the other hand, New York adopted a statute providing that no person should, because of race, color, or religion be subjected to discrimination in his civil rights by any person, or by any agency of the state.

Governor Lehman's Committee on Discrimination in Employment has been making a study of discrimination in New York State. State Industrial Commissioner Frieda S. Miller, chairman of the committee, is quoted in the *New York Times* as saying:

We are particularly concerned with two forms of discrimination common in this country today. One is based on nationality the other on racial and religious distinction. The first bars from defense employment many citizens of Italian and German extraction, even though they have unquestionably proved their complete loyalty to this country. The second makes it difficult for thousands of qualified Negroes and Jews to secure jobs in the plants which are rearming our nation. Both are contributing toward disunity at a time when common objectives and national unity must be paramount.

I do not mean to say that intolerance has disappeared, or that brutality, often masquerading under the excuse of law enforcement, is not still far too frequent. We all know of the outrages committed against the members of the sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses, who, with the misplaced zeal of martyrs, openly tempt retaliation for their attacks upon the Catholic Church, so that grand juries refuse to return indictments. Where state officials should have been active in preventing this cruel persecution, they have in many instances permitted it to occur, and in some cases they have been the leaders of the mob. And this betrayal of the rights of citizens is done in the name of patriotism, and failure to salute the flag is made an excuse to desecrate the principles of which that flag is a symbol. The test of our ability to preserve those principles is always sharper in a time of crisis. Hitler's methods cannot save our democracy, which demands justice for all alike.

In a recent pamphlet the Civil Liberties Union characterizes the President's order centering the investigation of all subversive activities in the FBI as "an obviously dangerous grant of broad powers easily extended into the field of political opinion." The opinion is expressed, fairly enough, that, "despite this grant of powers the Department of Justice up to the present has held within reasonable bounds the operations of the F.B.I." That such a concentration increases effectiveness seems to me obvious; and that power should be centered rather than scattered increases responsibility, and makes it far easier to uncover and correct its misuse.

I share the traditional American hesitation in giving our rulers sweeping powers over the affairs of citizens. In a crisis they must be exercised swiftly, and our experience of the last war has shown

that they are often exercised unjustly, brutally, and stupidly. Today in Canada and in England almost the broadest conceivable powers have been granted by the legislative branch to the executive. In Canada the War Measures Act, enacted in the last war, became operative when this war was declared. Under it the Governor-General is empowered to make any orders or regulations considered necessary for the security and defense of Canada. One order authorizes the cabinet to conscript persons, "their service and their property . . . as may be deemed necessary for securing public safety . . ." A cabinet minister may intern any person believed to be acting in any manner prejudicial to the safety of the State. Such powers are infinitely more sweeping than any granted our Government during the last war. They are necessarily based on a faith in their proper exercise by the Government, and, on the whole, this faith has been justified by the moderation shown both in Canada and in Great Britain. In the latter, freedom of speech and of the press is largely exercised in the midst of the war. Parliament, while not hesitating to grant sweeping powers, does not hesitate to insist on their proper exercise. Perhaps if we adopted this attitude toward our executives we should get better results. The enforcement of law is, in nine cases out of ten, the essential thing. Self-discipline is the only alternative to the external control exercised by the Nazis.

I sometimes wonder if many liberals throughout the world, as Lewis Mumford suggests, are more concerned over minor curtailments of private liberties than over defeating fascism. A sense of history should forewarn us against the continual repetition of the theme that war always brings the sacrifice of liberty and resolves into a dictatorship. We have fought five wars, and we are still a democracy.

There is danger lest the liberal faith, ground between pacifism on one side and the philosophy of might on the other, become timorous and defeatist. It need not be; and the test of these times gives it opportunity to display a more vital leadership. A liberal, like others, must first learn history. He must have a moving sense of his own past and of his own future, something deeper than an intellectual understanding. He must be concerned

with the purposes of society, which are deeply ethical and religious. They deal with the choice of good and evil, the ancient moral choice. When that is presented we cannot stand aside and suspend judgment, but must exercise it, today as never before, when the moral alternatives are so clearly defined.

WHO IS FIT TO VOTE IN A DEMOCRACY?

George C. Stoney

THIS IS A DISTURBING QUESTION. It implies a kind of reasoning about the relation of citizens to their government that is completely foreign to the more commonly accepted idea of democracy as we know it in America. It implies that voting is a privilege conferred upon those classified as fit citizens, a privilege the exercise of which makes them governors of the unfit citizens. Where that line of reasoning and of practice can lead to is plain to see.

In eight Southern states the poll tax is effectively blocking off two thirds of the citizens from this privilege of voting, and is, in effect, classing them as unfit citizens, to be governed by the other one third. In at least four other Southern states most Negroes are denied the right of the ballot. In almost every state of the Union purposefully shaped registration and residence laws make it difficult for many people to exercise their right to self-government. And there is a threat that such restrictions will be increased.

In the last presidential election while 71 percent of the adult citizens were casting ballots in the rest of the country, in these eight poll-tax states about 19 percent voted. Actually, the number of men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five who were registered for the draft in these eight states was larger than the total voting population, including both men and women from twenty-one up.

Alabama has the most vicious poll tax of all. Alabama's poll tax is \$1.50 a year. You can pay this only between November and February. If you do not pay the \$1.50, next year it will cost you \$3.00 to "get in shape to vote," as they put it. So it goes up, until a voter may be required to pay as much as \$36.00 for his

ballot. Several hundred people pay this amount for a ballot in Alabama every year.

Consider for a moment the case of John Hill. John is a farmer, a tenant farmer we'll say, since the average farmer in Alabama is a tenant. John gets about what the average tenant farmer makes during the year, not more than \$200 in cash.

Books are open for payment of the poll tax, but no notice is put in the papers, no bills are sent out. When a friend reminds him it is poll-tax time, John thinks of the \$1.50. He must pay now to be eligible to vote in the election that won't come for months yet. He can't see where that election is going to mean a dollar fifty's worth to him. Next year there is no election to cause a friend to remind John of the tax. By the next election year he owes \$4.50. It's the governor's race this time, and he sure would like to vote. But \$4.50 is \$4.50. He reckons his candidate can get along without his one vote.

Another couple of years go by, and the Probate Judge is up for re-election. Everybody wants to vote for probate judge. Elections come only every six years, and there is usually a strong fight. Though he owes \$7.50 poll tax now, John is hopeful he will get to vote. With Captain Bob's crowd fighting it out with Captain Bill's crowd, votes are liable to be worth \$7.50.

One successful candidate for probate judge in Alabama spent, by his own admission, over \$12,000 for poll taxes alone in 1940. The total poll tax collected for the year from that county amounted to over \$24,000. His opponent paid most of the rest. But chances are John can't get someone to pay his tax for him, or perhaps he doesn't want to get the ballot that way.

In Alabama last November 17.6 percent of the adult citizens voted in the general election of 1940. And before someone reminds me that Alabama is a one-party state where only Democratic primaries are important, let me cite another fact: The greatest percentage of adult whites in Alabama who have voted in any state-wide primary or general election in the past twenty years was 48 percent.

Mississippi charges \$2.00 a year for the privilege of voting. If you let it slide they charge \$4.00 the next year. Some 15.2 percent

of the adults voted there last time. Texas has a \$1.75 annual levy, and 28.7 percent of its citizens voted. The poll tax in Arkansas is \$1.00; 17.8 percent was the voting record there in 1940.

Tennessee, with the mayor of a famous river town paying the \$2.00 one must pay to vote there, polled 27.9 percent of its citizens. Tennessee is one of the states where a voter must show his poll tax receipt to the election manager.

Georgia's poll tax is \$1.00 a year, but there is no uniform system for collection. In Atlanta poll tax bills are cumulative for seven years and, with interest and penalty fees, add up to \$15.00. In a few other counties poll tax bills often are charged up to \$40.00 or more. But in the majority of counties one pays up to \$4.00 or \$6.00, depending on what the local political group decides is a convenient sum. One county ring, anxious to win a district office, charged no poll tax at all in 1939, and put every white person in the county on the poll books! About 16.3 percent of the adult Georgians went to the polls last November.

Virginia, cradle of American freedom, charges \$1.50, and the tax is cumulative for three years. Only 20.6 percent of her sons and daughters of liberty cast a ballot in November.

South Carolina has a \$1.00 annual poll tax, and her voting record was, last November, 8.8 percent, the lowest of all. However, South Carolina is the only one of the eight states where poll-tax restrictions do not apply to the primary. Therefore it is not surprising to see that, comparing voting percentages in primaries in Southern states, South Carolina ranks first among the poll-tax states, and almost equal to its non-poll-tax sister, North Carolina. North Carolina has, despite its restrictions on Negro voting, a voting record almost equal to the national average. This proves that Southern people will vote, if given a chance.

Though its defenders will remind you that the poll tax is a revenue measure, and that it goes to help the South's poorly financed school systems, I have yet to find, in any state where its payment is a prerequisite for voting, a county where poll-tax collection is pushed. In Virginia, for instance, where voters must have poll-tax receipts, nonvoting citizens can go for years without knowing that they owe the tax. In North Carolina where a poll

tax is charged, but where there is no connection between this revenue measure and the right to vote, sheriffs, policemen, and who-knows-what-all come after the citizen who is a poll-tax delinquent.

All the poll-tax money collected in Alabama during the 1939-40 season, an unusually large amount, would run the schools of that state for about two days. Mr. Albert Collins, Alabama's state superintendent of schools, says:

The poll tax costs our schools many times more than the meager revenue it brings in. If our poll tax was repealed, a group of people would gain the ballot who would insist on more adequate expenditures for public education. But that isn't the only reason I'm against the poll tax. I'm against the poll tax because it is contrary to the letter and spirit of our democratic form of government.

Perhaps it is hard for citizens of states outside the South to understand why a dollar or two a year can so effectively prevent the majority of people in a state from exercising the most important act of American citizenship. Low per capita wealth—less than half the national average—can explain it in part, but only in part. More important is the natural tendency of people who are dominated economically by a small group to let that group also do their governing for them.

Anyone who thinks charging a poll tax to vote helps to improve the quality of the electorate should see the gangs who hang around Alabama or Georgia courthouses a day or two before the poll-tax books close, waiting for their Colonel Bobs or their Captain Bills to slip them a dollar or \$1.50 for their poll tax.

Of course, buying votes is not strange to American politics or unique with the poll-tax states. Poll-tax requirements simply cut down on the total number of votes, so those that can be bought become a much larger proportion of the total cast. Most important, perhaps, the poll tax eliminates the normally indifferent voter, the ordinary citizen who is attached to no faction and no party, the unpredictable, irregular voter whose indignation or enthusiasm makes all reform movements and political upsets possible. This is the voter whom politicians fear and despise.

A survey of the Alabama Parent-Teacher Association members

showed that less than a third of them could vote. A survey of other organizations for women revealed the same thing. If only one poll tax can be paid, the man usually votes. All surveys have shown that the poll tax disfranchises relatively more women than men.

Incidentally, the Joint Women's Legislative Council of Alabama, backed by the Parent-Teacher Association and many other women's organizations, is leading the anti-poll-tax fight in that state. Women's groups are active in the other states, too, for their leaders realize how difficult it is to make organization support for social legislation mean anything when the politicians know that only a handful of the members can vote.

The main evil of the poll tax, however, is not the political crookedness it fosters; we have that in states that never heard of the poll tax. The main evil of the poll tax is twofold: (1) it fosters a feeling of indifference toward government among the mass of people, a feeling that government is a grand racket, run by a few for their own benefit; (2) it fosters a feeling of contempt among representatives and public officials for the average person who makes up their numerical constituency. In other words, the poll tax encourages and helps to strengthen the already dangerously sharp class lines that divide the Southern people.

The statement, "There's a class of people who aren't fit to vote," is heard so often in the poll-tax states that it can be labeled a Southern cliché. And because these people are voteless, these people who are in the greatest need of the kind of social legislation that has been sponsored by social workers for the last decade, their so-called representatives are the most immovable adversaries of social reform. Our whole concept of representative government is based on the theory that congressmen will respond to the wishes of their constituents. But it is assumed, also, that the constituents are voters.

Lack of responsibility among public officials to the mass of people is most noticeable and most distressing on the county level, among sheriffs and chiefs of police and school superintendents. For example, a group of textile workers in Alabama signed a contract with their employer for a closed shop. The

day the contract was to go into effect representatives from a rival union, backed up by people in the town who didn't want to see closed-shop contracts become a custom there, attacked and slugged many of the union members as they tried to enter the plant. Police stood by, watching. The union's officials appealed to the chief of police. The chief said the city didn't want to take sides. They appealed to the sheriff of the county and got an answer just as unsatisfactory. The governor finally had to send home guardsmen to restore order.

After things quieted down, the union's leaders began to ask themselves why it was they couldn't get the protection from the law to which they were entitled. They found out why. Out of a union of over five hundred members, less than two dozen people were eligible to vote, because of the poll tax. Actually, it would take more than \$5,000 to pay the back poll taxes owed by this union group.

I wonder how proud and secure the mill workers felt as citizens in a democracy when they saw the local police watching them being manhandled, and refusing to act because the workers had no political power?

Removal of the poll tax will not bring free elections to the states where its payment is a prerequisite for voting. When it is gone there will remain Alabama's difficult registration and residence laws, under which registration is possible only a few days in the year and a person must have lived in the state two years to vote. It will leave Georgia's vicious county unit system, under which a vote in one sparsely populated county counts 300 times as much as one cast in the city of Atlanta. The exclusive one-party system will remain, with voting procedures left in the hands of the people who control that party. Problems of reapportionment will continue, as in Mississippi, for example, where three legislators represent one county where there are 3,000 voters, while a county with several times that many voters has one representative. Most important, perhaps, there will remain that great question of suffrage for the Negro.

No, removal of the poll tax will not bring the millennium, as we know from studying the experience of North Carolina

and Florida. But a study of political happenings in those two states does show that when the poll tax is abolished, moves follow toward improvement in other matters. North Carolina and Florida, for example, both have stronger minor party movements than can be found in other states. Though both suffer from many of the same political difficulties as other Southern states, vast improvements have been made recently in their election laws. In North Carolina this came chiefly as a result of mass protest from a new political faction that had all but swept the older state political groups out of office. This faction was aroused by schoolteachers, leaders among the small farmers, and the state's few organized industrial workers—a kind of movement that it would be practically impossible to create in a poll-tax state.

Without question, there is more real opposition based on issues rather than personalities in North Carolina and Florida politics than in any of the neighboring states. This is so, I believe, chiefly because those states have no poll tax to eliminate the casual voter. In these two states almost twice as many people are voting, are getting practice in democracy, as in the poll-tax states around them. At the first important election in Florida after its poll-tax law was abolished the number of voters was doubled.

A fully aroused electorate in the more populous counties of Georgia might well cause such a row that the county unit system would be reformed, if more of them could vote. The eagerness of office seekers to get more voters, once poll taxes opened the gates, would probably bring a revision in Alabama's restrictive registration laws. Reapportionment has been a problem in many states. Change never comes without a kind of wholesale arousement led by indignant reformers and ordinarily politically dormant groups. Such a campaign is impossible in the poll-tax states.

As to the possibility for a freer suffrage for the Negro as a result of poll-tax reform I can give little honest hope. Emory Jackson, publisher of the *Alabama Tribune*, a Negro paper published in Montgomery, Alabama, had the following sentence in a signed article in the issue of May 2, 1941: "What too few Negroes seem to know is that little better off will they be if the poll tax

is repealed, so long as the white primary and misapplied registration laws continue."

After careful study, made county by county in five of the poll-tax states, I am forced to say that this editor is right. The main barrier to Negro suffrage in the South, both in poll-tax states and in those having no poll tax, is threat of violence. Registrars refuse to sign Negroes on the books, and, in enough cases to serve as effective warnings, when Negroes persisted they have been manhandled. The first recorded lynching of 1940 was of a Negro man in Tennessee who tried to vote and to get other Negroes to vote.

A few Negroes do vote in every Southern state. In general, however, the "white primary" bars those who can get registered from participating in important contests, their numbers being too small to be of any strength in general elections.

Negro disfranchisement came in most Southern states in the 1890s, at the same time the poll tax was instituted. But the two matters have little more relation than that. From about 1870 until the 1890s old Democratic party groups held themselves in power by telling white people that if they joined the Republicans, Negroes would dominate the Government. Any attempt to institute reforms was battered down with the threat of Negro domination. Finally, through the Farmers' Alliance movement, chiefly, and the Populist campaigns, Democratic groups split. Depression-ridden small farmers had been pleading for some form of aid ever since the war, and now they were willing to risk "Negro domination" to get it.

Some Negroes did gain office; indeed, some Negroes had held office since the end of the Civil War, and competently. It was the Populist uprising among the small white farmers that really disturbed politicians. Knowing the deep-seated enmity between Negro and poor white, they raised a second series of bloody-shirt movements. In many states the polls were manned with shotguns. We have in Congress at the present time a man who is recognized in the history books of his state as the leader of a shotgun brigade that frightened Negroes away from the polls when delegates to a constitutional convention were being elected. At that constitu-

tional convention the measures used to disfranchise both Negroes and poor whites were decided upon.

As some delegates said frankly in the various state constitutional conventions, the poll tax was one measure adopted to cut off the great mass of people, white and black, from the use of the ballot. How effectively this has been done is illustrated by the voting record in Alabama. In 1890, before the poll tax was passed, Alabama had more adult male voters than she had in 1940, although the state's population has almost doubled during this time. It seems that the class of folks who are fit to vote in Alabama is on the decline!

Political chicanery rather than the anti-Negro feeling is, however, the greatest barrier to poll-tax reform. Three times governors and a majority of the members of Tennessee's legislature have been elected on anti-poll-tax platforms. Each time they have avoided the issue when bills came before them. In Virginia two out of three candidates for governor this time have come out favoring poll-tax reform. The third has not spoken on the issue.

Governors of two other states have made promises, but have done nothing. In Alabama and Georgia he who advocates poll-tax reform is splattered by the powers that be with all kind of epithets, yet the three daily papers in Birmingham and numerous county weeklies have openly called for some kind of reform. A recent Southern governor advocated poll-tax modification during his campaign. When another former governor in the South wanted public support he picked anti-poll-tax sentiment and anti-fifth-column sentiment as the two planks that seemed surest to gain it. In every instance the public has been betrayed.

In most states the poll tax is cemented into the constitution so firmly that it would take years of political effort to wangle it out, even if there were a sincere effort on the part of the legislature to do so. But these legislators have found the poll tax too convenient a device for political control to give it up. Every time the matter is brought up they begin a new wave of Negro-baiting. An even greater problem is the fact that a great portion of those who vote in the South also are the ones who say of the

voteless, "There is a class of people who aren't fit to vote." This group is in control.

With the group of people who don't want an enlarged suffrage, with the great anti-Negro feeling that is drawn upon, with the political leaders of the states using all their skill and cunning to block removal, and with the constitutional obstacles to be overcome, poll-tax reform coming from the Southern states themselves seems almost hopeless for many years. Southern people interested in making their native region more democratic—in the real sense—have turned to Congress for help. A bill has been introduced by Congressman Lee Geyer, of California, calling for the abolition of the poll tax in Federal elections. Senator Pepper, of Florida, has introduced in the Senate, a similar bill, one that also includes the primaries. Senator Pepper led the successful fight for poll-tax elimination in his own state.

Messrs. Geyer and Pepper reason that while Southern poll-tax payers elect representatives to Congress, the men they elect govern not only the folks who elect them, but the whole country. Right now, through seniority rights, men from poll-tax states control almost half the congressional committees. Many social welfare measures have been defeated or weakened by these men, who are often elected by less than 10 percent of the adults in their own district.

We have no right to tell Southern people whom to elect, Messrs. Geyer and Pepper reason, but we do have a right to insist that the representatives they choose should be elected in the same democratic manner as are those in the rest of the country. Of the seventy-eight representatives in Congress from poll-tax states, only forty-two had any opposition whatsoever in either the primary or the general elections of 1940, and less than half a dozen of those who did run for re-election against opposition were defeated. It is a well-substantiated fact that many of the representatives from poll-tax states are elected and controlled with money furnished by industrial and political interests whose attempts to control elections in their home states have not succeeded because of the broader suffrage there.

I would not intimate that there will be no enemies of social

legislation, no demagogues, no smooth-tongued tools of special interests representing the South, when the poll tax is repealed. Voteless people will not learn in one year or five to handle the ballot with complete wisdom. In general they are going to react for some time to come to the same kind of push that now controls Southern politics. Breaks in the old system will first show themselves in the counties. One group of cotton mill folks will vote solid to get rid of a sheriff who clubbed their picket line. One group of school patrons will unseat the school superintendent who has turned their school system into one for private patronage. Gradually the larger movements will come.

But will any of this come unless poll-tax reform is achieved? Every year thousands of children are growing up in a section of our country where self-government is discouraged. Census reports show that the South is the only section of the country where, at present, enough children are being produced to keep the population more than static. According to A. E. Baker, social scientist for the Department of Agriculture, the rural South is producing the bulk of America's net increase in population.

Southern rural people have many qualities to recommend them, but a democratic tradition is certainly not one of them. Millions of Southerners have already migrated to other parts of the country. Many of them have become captains of industries and leaders in the intellectual world. Some, too, have formed Black Legions and, with antidemocratic foreign groups, have burned fiery crosses in places, where, a few years before, the Ku Klux Klan was but a strange legend from a strange southland.

To most Southerners an undemocratic feeling toward the Negro race is something so subtly and completely acquired that it becomes a natural part of their mental and emotional apparatus. Only by a major act of will, buttressed by reason that runs counter to all the beliefs and practices around them, can they free themselves from this prejudice. Whatever changes are made in the social and political setup that creates this feeling will have to come slowly, for the prejudice was two centuries in the building.

The poll tax is an unfortunate tradition of the South, but one that, happily, has had less time to become ingrained. For forty

years, more or less, it has been abetting the strong class feeling already existing. Gradually one group of Southern children are learning from their parents and the practices of their community that there is a class of white people, as well as the whole body of Negroes who "aren't fit to vote."

And there is another group of people in the South—the children of the disfranchised—to whom democracy means little. They are growing up without the democratic tradition, without any trust in the protection of the law. These children of the voteless are growing up with the idea that government is the concern of a certain class among whom they are not included. Both groups of children, so the census shows, are moving out of the South to become the citizens of all America.

Both the Geyer and the Pepper bills are going to need whole-hearted support from the rest of the country. Certainly when we are pouring out all the resources of our nation and our Government to keep alive the ideal of democracy in Europe, when we are holding ourselves up to the world as the personification of this ideal—certainly now is the time for us to see that the very fundamentals of democracy are no longer denied to 10,000,000 of America's own citizens.

HAS GROUP WORK A PART TO PLAY IN THE PRESERVATION AND EXTENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES?

Clara A. Kaiser

THERE IS URGENT NEED to examine our affirmations regarding the objectives of group work in developing intelligent and effective citizens in a democratic society in the light of what is actually happening in the world in which we live. Lip service to old shibboleths, such as "freedom of speech and press," "minority rights," "responsible citizenship," is not enough to stem the tide of mounting pressures and strains that affect the attitudes and actions of every individual and every institution in our society. It is not enough to pledge ourselves solemnly to adhere to the basic tenets of our Bill of Rights which guarantees the freedom of individuals to exercise their right to express their opinions and to further them through group action. To maintain civil liberties is not merely a matter of the observance of legal sanctions, but of the active effort to educate a citizenry that knows how to exercise its guaranteed freedom intelligently with a recognition of its responsibilities as well as its rights.

The agencies in the group work field have traditionally proclaimed one of their chief aims to be that of developing the capacities of individuals to participate intelligently and effectively in the groups and communities of which they are a part. They have believed that the elements of responsible participation in the larger aspects of civic and social life in a democracy are learned through experience in smaller groups in which they share with other members the privileges and responsibilities of group life.

In these critical times we are increasingly conscious of the dif-

difficulties involved in maintaining consistency between our principles and our practices with regard to the maintenance of fundamental human and civil liberties. Is it true that we must curtail civil liberties in the interests of national unity and safety? If so, in what areas of thought must freedom of speech and press be restricted? By whom and how is it to be decided that certain freedoms must be temporarily suspended in order to secure them ultimately?

Last fall a pamphlet was published by the American Association for the Study of Group Work, stating some principles to guide the leadership of group work agencies in carrying out their responsibilities in the present emergency. It has helped to clarify the relationship of group work concepts to the problems confronting us. It has elicited a great deal of discussion, some of which raised questions regarding certain assumptions contained in the statement. The committee, in planning for the sessions of the Section on Social Group Work, of the National Conference of Social Work, recognized that there was need for further exploration of the problems that agencies in the group work field are facing in maintaining and extending civil liberties, especially in view of the current situation. The term "civil liberties" is construed by the committee to pertain not only to legal guarantees, but also to the social attitudes and controls which are as vital to the exercise of fundamental rights as are laws.

The committee was of the opinion that the questions involved could be most helpfully and realistically studied if they were discussed by groups of people throughout the country in the light of their experience in their own agencies and communities. Accordingly, I assumed the responsibility for organizing a small subcommittee in New York City, which formulated a letter stating the purpose of the meeting and a suggested list of questions as a guide for discussion. These were sent to persons in seventeen communities asking them to take responsibility for bringing together a group of people to study and discuss these questions and to report their findings to our subcommittee. The response to this request was indicative of the widespread interest in the subject. Reports were received from ten cities: Boston, Balti-

more, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Springfield, Massachusetts, and from Talladega, Alabama, where a college for Negroes carries on an extension program in the community.

In many instances existing groups in the community, such as committees of councils of social agencies, undertook to discuss the questions. In a few cases the reports are the result of discussions carried on in local study groups of the American Association for the Study of Group Work. The number of meetings in which the subject was discussed ranged from three to six. Approximately one hundred different individuals participated in the various groups throughout the country. In this summary I have not identified the material obtained from the various reports and it has been possible to touch only the highlights.

The questions suggested for discussion were used by most of the groups as a basis for examining their experience and for formulating principles which seemed to them important if group work was to contribute to the preservation and extension of civil liberties. I shall, therefore, present the material of the reports in relation to these questions.

The first question for discussion was stated as follows:

1. "Have there been pressures on your agencies to shift the emphasis of their programs in any of the following ways: (a) the number and type of membership that is served by the agency; (b) the type of activities included in the program; (c) the responsibilities of staff workers; (d) the policies of the agency regarding relationships to other groups in the community?"

The replies to this question were significant in that they indicated the extent to which the impact of the present world and national situation has altered the focus of agency programs. There appears to be wide variation in different communities and in different agencies in the effects which have been noted. In communities where defense industries and large concentrations of army and navy personnel are located, the agencies have been called upon to assume new responsibilities for mass recreation needs and for providing specialized services to individuals and

families uprooted from their own communities. This has resulted in changes in the types of people served, in the activities included in the programs, and in the responsibilities of staff workers. It is interesting to note that in only one city was this problem of changing the functions of the agencies regarded as serious. The agencies serving largely a young adult membership were far more conscious of the changing need of their own clientele than were those whose programs were directed toward the younger age groups. To some extent the programs of individual groups in agencies have reflected the interests of members in defense activities and in the international situation. A number of reports indicated that pressures on staff workers had increased sharply. This was due partly to the new responsibilities but more particularly to the withdrawal of leaders furnished through the National Youth Administration and of workers, both employed and volunteer, drawn into army service.

There was an almost unanimous opinion in the reports that every effort should be made to permit agencies to continue their normal programs, because these services were more important than ever. Excerpts from three of the reports illustrate the basis for this conviction:

In conclusion, the group was agreed that the pressures of the present world situation demand that group work agencies know and understand each other and work together coöperatively to meet community needs. There is need to adapt the present programs to meet the immediate defense needs and at the same time to maintain the strengths of the normal programs for the good of future generations. [BALTIMORE]

While a situation as widespread as the present one naturally demands new activities and services, it also clarifies the value of the regular program to the whole defense plan. We cannot say this part is defense and that is regular. The program is a total one based on present needs. One of the great responsibilities of group work is to help people to think clearly. Confusion is natural in times like the present. This confusion should be resolved if possible through free discussion and continued education. [BOSTON]

We dare not lose faith in the democratic way of dealing with children. The pressure of the times will be used as an excuse to abandon

parts of our program. One of the best ways we can serve is to concentrate on the normalcy of our everyday programs. In communities where varying national cultures are mingled, we must seek to reduce tensions caused by the European conflict. [SPRINGFIELD]

The second, third, and fourth questions were designed to stimulate discussion as to the policies and objectives of agencies with regard to the part they play in providing social education for their membership, both through inviting participation in determining agency policies and programs and on matters related to wider social issues. The questions were stated as follows:

2. "In what ways are policies in your agencies made and to what extent do all elements in the constituency participate in agency control?"

3. "Do your agencies permit and stimulate discussion of current political, economic, and social questions? Does the agency discourage or forbid the discussion of certain questions? If so, on what basis was the decision made to do so?"

4. "Are groups within your agency free to participate in programs of other organizations committed to furthering social, political, or economic movements? Are such organizations allowed to hold meetings in buildings of agencies?"

The reports, since they did not reflect official agency opinion, gave only generalized impressions of the conditions and trends regarding methods of determining policy in agencies in the communities represented. There was evidence in nearly all of the reports that there was an increased awareness among the persons participating in the discussions of the need for democratization of methods of policy-making in group work agencies. Various devices and methods were described as a means toward accomplishing this. Representative groups of the membership have been recognized as instruments for membership participation in the formulation of policy as well as a means for integrating the groups and activities of the agencies. Wider representation on boards of directors from the membership and from the community served is another way in which some organizations have attempted to broaden the base of control in the agency. The general im-

pression gained is that in most agencies the final and sole authority for determining agency policies still rests with the board of directors, which is usually composed of persons representing the financial supporters of the agency. In some agencies the executive exercises a disproportionate amount of authority in relation to the other staff members and to the constituent elements in the membership.

On the question of the agencies' policies regarding the encouragement of discussion of current political, economic, and social issues, there was little that can be generalized. Even though there was an almost universal assertion that agencies permitted the discussion of any questions which were of concern to their membership, it was also indicated that by and large a very small proportion of the members of groups was vitally concerned with broad social and economic problems. There was considerable difference of opinion as to how much initiative should be exercised by the leadership of the agency in stimulating an active interest in matters involving controversial points of view. In some groups considerable discussion centered in the question of injecting subjects into group programs when the members of the group had not themselves expressed a desire to learn more about them or to take any action with regard to them. The various points of view expressed can best be indicated by some direct quotations from the reports of discussions:

Group leaders and teachers in times like these have a responsibility to increase individuals' ability to think. The group should be as critical in its thinking as we can get it to be. We should encourage the weighing of all sides and free expression of opinion. We need the courage at times to admit that we do not know and to ask questions.

The following is taken directly from verbatim minutes of one discussion group.

Miss A: We feel it is one of our greatest responsibilities to help our young people think things through clearly.

Miss B: Here is an example of something that occurred in one of our groups. I said to them, "In discussing social issues, we should talk about unions." One girl said, "Emphatically no, anything but unions." Whereupon I said, "You do not have to believe in them,

but it seems to me you are shutting your eyes to an important part of the social life of today." The speaker added, "We should talk about controversial matters and create opportunities which will lead to discussions and clarification of issues."

Mr. X: If the members express the need for clarification, then it is the duty of the agency to try to meet the need. However, if there is no expressed desire on the part of the membership, then any move on the part of the leaders in the agency may be considered as propaganda.

None of the reports contained evidence that agencies actually forbade the discussion of any questions in their groups, but there were instances cited of ways in which discussion of certain problems was restricted indirectly as well as directly. This was particularly true regarding issues around which there were known to be sharply conflicting points of view within the constituency of the agency or in the community. The responsibility of the agency leadership to see that varying points of view should be presented was emphasized in nearly all the reports.

With regard to the freedom of groups to participate in programs of other organizations committed to furthering specific social, political, or economic programs, there was also wide variation in policy. Some agencies do not permit individual groups to take any public stand as affiliates of the agency unless the governing board has endorsed the stand. Others permit groups to affiliate with other organizations or to take direct action on an issue if they make it clear that they are not committing the agency to this stand.

The use of buildings by outside organizations having some definite social, political, or economic program is also handled differently in different communities and in different agencies. In one city a committee of the council of social agencies has formulated a general policy for agencies in that community. The discussion group in that city cited this as representing the general opinion of the group:

The agency has a responsibility in cooperating with the religious, educational, and civic institutions of the community, wherever their interests and purposes find common ground. Such cooperation may mean joint enterprises, lay and staff cooperation, and use of building.

It should be clearly understood that any agency lending or renting its building to another group takes no responsibility for whatever may be said or done during the period of its hospitality.

Another report brought out the following points, resulting from the discussion of this question:

1. The private agencies may allow greater freedom than a public agency in relation to the use of their facilities.

2. The purpose of the agency and the source and extent of financial support are factors which tend to influence the attitude of the agency toward other groups.

There was some evidence in the reports that there are increasing strictures on the freedom of groups, particularly those representing minority opinions, in expressing their views and that outside organizations asking the use of buildings are scrutinized much more thoroughly than formerly before they are permitted to do so.

The next question was:

5. "What groups in the community tend to exert control over the policies and programs of your agencies?"

Curiously enough, there was only one report which contained much material with reference to this question. It is true that in the reports of nearly all communities reference was made to the controls exerted by the central financing organization over agency programs and policies. However, there was no clear indication of how this really affected the freedom of the agency to encourage and protect the free expression of opinion in agencies or the rights of groups and individuals to participate in social action programs. Religious institutions, particularly when agencies have some affiliation with a sectarian group, were mentioned as another strong element of control over agency policies and program. The general impression gained from the reports is that the controls of community forces and institutions are implicit rather than explicit and that most agencies conform to the majority opinion voluntarily rather than under any kind of coercion.

The sixth question was directed toward the responsibility of group leaders in stimulating thinking and discussion of current

social issues. This question elicited a great deal of discussion in the various groups. In most of the reports, the role and ability of the group leader were regarded as the major factors in providing sound and significant experience for groups in social education. The responsibility which group leaders have was described variously. This statement was in the report from the group concerned with the needs of the Negro population in a Southern community:

Leaders should be acquainted with current social issues and they should have some conviction on the issues involved.

They should lead individuals and groups into the recognition of social problems surrounding them and into the discussion of ways to solve them.

They should point out the barriers individuals meet in seeking citizenship rights, barriers which exist in practically every area of human activity.

They should make known to groups the provisions made by existing state and federal laws and services for meeting needs of their group.

They should examine group attitudes and plan discussions and projects for stimulating interest in accordance with them.

In another report, the following statement appeared:

We feel quite definitely that the responsibility of our group leaders in stimulating thinking and discussion on current social issues should be open-minded. They should possess, as well, a community spirit in the responsibility which they accept in leading groups of this nature. In addition we stress awareness and straight thinking as prerequisites for any discussion leadership. The agencies should aid group discussion leaders through adequate supervision, conferences, reading shelves, forums and training courses. [PHILADELPHIA]

In several reports there was an admission that group leaders interested and competent in stimulating and guiding the interests of groups in the study and discussion of social problems were difficult to secure. The responsibility of professional staff workers to find and give guidance to such leaders was stressed.

The next question was stated as follows:

7. "Have there been evidences of increased tensions and con-

flicts within your membership based on nationality, social, or economic differences? How have your agencies attempted to deal with these or avoid them?"

Nearly every report indicated that there were increased tensions among the members of the groups served by agencies. Religious, racial, and nationalistic conflicts tended to be aggravated by the international situation. On the other hand, a number of reports contained references to the way in which these manifestations had been utilized as a means for creating opportunities for discussing the reasons for these conflicts and for interpreting the need for accepting differences existing in a democratic society. Such an incident in one group was cited in a report. The Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. had traditionally planned for a joint worship service in the Easter season. Considerable anti-Semitic sentiment had been expressed in some groups in both organizations. The leaders were concerned with the problem, and the following excerpt from the report describes the way in which the problem was handled by leaders from the two associations working with a joint committee.

We suggested that it might be interesting to have a Rabbi speak on "Tolerance in Religion," and the group thought it would be a good idea. So we got a Rabbi. Before the meeting I was with some of the fellows in the hall and one of them said he wasn't going in to hear him. I asked him why, and he said he wasn't going to have any Jew educate him. After some discussion with him he went to the meeting. The Rabbi did an excellent job of pointing out the validity of differences among people and that this was the beauty of America. He talked about pogroms and the history of anti-Semitism very frankly and realistically. After the meeting this fellow and the Rabbi started talking. The parting was that he and the Rabbi were great friends and the Rabbi invited him to come to see him some time. The boy said he would like to come and attend one of his services. The response of the whole group was good. They spoke of it enthusiastically in their group meetings.

In a number of reports there was reference to increased tensions in families caused by the conflicting loyalties of first-generation parents, particularly those of Italian and German birth, and their American-born children. There were also references to the ten-

sions created by conflicting propaganda groups seeking to enlist adherents in groups affiliated with agencies. None of the reports gave a very clear idea of the way in which these situations had been met. One report gave evidence of pressures to discontinue previous attempts of agencies to interpret the contributions and interests of various cultural and economic elements in the population of the community:

Some doubt about continuing the Festivals of Nations, sponsored by the International Institute, was expressed by some of the racial groups which had previously participated. After some discussion, however, it was agreed by all present that at a time like this, it is more important not only to continue this project, but also to interest more groups to join.

The last two questions were directed toward defining the part which group work should play in the preservation and extension of civil liberties. The questions were:

8. "Do you consider that the group work principle of basing program on the needs and interests of the group is a valid one in a period of emergency?"

9. "Do the principles underlying the group work process have anything to contribute to making civil liberties more concrete and meaningful to the groups and individuals with whom we are working in our agencies?"

In all cases the reports contained emphatic affirmations of the principle of basing programs on the needs and interests of groups. These were variously expressed, but in all cases there was a definite rejection of the idea that the freedom of groups to determine their own program should be in any way curtailed at this time. On the other hand, there was evidence that in many instances there had been a tightening of external controls that had inhibited and restricted the freedom of individuals and groups to express opinions and to pursue these further through action, especially if these were in the area of conflicting political, religious, and economic interests. The following excerpt illustrates this tendency.

It was the consensus of the group that the group work principle of

basing programs on needs and interests of the group is a valid one in a period of emergency, although there may be difficulties during an emergency such as the present. At present group members show an increased need and desire to have leaders make decisions for them. A wise group leader will be aware of this and put forth a special effort to have group members think and decide for themselves on the basis of facts and the long-time good for the greatest number. Insofar as individual group members give up their own identities and become too closely identified with the group leader, to that extent will they be excellent prey for unscrupulous leaders in the community.

Another report contained a somewhat more forthright statement:

Since good group work involves the application of all sound principles of democracy, it was felt that during times when people are easily moved emotionally, it is more necessary to implement the group work process so that the gains which have been made in the extension of civil liberties shall not be lost.

I have attempted to transmit and interpret the thinking of groups of people who seemed convinced that group work has a part to play in the preservation and extension of civil liberties. The reports contained many specific illustrations of the sharpened need for greater commitment to the basic principles underlying group work as an educational process and for keener insight into the forces that may interfere with the consistent application of those principles. These, unfortunately, I have not been able to include in this discussion.

In conclusion I should like to state briefly my own opinion regarding principles which may serve to keep our thinking clarified and our actions consistent in attempting to preserve and extend civil liberties as basic to the philosophy and practice of group work.

1. Group work is not applied in a social vacuum, but in relation to the society in which people live. As leaders, therefore, we must have awareness and convictions regarding vital issues if we are to meet the needs of our groups.

2. Group work is a means rather than an end, but it implies as a method of furthering the social education of individuals

and the development of sound group relationships a commitment to the basic tenets of democratic life.

3. Agencies utilizing group work are peculiarly subject to the fluctuations of public opinion and as such must seek to develop a broad and representative basis for the determination of policies and the making of decisions.

4. Those assuming leadership in agencies and in the community must avoid the temptation to accede to the tacit as well as the active pressures from external forces which might vitiate the basic objectives and purposes of our organizations and our services.

5. We must as persons scrutinize our own attitudes regarding what civil liberties mean to others as well as to ourselves. Civil liberties involve the rights of those who would disagree with us as well as our right to disagree with others.

6. During times of stress and emergency, such as these, when the very foundations of our society are threatened, we must emphasize, not just the retention of the *status quo*, but the extension and expansion of civil liberties which lie at the very core of a democratic way of life.

THE UNITED STATES PROGRAM FOR THE CARE OF REFUGEE CHILDREN

Katharine F. Lenroot

THOSE WHO FOR THE PAST YEAR have been directing the United States program for the care of guest children from abroad have been fully aware that we must not relax, but rather must intensify, our efforts to provide security for the children within our borders who are refugees from want and distress and family dislocation. But they have been aware also that the Western Hemisphere is the final, last place of asylum for the children of free peoples. If this asylum be not preserved, and with it the freedom of nations whose fate is inextricably bound up with our own, there will be no refugee problem, because there will be no place outside the reach of totalitarian aggression and persecution. From Germany, from Austria, from Czechoslovakia, from Poland, from Spain, from France, and, within the last year, from England, children whose parents have sought for them freedom from oppression and discrimination, and from bombing and from invasion, have come. They found generous refuge in France, maintained until France fell, and in England, until recently. They have found welcome in Canada and the United States, and families and children have found refuge in Mexico, in Cuba, in Santo Domingo, and in the countries to the south. The conference of foreign ministers of the American Republics, meeting in Cuba in July, 1940, recommended that the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood develop a plan for the care of children evacuated from the warring countries of Europe, and such a plan has been prepared and published by the Institute. Plans for the care of refugees have in some respects been in advance of the standards of care available

to many American children. Where this has been the case, they have served to call public attention to the gaps in our own program and the need for filling them in with more adequate protection.

It was just after the Battle of Dunkerque and preceding the fall of France that the earnest desire of many citizens of the United States to rescue European children from the dangers of a war that showed no mercy toward noncombatants found overwhelming expression. Never in history had the evidence of such a purpose assumed such proportions. It involved the modification of legal regulations, coördination of official and voluntary efforts, and the development of methods of assuring the physical welfare and, so far as possible, the emotional security of children uprooted from familiar associations and the shelter of home. Moreover, these children were to be transported, without their parents, across thousands of miles of submarine-infested sea, to the care of those who owed allegiance to another flag and spoke the mother tongue with a strange accent.

Yet there were some precedents, and the nucleus of organization, for such a project. For several years, quietly but effectively, refuge had been afforded to children, numbering in the hundreds, seeking here asylum, not from the dangers of bombing, but from the unrelenting daily and hourly persecution which claimed for its victims many of the Christian as well as of the Jewish faith. Successful experience in placing such children in family homes through the coöperation of child-caring agencies furnished precedents for the new movement, and gave confidence in its possibilities.

Moreover, for two years, under the leadership of individuals who understood the needs of children, and representatives of child-caring agencies from many parts of the country, public opinion had been aroused to the need for opening American homes to such distressed and persecuted children of Europe as, under the laws and regulations of the United States, could find refuge on these shores. General plans and methods of organizing service and rough outlines of standards of care had been blocked out. In 1939 a wealth of information about needs and plans of

action had been presented to committees of Congress considering bills introduced by Senator Wagner, Representative Rogers, and others, to authorize the admission, outside quota limitations, of 20,000 German refugee children under the age of fourteen during the calendar years of 1939 and 1940. Impressive evidence of public opinion in favor of these measures, including a large amount of editorial support, was available.

To these resources were added the long experience in European relief of the American Friends Service Committee and the technical experience of the International Migration Service, the Immigration Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the experience of various organizations engaged in the care of Jewish refugees. Beyond these more organized resources was the active concern of schools and colleges, church organizations, the American Association of University Women, the English-Speaking Union, many other organized groups, metropolitan newspapers, and American firms whose management and employees felt responsibility for the safety of the children of staff members of branches operating in foreign lands, particularly in England.

Such was the situation in the United States when, on June 19, 1940, the first meeting was held in New York, under the sponsorship of Eleanor Roosevelt, for the purpose of coördinating official and voluntary effort, facilitating the admission of refugee children to the United States, and assuring their care in accordance with standards which experience had shown to be essential. The immediate response to the announcement of the organization of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children, on June 20, 1940, as described in the latest publication of the Committee, was ". . . an avalanche of offers of homes and help, and a great chorus of pleas for aid for young relatives and friends abroad. As many as three thousand persons were interviewed in a single day at Committee headquarters. For weeks more than two thousand letters a day were received. Telephone calls poured in almost twenty-four hours a day."¹

¹ *We Are Standing By*, a report of the United States Committee's program, accomplishments, and present status, May, 1941, p. 4.

In those black days after Dunkerque the desire of British parents to evacuate their children overseas was mounting. In June, 1940, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Evacuation Overseas was authorized by Parliament to draft plans and establish the necessary machinery for evacuation to the Dominions. A plan was approved providing for evacuation of unaccompanied children over five and under sixteen years of age, including arrangements for children of other nationalities living in Great Britain. The Children's Overseas Reception Board was organized, to be responsible for the movement. An unofficial American Committee for the Evacuation of Children in London, organized by American businessmen in London, acted as the affiliate of the United States Committee. A trickle of migration under individual arrangements between parents in the British Isles and friends or relatives in the United States had been going on for some time, and the organized movement for evacuation had as one of its major purposes the equalizing of opportunity for evacuation among children of all degrees of personal resources in money and international kinship or friendship. Between September 1, 1938, and May 15, 1941, according to the records of the Central Register maintained by the Children's Bureau with the coöperation of the United States Committee and the Bureau of Immigration, 6,452 European children sixteen years of age and under had entered the United States, excluding those coming to join a parent already in the United States and those accompanied by both parents.

Those in the United States who shared responsibility for the organization of the program for the care of overseas children from the beginning kept in close touch with the Canadian authorities, who had plans well developed before the organization of the Committee. Miss Elsa Castendyck, of the staff of the Children's Bureau, who later became director of the Child Care Division of the Committee, had visited Canada in May, 1940, for the purpose of obtaining information concerning plans for the care of overseas children and other matters relating to the safety and well-being of children in a country at war. After the organization of the Committee continuing contact with the Canadian move-

ment was maintained at all stages of the program, including coöperation in providing case work service and reception care.

By early summer in 1940 the rush of parents and children to registration centers in Great Britain resulted in the registration within two weeks of more than two hundred thousand boys and girls of whom the parents of 32,000 expressed preference for evacuation to the United States. The United States Committee was the sole body recognized by the British and American Governments for dealing with problems relating to the care of children evacuated from the British Isles to this country.

The story of the work of the United States Committee and the organizations, groups, and individuals whose joint efforts made the program possible has been told in the eloquent little report issued recently, *We Are Standing By*. The report recalls vividly the miracles of speedy organization, both in the New York office and on the part of the 175 local committees which were promptly organized, in general through the assistance of local councils of social agencies; the earnest faces of the thousands of friends, relatives and strangers who thronged the offices of the Committee, wishing to open their homes to children; the all-night sessions preliminary to discussion of plans with officials of the Department of State and the Department of Justice, whose interest and resourcefulness made possible the revised and simplified order of July 13, 1940, issued jointly by the two departments; and the spirit manifested by state welfare departments and local child-caring agencies who worked out plans with the Children's Bureau and the United States Committee to assure proper care for the children.

In broad strokes the report of the Committee portrays how plans were made by the British Government for mass evacuation, only to be suspended in early October because of the dangers of the ocean crossing; how a nationwide information and coördinating service was quickly established by the United States Committee with the coöperation of local committees; how standards were developed by the Children's Bureau in conference with advisory groups, including the Child Care Advisory Committee of the United States Committee; how nearly two hundred private

child-care agencies were designated by the Children's Bureau in cooperation with state welfare departments for service to the Committee in reviewing homes offered to guest children, placing children in appropriate foster homes, and keeping in touch with these homes after placement; how thousands of persons formalized their offers of homes for guest children by executing an affidavit of support to the United States Committee; how a reception service was set up, including meeting children on docks, care in reception centers, medical examinations, recreation while under reception care, and escort service to their new homes; how 870 children were finally received in this country under Committee auspices and placed in twenty-one states, 801 in foster homes and sixty-nine in group care; how these children are adjusting to their new surroundings; and how the program is financed. Most of the children arrived in the United States between August 21 and October 31. A few have come in since then, including a group from unoccupied France. The Committee is "standing by," and has under consideration plans for evacuation of additional groups of children from continental Europe, as circumstances may make such plans desirable and feasible.

The conditions under which children are admitted under visitors' visas or permanent immigration visas, for care under the auspices of an organization, include the following:

1. The organization must be approved by the Attorney General for such purpose.
2. Assurance must be given the Attorney General: (a) That the child will not become a public charge; (b) that reception, placement, and care of the child will be in conformity with the standards of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor; and (c) that the sum of fifty dollars has been set aside as a safeguard against certain future contingencies, to be placed in a trust fund reserved for such purposes.

The standards² for the care of children adopted by the Chil-

² In order of issuance by the United States Children's Bureau these standards are: *General Standards for Child-Caring Agencies Designated for Service to European Children*, June 28, 1940.

dren's Bureau have been based on the policies and practices that have been accepted and used by qualified agencies in providing care for children in the United States, particularly the standards for child-caring agencies and for medical care developed by the Child Welfare League of America.³

In designating, in consultation with state welfare departments, child-care agencies willing to take responsibility for the review of homes and the placement and supervision of children coming to the United States under the auspices of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children, the Children's Bureau has been guided by the general standards for such agencies, issued June 28, 1940, and the more detailed standards of foster care, issued August 2, 1940. These standards have been regarded, not as inflexible requirements, but as general guides in the review of agencies and the development of foster-care programs.

Designated agencies are responsible, in the areas they serve, for visiting and reviewing family homes offering to care for European children, for selecting homes suited to the particular needs of the children assigned to the area by the United States Committee, for placing children in these homes, and for advising the foster parents and giving general supervision as to the ways in which the child's needs may be met most fully. They have also been responsible in many instances for reception care prior to placement.

One hundred and eighty-four child-caring agencies in thirty-four states were designated provisionally by the Children's Bureau, in consultation with state welfare departments, for immediate service in the placement and supervision of European children. By December, 1940, the facilities of 221 agencies had been carefully reviewed by both the state agencies and the Chil-

¹ *Standards of Family-Home Care for Children* (for use of foster parents), August 1, 1940.

² *Standards of Foster Care* (for use of designated child-care agencies), August 2, 1940.

³ *General Standards of Care of Children in Reception Centers*, August 14, 1940.

⁴ *Standards for Medical Care of Children*, August 28, 1940.

⁵ *Memorandum concerning Group Care of Children*, issued in tentative form September 20, 1940.

⁶ *Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions*, 1937, and *A Health Program for Children in Foster Care*, 1938, Child Welfare League of America, New York.

dren's Bureau and 184 agencies in forty states had received final designations.

Generous coöperation in the development of the program has been given by state welfare agencies, state health officials, nationwide organizations, and especially by local designated agencies and local information committees. Procedures and policies have been developed in coöperation with the children's committee of the State Council of Public Assistance and Welfare Administrators; a committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics; and a special advisory group on medical care called together by the Children's Bureau, which included members of the Children's Bureau Advisory Committee on Pediatrics and representatives of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children; and the Advisory Committee to the Child Care Division of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children.

In addition to maintaining relationships with official state agencies in regard to the program, giving general advisory service with reference to development and application of standards, and designating child-care agencies for service, the Children's Bureau, with the assistance of the Committee, has compiled and is maintaining a central register of all children coming to the United States for refuge from the dangers of war who are not arriving to join a parent already here and are not accompanied by both parents. Through the register, state health and welfare agencies are notified of children being cared for in their states.

Although no comprehensive study has yet been completed of the way in which the program has operated, reports of coöperating agencies have been reviewed by the staff and the Child Care Advisory Committee of the United States Committee, and fairly close contact with many of the agencies has been maintained. Approximately 82 percent of the children under the supervision of the Committee are in the following states: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio.

In general, it can be stated unequivocally that the program has been successful. Few children have presented serious problems of adjustment to their new surroundings. That some should have been unhappy and homesick is inevitable, but the British

children have carried with them to this country the determination to take things "with chin up." Some foster parents have not been suited to the care of children under such circumstances, and some children have had to be re-placed. The speed with which the plans had to be put into operation meant that what social workers consider careful preparation of children and families for placement was not always possible. Moreover, the agencies were handicapped by the fact that only very meager information concerning the medical and social histories of the children was available. The lack of adequate preparation in a few cases has to some extent made it difficult to establish the friendly and informal relationships between child-care workers and foster parents which characterize good child-placing service. Moreover, special problems were encountered by the agencies because they were dealing with children and foster families who, on the whole, differed somewhat in background and previous experience from those with whom the agency was accustomed to work. A greater amount of field supervision by understanding and experienced visitors from the central office is needed, such supervision, of course, being carried on in full coöperation with the state welfare agencies who are legally responsible for the supervision of child-caring activities within their states.

Yet with all these qualifications, which undoubtedly apply to the small minority of agencies and children involved, the program undoubtedly has extended knowledge and appreciation of the contribution of the social worker in such a situation, and has demonstrated conclusively the possibilities of prompt execution of plans involving the coöperation of many different agencies, both public and private, and nationwide, State, and local in their jurisdiction. As such, it has far-reaching implications for the future of child-care work and for its utilization in case of grave emergency affecting large numbers of children.

Special problems not yet solved include the determination of guardianship responsibilities—a guardianship bill applying to all children evacuated for overseas care without their parents is now pending in the British Parliament, and has passed the House of Lords—and the extension of the kind of protection afforded to

children coming under corporate auspices to other refugee children coming to persons not related to them. Should movement to this country be resumed in considerable proportions, additional safeguards would be necessary, for it is now no one's responsibility to extend protection to children coming under individual arrangements. In a few states interesting plans for informal service to such children have been worked out by the state welfare department.

It is doubtful whether care for many thousands of children could have been organized and carried out without full responsibility for financing and final responsibility for administration having been vested in a Government agency. The experience under the plans now in operation needs to be evaluated both with reference to their application to future evacuation of large numbers of European children and with reference to their applicability, in modified forms, to the evacuation of American children from danger areas in case of grave emergency.

In opening their doors to children seeking refuge from other lands, Americans in the United States, like those in Canada and other countries of the Western Hemisphere, have given most heartening evidence of commitment to make our vision of a world established upon the blessings and the responsibilities of freedom come true. But most of all, the children who have bravely set forth, singing "There Will Always Be an England" and "Roll Out the Barrel," and who have taken with fortitude and tolerance the adventure of life without their parents in a new land, give us certainty that the spirit of freedom can never be finally overcome nor confined within geographic boundaries, but will seek the whole world for expression and fulfillment.

THE WORK OF REFUGEE AGENCIES IN THE
UNITED STATES: ITS SUCCESSES AND
INADEQUACIES

Arthur D. Greenleigh

THE REFUGEE MIGRATION to the United States which has been taking place during the past eight years differs from all previous migrations in several respects. It is more forced; it is primarily middle class; it comes at a time when native Americans are pretty much preoccupied with their own social and economic problems; at a time after the last Western frontier has been supplanted by motion picture studios and airplane factories; at a time when many Americans are circumspect about aliens. It has been a small immigration. The most generous estimates, which include all German immigration since 1933 and immigration on the quotas of other European countries since they came under Nazi domination or enacted repressive laws directed at minority groups, and counting those entering on temporary as well as permanent visas, approximate only one hundred and seventy thousand individuals.

It is not the volume, but such factors as age, economic background, language difficulties, culture conflict, the tendency of refugees to huddle together in little alien colonies, and just plain poverty which tax the ingenuity of refugee social agencies. In previous decades, when immigrants poured into the United States by the hundreds of thousands annually, when an expanding economy was crying for labor, the process of social and economic adjustment could span a generation or two. There were plenty of jobs and plenty of time. The economic solution of the problem worked itself out first, and Americanization could wait on fortuity or the second generation or both.

Why, then, the fuss over 170,000 refugees in an eight-year period? It is neither fatuous nor sententious nor evasive simply to answer, "Times have changed." Sociological speed-up brooks no dalliance with social drift. In a world where work relief, unemployment insurance, and old age annuities are concomitants of industrial civilization, where extreme nationalism, anti-Semitism, and anti-alienism are rampant, democracies cannot afford to be careless. In such a setting a policy of drift is unthinkable.

Refugee agencies—there are between thirty-five and forty national functional agencies of varying size and degree of specialization—were created for two basic reasons. Existing private social work agencies were not prepared organizationally or financially to meet, within the limits of a single agency, the peculiar and pressing problems the refugees brought with them; in many instances that was all they brought with them. Secondly, political necessity demanded their existence, particularly after the outbreak of the war. American visas, it may be safely stated, would not have been issued had the State Department not been assured that the incoming refugees would be met, cared for, and assisted in their Americanization by responsible private American agencies.

It is against such a backdrop as this that refugee agencies have played their roles, have achieved their successes, and have demonstrated their inadequacies. To evaluate these successes and inadequacies, it is necessary to examine quite closely the general pattern of problems which beset the client group.

Refugees today come from every European country under Nazi domination, including Italy. They are refugees because they are Jews, persecuted and besmirched to the point where life in their homeland no longer holds meaning; they are Catholic or Protestant religionists who cannot reconcile the teachings of Jesus with what goes on behind the walls of Dachau; liberals and trade unionists who have seen the things they strove for crushed; Spanish democrats who have hated fascism enough to fight it; artists, teachers, scientists, and scholars whose splendid minds could look through and beyond the dead-end darkness of totalitarianism; and thousands of plain, decent people who just don't like Hitlerism.

The vast majority of the refugees who have sought sanctuary

in the United States were self-supporting, self-reliant citizens of their respective countries. Two out of every five of those with any occupational background had been professionals—doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, chemists, social workers, or small entrepreneurs. More than a fourth were skilled workers. Among the 1933 arrivals, only 17 percent were forty-five and over; in 1940, the ratio of those in that age group had increased to 23 percent. The median age of those sixteen years and over was thirty-one in 1933; in 1940, it was over thirty-seven.

Their experiences prior to arrival are also an important consideration. Persons who have been harried from Berlin to Vienna to Prague to Paris to Lisbon to New York within the course of two or three years suffer from an emotional disturbance known as "refugee shock"—the trauma of flight. If they do not become self-supporting Americans quite as quickly as we would like to have them, we can afford to be patient. Until the latter part of 1938 it was possible for refugees to salvage some of their worldly goods and savings. Quotas were not filled, and the process of emigration was a matter of weeks. Today, under war conditions, export of capital and all but the most necessary clothing and household effects is impossible. Emigration, with open Atlantic ports limited to Lisbon, may take from eighteen months to two years.

Thus the typical refugee arrives: a child without parents, or a husband or wife alone, frequently with a language handicap, more often than not with an unusable occupational background, middle-aged, shaken, bewildered, and penniless. His first resource is his relatives, but often his problems are beyond their means. What can refugee agencies, representing interested American groups, do for him? His immediate needs must first of all be met on a case work basis. Food, clothing, shelter, and, if necessary, medical care are first requisites. Safety is no substitute for subsistence. The refugee has no recourse to public welfare agencies, a condition of his admittance being the guarantee that he will not become a public charge.

All refugee agencies are agreed that relief at best is a stopgap measure. If aid to refugees stopped with the issuance of the relief check, in all probability the regularly constituted family agencies

of the country could, for the most part, absorb the load. It would be a sad commentary on our American democracy, however, if we abandoned the able-bodied victim of barbaric governments to an existence on relief. The good human material of the refugee must be reconditioned in a physical, psychological, vocational, and social sense. The underlying aim of all efforts on the part of the agencies is to merge the refugee with the general milieu of American culture in as brief a time as possible.

At this juncture, however, the problem must be broken down into its multifold parts. Individual differences come into play, varying degrees of talent, adaptability, and family and health problems become of prime importance, and a case work approach must be applied. For example, a father of thirty-five with a wife and a school-age child, with several years' experience as a clarinetist in a dance orchestra, other factors being equal, presents a relatively minor problem of placement and adjustment. Musicians, fortunately, speak an international language, and foreign musicians are no novelty to American orchestras.

But consider the case of an *émigré* physician, aged forty-eight, with a wife and three children. He last practiced in Munich in 1938. The savings of a lifetime were confiscated by the State. For more than two years he and his family have endured a marginal existence, first in Rotterdam, until the Nazi invasion, and then in Lisbon. At long last he has arrived in the United States, eager to put his talents to useful work again. Statutory and state board proscriptions prevent aliens from practicing in many states. Even in the favorable states he must spend weary months studying for state board examinations. His English is not good; he requires tutoring. He graduated from medical school—and perhaps an excellent medical school—twenty-five years ago. His chances of passing the state board examinations are slim. They would be slim for an American doctor who hadn't taken an examination in twenty-five years. What do we do for him?

Here is a lawyer, young, intelligent, ambitious. Grant that his English is flawless. Grant that he can learn a new body of law in two years. Lawyers are officers of the court in every state and

performer must be citizens. He is thirty-five today. He will be more than forty before he can practice. What do we do for him?

Here is a fifty-year-old chain store executive. He must start life anew. What can we do for him?

And here are dentists and salesmen and children and scholars and youths; here are journalists and young women and teachers and case workers. How can we help them all? Help them in order to reconstruct their lives and at the same time not aggravate the American unemployment problem? Help them not only to exist, but to contribute to the culture in which they live?

A solution to some of the problems is to be found in a common philosophy which has been developed by the agencies engaged in this new branch of social work. It involves the theory of resettlement—the theory that the adjustment of the refugee takes place most rapidly and most effectively away from the crowded ports of entry, in the smaller communities, where job competition is less keen, where the quiet of a small city acts as an anodyne to human nervous systems which have endured too much, and where the innate neighborliness of America can work its homely but effective miracles.

Refugees in New York, the principal port of entry, have tended to huddle together in little alien colonies—cities within cities—associate only with their compatriots, and speak only their native language. Quite obviously, this retards their Americanization; moreover, the concentration of the refugee population in one locality gives false emphasis to the size of the actual problem involved. Some refugees have acquired weird previews of their new country from Western movies and James Fenimore Cooper novels. It is sometimes necessary to convince them that they will not be attacked by Indians in Iowa or be compelled to build their own log cabins in Kentucky, and that medical facilities are available in Minnesota. Aside from these misconceptions refugees develop an understandable but formidable resistance to resettlement. Partly due to the inertia of freedom, partly due to skepticism, they simply do not want to move again.

While resettlement offers the best opportunities for many types of refugee families, the process is not a general panacea. It offers

nothing more than a better opportunity for social and economic adjustment. Quite obviously, where a handicapping health problem or a serious personality difficulty is involved, or where a satisfactory economic adjustment can be made in the port of entry, it may even be desirable that resettlement be avoided.

In the face of occupational handicaps, the agency may provide opportunity for vocational retraining for a specific trade, or a capital loan for the establishment of a business enterprise. Or in the event that refugee and agency decide that resettlement is not the best policy for a given case, these and other resources may be utilized in assisting the newcomer at the port of entry with English classes, scholarships, retraining and placement services, cash relief, or combinations of these.

Although the objective of the agencies is to expedite Americanization and self-support, the greater part of their budgets must be devoted to relief expenditures. For example, the National Refugee Service in 1940 expended about \$1,800,000 out of \$3,500,000 for cash relief. Unfortunately, 70 percent of the cases receiving relief at the present time have been in the United States for a year or more, have been on relief thirteen months, and the average age of the heads of families is about fifty years.

The chief reasons for the size and chronic quality of the refugee relief load are the factors of age, occupational background, and language. But refugee agencies as a whole have been slow to effect a working coordination of the retraining-resettlement remedy. The groundwork for retraining on a planned and extensive scale did not really begin until 1940.

Despite the fact that only one out of five refugees who leave the port of entry (and more than half do not leave) does so on the basis of a plan evolved with the assistance of an agency, the planned resettlement program for refugees remains one of the most unique and worth-while contributions to American social work techniques which has been devised in this country. It was designed to offset the laissez-faire attitude of the immigrant adjustment of previous decades. For the first time in American history an immigrant group is being distributed to various sections of the country as part of a general scheme which attempts

to correlate individual ability with community absorptive capacity and economic resources.

The interest aroused through the drama of refugee aid has frequently resulted in an awakening of interest in the general social service needs of the community as a whole; indeed, it would be unfortunate if it were not so. This reaction to the community challenge of the refugee is one of the most interesting and welcome developments of the past six or eight years. In city after city the refugee program has formed the basis for strengthening community organization, has evoked responses from hitherto uninterested persons, and has developed resources never before tapped.

Resettlement techniques have not been static. In the first few years after 1934 resettlement was done on the basis of a specific job for an individual in a given community. Refugees were not sent to the community on the basis of a general quota opening. Later, when the influx of refugees increased, and the flow of resettlement to inland cities itself increased, general resettlement on a quota basis was promulgated.

A further development worthy of mention is regional resettlement. Instead of the national agency dealing directly with each community in a given geographic area, it has been found that sending refugees to a central regional distribution point results in several advantages. A regional committee, representative of the area, is better qualified to effect an equitable distribution among the several communities involved. Moreover, regional organization enables smaller communities to enjoy the benefits of a professional field worker, who can service the entire area. Other financial and administrative economies can also be achieved. A more intangible advantage of the regional plan is that it affords an opportunity for the interchange of experience and techniques.

The resettlement procedures which have been outlined have been applied in the resettlement of about twelve thousand refugees, for the most part on a general nonselective basis. An outstanding example of resettlement on a selective basis is to be found in the two refugee hostels established by the American

Friends Service Committee. Situated near West Branch, Iowa, and Richmond, Indiana, these two hostels in the heart of the Midwest, offer, in effect, a seminar in American living. There a limited number of refugees may live together near a typical American community while they study English, history, civics, American customs, and handicrafts. Trained workers are in residence to assist in the orientation work and placement efforts. The chief shortcoming of the hostels lies, not in the ideal behind them, but rather in the fact that there are so few of them.

It was mentioned before that of necessity much of the budget of the refugee agency must be spent for cash assistance, instead of job finding, retraining, and other rehabilitative measures. However, it must be recorded on the credit side of the ledger that no refugee since 1933 has been deported from the United States because he became a public charge.

The agencies have done more. Through their efforts the skills and talents of the refugee have been put to work for our benefit—to useful work which in all probability would have been wasted without the untiring efforts of agency social workers to gear it to creative purpose. Outstanding refugee scholars have been placed in American universities; eminent medical scientists have been placed in medical schools and research laboratories; foreign physicians, many of them graduates of the best European medical schools, have been assisted in establishing themselves in practice. Through the efforts of the National Committee for Resettlement of Foreign Physicians many *émigré* physicians have set up practice in those areas of the United States where medical services were either inadequate or unavailable, and serious overcrowding in populous areas has been avoided.

Capital loans to refugee immigrants for small business enterprises have been made and have paid dividends. One of the most important contributions which refugees have made to American life has been economic, and refugee aid organizations may well be proud of the part they have played in stimulating refugee enterprises. A recent survey revealed that more than 70 percent of the workers employed by refugee businessmen are American citizens. It is quite probable that the employment thus created,

directly and indirectly, offsets the slight inroads refugees may make in the labor market as a whole.

All these services combine to effect an orderly absorption of refugees into our society. To this extent the agencies have contributed a service to the Federal Government, both in the orderly handling of a difficult social problem and in blazing a trail for the guidance of future work in the immigration field. President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized this contribution when he wrote to the head of one agency:

Every American must be proud that throughout these troubled years our country has held fast to its tradition of providing a haven of refuge for those who had to flee from other lands. It is necessary today, more than ever before, that this tradition of asylum be maintained.

Our responsibility to those who come to our shores to share our freedom and our democracy cannot end with the issuance of a visa. It is, therefore, fortunate that many agencies have assumed the responsibility of helping these new Americans to become good Americans.

Resettlement . . . which seeks to distribute these newcomers away from the large cities on the eastern seaboard, is especially significant. Such resettlement is of value not only to the immigrant himself, but to the Nation also. It may well be that the experience which you have had in providing for an orderly adjustment of the refugees who have come to our shores in recent years, may provide a model of constructive absorption of immigrants into our economic and social life.

The other side of the coin reveals two grave shortcomings on the part of the agencies. One is the multiplicity of agencies and the lack of a central accrediting body. Unfortunately, refugee agencies sprang up in mushroom-like fashion to meet problems which were and are still emergent in character. We had to build the shelters after the rains had started, and there was little time to plan whether they should be on this or that side of the street. The main thing was to get the people in out of the rain—and it was raining hard. Worse luck, it is still raining hard, but we do have the advantage of several years' collective experience. What is needed is an official or quasi-official agency to evaluate the agencies already in the field, to pass upon the need for new ones, and to assist the agencies in a division of responsibility so as to avoid overlapping and duplication. The recent establishment of

a Federal commission in Washington to explore the field is a step in the right direction.

Some measure of coördination and planning does exist through informal association in the Refugee Consultative Council, composed of the American Friends Service Committee, the American Committee for Christian Refugees, the Catholic Committee for Refugees, the National Refugee Service, and the United States Committee for European Children. But more foresight is necessary in preparation for the postwar emergencies to come. Our task now is, literally and figuratively, to jump the gun. Mass shiftings of population are in the offing, and whether the resultant social work remedies which must and will be offered remain with private agencies, or whether, like the native unemployment and relief programs, they expand to proportions which only governmental aid can encompass, the job remains a challenge to American social workers, and all the planning and experience we can contribute will be commandeered when the time comes.

There is a tremendous national agency job to do: the perfection of existing techniques in resettlement, in job placement, in retraining, in social and cultural educations, and in specialized work for special categories of *émigrés*. We have made a splendid start. The National Committee for Resettlement of Foreign Physicians, the National Committee for Refugee Musicians, the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, German-Jewish Children's Aid, and similar committees for farmers, medical scientists, and displaced refugee social workers, all operating within the framework of the National Refugee Service on a nonsectarian basis, represent a beginning toward unity of effort.

If refugee organizations have made a serious failure in any part of the work, it is in the field of public relations, the one field in which they could not afford to fail. We have not succeeded in explaining to the great American community that we fight Nazism by aiding its victims, by making new immigrants into new Americans, and new Americans into good Americans. There is an infinite amount of work to be done in the com-

munities, in arousing the interest and active participation in the problem of a larger segment of the population.

We have, perhaps, been a little too fearful of the problem, too furtive in our efforts, too self-conscious about our clients. But we can trust our State Department and its consuls abroad to choose those who will benefit our democracy. Our quota laws protect us against an overwhelming problem, and the ingenuity of American social work should be capable of rallying the forces of democracy to salvage for democracy the best of Old-World culture. Our failure has resulted from the desire not to create anti-alien legislation. The matter has been given careful consideration by the agencies and measures are being taken to rectify what is freely acknowledged as a mistake.

Current history is moving too fast for temporizing. If the world is nearly enveloped in blackness, we have cornered the market on light. If other nations delude themselves with dreams of a master race, we can build one of all races. We can give some of the light to the refugee and we can weld him into an inseparable part of our democratic unity. We can take the outcast of the master race, and with him build the master freedom of the world.

CHILDREN ON LOAN

Charlotte Whitton

AN UNDERSTANDING of the system of child protection in Canada, and of the relative responsibilities of different levels of government and of voluntary services, is essential to any description of the methods by which children from overseas were moved and placed in the Dominion.

Under the British North America Act, all matters affecting civil status and rights are specifically reserved to the jurisdiction of the Canadian provinces, and so include health, education, and welfare services, with the exception of such responsibilities as clearly concern the country as a sovereign power—health services for immigrants, the care of sick mariners, etc.—which are vested in the Dominion Department of Health. Policy and control over immigration and colonization are primarily the responsibilities of the Dominion authority, but any province may enact legislation in relation to immigration into the province, and this legislation is effective so long as it is not repugnant to any measure of the Parliament of Canada.¹ Consequently, any plans for the movement into a Canadian province, or the reception and care therein, of children from another jurisdiction are primarily the concern of the provincial authority, involving necessarily close coöperation with the Dominion.

There is neither place nor provision in the Dominion's sphere in Canada for a department of government comparable to the Children's Bureau of the United States. Canada is a country with heavy minority populations, and the treaty under which it passed to the British Crown was not a treaty of conquest, but of cession. At that time the former subjects of France were assured considerable privileges in respect to their religion and

¹ British North America Act, Section 95.

language which have been confirmed and enlarged through the years. Since these privileges center, largely, about civil rights and the home and family, those social services which touch the child or family are naturally regarded in Canada as essentially a necessary prerogative of the provincial authority, in collaboration with the municipal authority, and as closely related to voluntary citizen effort. The Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, which reported in 1940, made radical recommendations of realignment in Dominion and provincial responsibilities, but it is significant that, beyond Dominion participation in unemployment aid, it was most explicitly recommended that the social services should remain within provincial jurisdiction. (Subsequently, a conference to discuss these Dominion-provincial adjustments disintegrated, and the Dominion withdrew on April 1, 1941, from direct participation in aid to the provinces.

There have grown up in Canada under the encouragement of the Dominion Government and with grants therefrom, national voluntary agencies, comparable in function, responsibility, and relationship to national agencies in the United States, but serving to a much greater degree as liaison bodies for Dominion, provincial, and municipal public welfare interests and citizen efforts. These bodies are autonomous; they must prove that they have received widespread provincial, municipal, and private support, as an unwritten condition of the continuance of the subsidy which is voted annually by the Dominion Parliament.

In the field of general welfare services, the Canadian Welfare Council, created in 1920, is recognized as a national voluntary agency. It has gradually adapted itself to changing conditions, until today its activities carry into fields which in the United States are served by many different national organizations.²

² Maternal and child hygiene (United States Committee for the Care of Mothers and Children); child care and protection (Child Welfare League of America); family welfare (Family Welfare Association of America); delinquency and related services (National Probation Association); leisure-time activities (National Recreation Association); community organization (Community Chests and Councils, Inc.); and the French-speaking welfare services. Incidentally, less than 20 percent of the budget of the Canadian Welfare Service is dependent on the grant from the Dominion Government, whereas fifteen years ago nearly 95 percent of its support was received from this source.

Consequently, the planning and execution of any such movement as the migration of children into the Dominion would involve within Canada four major elements—the Immigration Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources of the Dominion; the Immigration Branch of the Dominion Department of Health; the public welfare authorities of the Canadian provinces, with their auxiliary voluntary services; and the Canadian Welfare Council—in the national technical service responsible for developing standards, clearing facilities, and liaison work.

The child protection services of the eight English-speaking provinces are closely comparable in fundamental principles and provisions, though they naturally vary greatly in their administration and in the standards of services. The Children's Aid Society, a peculiarly Canadian institution, adapted from Australia, is the key executive arm of these services. The Society is authorized under provincial statute. Groups of citizens may form a Children's Aid Society for a specified area. They may only be so organized and use this name upon incorporation and approval by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, approval usually extending to approval of constitution and by-laws, qualifications and actual appointment of the chief executive officer.

The Society is charged with all responsibilities of child protection within its jurisdiction. It extends its protection primarily to the child in his own home, or to removal of the child, if necessary for his own and the community's protection, but with confirmation of such removal only on court order and after a hearing in which parents or guardians have the right to appear. The court may then dismiss the case, adjourn it indefinitely, prescribe supervision of the child in his own home by the Society, or authorize the removal of the child to the care of the Society. Such care is given on a temporary basis, in emphasis of which all the statutes describe the reception center of the Society as a "shelter." The Society is then enjoined by statute to re-establish the child in another home as soon as possible, or to effect suitable ultimate care. The Society's responsibility extends to children up to sixteen years of age and, in the exercise of wardship, to the age of twenty-one. Though the provision is not equally

obligatory in two provinces, in the other six the court may, in any order for temporary or permanent care, issue a maintenance order, payable to the Society, against the unit of the child's residence. The shelter center may be provided by the local authority or by the Society, but in the latter case, the maintenance order can include an allowance for depreciation and interest on the plant owned by the Society. Any children's home within jurisdiction, as well as any private home, may be utilized for shelter purposes, and be reimbursed by the Society. There are in these eight provinces ninety-three Children's Aid Societies, covering, for the most part, either an entire county or district or territorial areas with several municipalities therein.

In the province of Quebec the Civil Code of old France prevails, but parallel with it is an enlarging body of statute law. In the latter, under the Quebec Public Charities Act, and such child-care and protection measures as the Industrial Schools Act and the Reform Schools Act, there are available certain procedures comparable to some of the child protection facilities of the other provinces. Under the Public Charities Act, the various private corporations became subject to provincial approval through the Bureau of Charities. Certain of these agencies in the child-caring field were recognized, in their charters and subsidies, though without the statutory obligations imposed in the other provinces. Such agencies were operating in the English-speaking areas to which these children would naturally be destined, and, had it been possible to move children of French Roman Catholic origin, the religious and benevolent orders and the Granchet child-placing system of the provincial Department of Health were ready to provide homes for them.

Thus there was readily available throughout Canada a system of organizations with shelter, health, and educational facilities, served by full-time staffs, closely in touch with their communities and equipped to carry the necessary added responsibilities.

In the early autumn of 1939 the Canadian Welfare Council set up a Committee on the Reception and Care of Children who might be moved from the United Kingdom or Europe to the Dominion. The Council called a conference of the provincial

and voluntary child-caring services in February, 1940, at which certain principles were agreed upon as necessary to the organization of any such movement. When the immediate movement of children seemed urgent, the Canadian Welfare Council communicated to the Dominion Government the readiness of Canadian social agencies to collaborate in any plans for caring for the children. The Dominion Immigration Branch called into conference representatives of the provinces, and a group of technical consultants chosen from the Committee of the Canadian Welfare Council. Here the structure of the whole movement was agreed upon.

Representatives to this conference anticipated that there would be extra costs, questions of policy, of a nonadministrative and advisory nature, as well as the possibility of raising voluntary funds, which would call for discussion apart from the executive responsibilities of any of the parties participating in the plan. A National Advisory Committee on Overseas Children was therefore set up to meet just such questions. It also received contributions for special funds.

Canadian agencies had had previous experience with child migration. In the half century preceding the depression various British philanthropic organizations had brought to this Dominion nearly one hundred thousand children, described as "juvenile immigrants." Although that movement undoubtedly contributed to the growth of the country, it was so fraught with danger for children of school age that in 1924, by mutual agreement of the United Kingdom and Dominion Governments, immigration was practically prohibited for children under fourteen unless they were accompanied by a parent or guardian.

Today's movement, while markedly different, is fundamentally not unrelated, in the essential safeguards for which it calls, to that other movement. Consequently, Canada was fortunate in having, within the Immigration Branch and in the transportation companies, officials experienced in the selection, transport, and distribution of large groups of youngsters traveling under escort. Their experience, as well as that of the Canadian child-

caring services, could therefore be immediately mobilized to serve this new and thrilling exodus.

Tragic that exodus was in its necessity, heartbreaking in the sacrifice it asked of parents, numbing in loneliness and longing it might bring to the children themselves, but thrilling to Canada, for it was not one of refugees to our shores; it was one of *évacués*; it was part of Britain's immortality, part of all the greatness of her past, part of all the hope of her ultimate future that Canada had been given the chance of taking into her keeping.

Canadian agencies immediately urged an arrangement whereby the children would pass into the direct guardianship of the Crown and under the protection of His Majesty, prior to their removal from the United Kingdom, and whereby this guardianship should be continued and transferred through the appropriate delegates of the Crown within His Majesty's Dominions in Canada. It was felt that, no matter how great the interest of the individual citizen or his personal concern over some child abroad, the undertaking and its continuing responsibility could be adequately handled through nothing less than the full power and responsibility of the Government, here and overseas. The feeling was general that the Government should use the resources of voluntary interest and responsibility, because only through them could a natural happiness and home life be fully assured the children. But there was an equal conviction that voluntary effort should accept coördination and guidance from established authority and from the experienced services.

Therefore, the Dominion regarded His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as necessarily the arbiter as to when, from where, in what numbers, and what children should be moved. Certain areas in the old country would be under more immediate menace or, because of defense or other considerations, in more urgent need of evacuation than others. None but the British Government could have, not only the right, but the obligation of selection for the movement, and of designation of transport space. So the entire basis of consideration of application, examination, etc., was left to the Children's Overseas Reception Board of the United Kingdom, Canadian responsi-

bility beginning with civil inspection by the representatives of the Immigration Branch and health inspection by the Immigration Branch of the Dominion Department of Health in the United Kingdom. It was also accepted in Canada that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom must remain the arbiter of exchange and currency control. Credit controls were an essential part of Britain's fight for survival, and, consequently, everything was done to discourage criticism of the regulations and to resist pressure from Canada for their modification.

Children were moved from the United Kingdom to Canada in three different ways, two of which involved direct movement between private individuals, privately financed, with no question of the transfer of the child's guardianship and with no intervention of the Crown.

In the first movement, residential schools were transferred as units to agreed locations in Canada, under their own management, and in direct arrangement with the Dominion immigration authorities. All contracts, including financial arrangements, were between the schools concerned in the United Kingdom and the schools in Canada. However, while this movement was in progress, the exchange control regulations were passed, with consequent serious disruption. Many parents in England had transferred the guardianship of their children to headmasters, who were to be given hospitality at cost in Canadian private schools. The latter were unable to accept these obligations when exchange could not be transferred, nor was it possible to get private contributors to meet the costs of keeping the school groups and teachers together. Difficulties then arose when the masters or interested Canadian groups arranged to place these children in private homes for temporary care or as day pupils in residential schools. The Dominion immigration authorities have insisted that, if any of these children are placed in private homes, clearing arrangements and placing must be arranged with the child-caring authorities, in the interests of the children and their parents.

Special arrangements were also concluded between the United Kingdom and the Canadian Treasury to allow deposit in sterling of a limited sum of money against each such child so moved

to Canada prior to July 7, 1940. This amount of money is not released, nor can it be applied until the close of the war. It stands as a deposit behind any guarantees which could be worked out among interested Canadians, as collateral for the advance of money for the actual care of the children in a school in the Dominion.

In many cases individual Canadians have been paying toward the maintenance of these children. Altogether, there were about five hundred so involved; most of these have been temporarily adjusted, but a residual group still causes concern, which many of the social agencies feel will only be removed with their placement in private homes.

The second movement was of individual children to relatives or friends in Canada who offered homes for the duration. This was a matter of ordinary ocean passage, privately paid, proceeding through the usual channels, but with the Canadian immigration authorities assisting by waiving all restrictions, except those on health, and granting admission, on a nonimmigrant basis, for the duration and a reasonable time thereafter.

In this second movement, about fifteen hundred children arrived, but, just as it was in full tide, the exchange restrictions struck from one angle, and the greatly increased war taxation in Canada from another. Part of the private sponsorship failed, because it had been entered into far too casually, because of these financial difficulties, and because of incompatibility of personalities, etc. However, it has been reasonably successful, though it now calls for certain safeguards which are being put into effect. The Dominion immigration authorities are officially advising the provincial welfare authorities as to the location of all such children within their jurisdiction. Further, the sponsors are being advised that any change in status of the child, from the original arrangement entered into with its own parent or guardian, should be notified to the proper welfare agency, and should not be proceeded with until the concurrence of the latter, and, if necessary, of the Canadian immigration authorities, has been given. Should the circumstances seem to justify transfer of guardianship, this will be arranged with the High Commissioner for

the United Kingdom in Canada. It is anticipated that there will be some shift under these arrangements from the privately sponsored group to the group recognized as under the Children's Overseas Reception Board or joint Government-social agency supervision.

In this second group, a comparatively large movement developed for which Canadians were not prepared. This was the transfer of 2,323 children in the care of their own mothers, all of whom came by privately paid passage, many bound for sponsors in Canada. Exchange regulations cut like a scythe through their plans, and hundreds arrived in Canada to find themselves without contacts or funds.

The situation became chaotic. The Canadian Welfare Council made a rapid estimate, through family welfare or children's agencies, of the numbers of the women and children whose sponsorship and financial arrangements were endangered. The Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire, agreed to provide interim or supplementary assistance on condition that each case would be handled by a recognized social agency, and that the funds would be applied as part of the plan of establishment. All but sixty to seventy out of the seven or eight hundred mothers coming with their children have now been adjusted. The Canadian sponsorship has been sustained in a large number of cases, sometimes with a little help. In many cases the women themselves have obtained employment and are maintaining their children independently or with some aid. Others have chosen to proceed to a sterling area where exchange difficulties do not exist. Some few have returned to England, leaving the children for placement separately.

The third movement of children—the free Children's Overseas Reception Board Movement—fell into two major groups: (1) children nominated to relatives or friends, but without passage money assured and with or without any guarantee of continuing maintenance; (2) children in mass nomination or group movement without individual designation. This movement, as distinct from the other two, was one in which parents or guardians sent children to homes of friends or relatives, but without assurance

of economic support; or to unknown homes without close contacts or security of any kind. Obviously, such a movement could only proceed within the terms and supervision of the respective governments.

However, special provision was made for nominations whereby Canadian universities, professions, service clubs, business houses, fraternal orders, etc., seeking to receive children from comparable homes overseas, were requested to register directly with the child-caring agency in their jurisdiction the individual homes available. They were then requested to communicate directly with the parallel groups abroad, requesting the latter to indicate in the identifying information which the children carried, their preference for placement in a Canadian family of the given profession or group. Then the local services endeavored to meet the requests.

When friends or relatives wished individual children moved under the Government scheme, the local Canadian agency secured details from the personal applicants, and information concerning the children whom they wanted from abroad. It then investigated the Dominion home and, upon approval, sent to the provincial authorities, in triplicate, the name and address of the home and information concerning the children nominated. One copy of the report was retained within the provincial welfare services, one was transferred to the Dominion immigration authorities, and one was sent to the United Kingdom. The nominator in Canada was instructed to advise the parent or guardian in the United Kingdom to register the Canadian's name, address, and province with the British authorities, when they registered the children. The children were then routed to the correct province and center and, through the local child-caring agency, to the Canadian nominator. Under this system 1,532 children came to Canada.

All registrations in England were sent to the Children's Overseas Reception Board. The acceptance of children for Canada then passed to our regular immigration services overseas, where all procedures were speeded up, all restrictions waived, except those of minimum health requirements. Children accepted for Canada were registered, and one copy of the form accompanied

the child, one copy was forwarded to the Dominion Immigration Central Index, and one was retained by the Central Index of the province to which the child was destined. Each child was provided with identification data.

Transport was provided and supervised by the British authorities. Each boat carried a designated number of doctors and nurses, and British social workers who became acquainted with the children, building up supplementary data of help in determining the type of placement likely to prove happiest for the child and his hosts. Preliminary allocation of the children from each sailing was determined by the immigration authorities on debarkation.

Upon arrival at the Canadian port, the Dominion Government took over authority and costs. Sick children were detained under care of the Immigration Health Branch. All others were immediately transferred to the distribution centers within each province, with provisions for escorts from those points to their ultimate destinations. The trains carried colonist cars, with blankets for the children and with meals served from a canteen car. There was one special conductress in charge of each car, one nurse to each five cars, and doctors on call at designated stations.

The distribution centers provided by each province were kept to an effective minimum in order to allow the concentration of good reception care. At these centers, the provinces took over responsibility and care, keeping the children for a short period of observation, clinical examination, and treatment. All but routine costs were reimbursed by the National Advisory Committee, to which the Dominion Government made a special grant.

Service could only be integrated by one central authority within each province, through which all endeavor was delegated by the province, and into which all local and individual effort could concentrate. Obviously, once the children arrived, the child-caring facilities of the provincial governments had to be the nerve centers of the whole plan, even though standards and services were uneven. At the provincial reception centers, arrangements were made for temporary care of the children. Here they were

given a more thorough going-over, medically, and the decision was made as to whether any child might require special rather than ordinary family home care. Need of further medical or dental care was noted, and word sent on to the placing agency.

Each province exacted of each agency to which a child was entrusted certain minimum standards, broadly outlined by the Dominion Government. These conformed generally to the standards in force within that province. It was stipulated that each agency, recognized as a unit in home finding, child placing, and supervision within a province, should be under the supervision of at least one full-time, experienced worker, conform to minimum record and filing systems, guarantee a prior inspection of every home accepted and at least one inspection each twelve-month, with use, as far as possible, of community resources to assure frequent word of the child's well-being.

Arrangements were cleared, between the provincial health and welfare authorities, and then locally by the provincial authorities. The local agencies interested the medical and dental associations in forming advisory groups and assuring special services on call. Hospitalization costs were covered from the central fund and guaranteed by the Dominion Government.

Then, out into a network that reached every area, the provinces designated as their ancillaries the local Children's Aid Societies, other recognized child-caring agencies, or special agencies which had to be created. From the reception center, the children were routed to the agency which actually placed and supervised them. The Canadian services urged that no agency should be entrusted with this work without assurance from some competent body that its governing board realized that home finding and child placing involved more than just a comfortable shelter and sufficiency of food; that these children, especially, must have understanding of their different background, of their loneliness, of the strains they had been through, the uncertainties they faced and might long face. Consequently, within local areas, all offers of service and applications for children were centralized and examined under experienced direction, homes were visited and approved, and then classified as best suited to this or that par-

ticular child. This work was all done, and the local agency's absorptive capacity, in detailed categories of children, listed with the province before the province reported to the Dominion its full quota and the rate at which it could be filled.

Children were held at the reception centers for placement in the individual home by the local agency. This was not done on a "shop window" basis, with foster parents coming to pick out a child. The agency took the responsibility of matching homes and children as wisely as possible, and sending each child as an individual, already planned for, to a home already designated.

As a general rule, not more than two children were placed in any one home. Racial and religious preferences were observed, as far as possible. Replacements were made where deemed desirable, but they have not been heavy. General background, occupational training, schooling already given, were considered in matching homes and children.

Accessibility to church, to school, to hospital, and to clinical services were specifically noted in the listing of homes. Free private home care was sought, with the costs of any special care provided through the local social agency. No placements on a "work" basis and no placements in homes which were in receipt of aid were approved, and paid care was utilized only for special cases which could be dealt with on no other basis.

In case of misfortunes or accidents, foster parents were asked not to deal directly with the parents, but with the local agencies. The agencies reported to the province, and the province to the Dominion, so that official word went directly to the British authorities, who communicated with the parents. Then foster parents were asked to write, along lines advised by the agencies.

The British Government provided ocean transportation; the Dominion Government, the services already enumerated and costs of the distributing centers in each province. Each province provided the central depots and coördinating services; each local agency, the staff and services for home finding and placement. A central voluntary fund was opened under Dominion auspices for the special costs. Local services receiving offers of donations or to maintain children in boarding care were authorized to

accept them, in special trust accounts, reporting thereon to the provincial or Dominion authorities on request.

Such is the background and such have been some of the problems in the movement and settlement of these children in Canada. At any time, there are in the Dominion thirty to forty thousand children in the care of our child-caring and protection services. Consequently, the number of Children's Overseas Reception Board children actually moved into our care has been just about 4.5 percent of our total load at any time. The total number of children who have come has been equal to 13 to 14 percent of the volume of Canadian children in social care. Comparatively, the adjustment has been remarkably smooth and the problems remarkably few. Problems of sickness and ill health have not been many, and, with medical and hospital costs met from the central funds, difficulties have been slight.

The lack of clarification of the guardianship situation has created major difficulties in respect to authority, status, and planning for the children. Now, however, with the arrangement whereby guardianship will be transferred to the United Kingdom Government and from it to the High Commissioner in Canada (who, in turn, will transfer to the responsible provincial authorities for their subsequent delegation), the necessary authority and status for good partnership between agencies and foster parents will be available.

Two problems now cause concern. Many of the children were older than had been anticipated, and the question of their continuance at school or their entrance into gainful occupation, their choice of a vocation, their preparation for it, costly secondary or even university education, all offer grave problems, especially with the parents at such a distance, and the future of the children uncertain. Another problem is that of the ultimate adjustment of children bereft of near relatives. There are many for whom return to the United Kingdom appears uncertain. There are yet others whose parents may wish to follow them. Certain it is there are many children who will want to remain in Canada. In the same category are the thousands of children in the United Kingdom bereft of both parents by the fortunes of war.

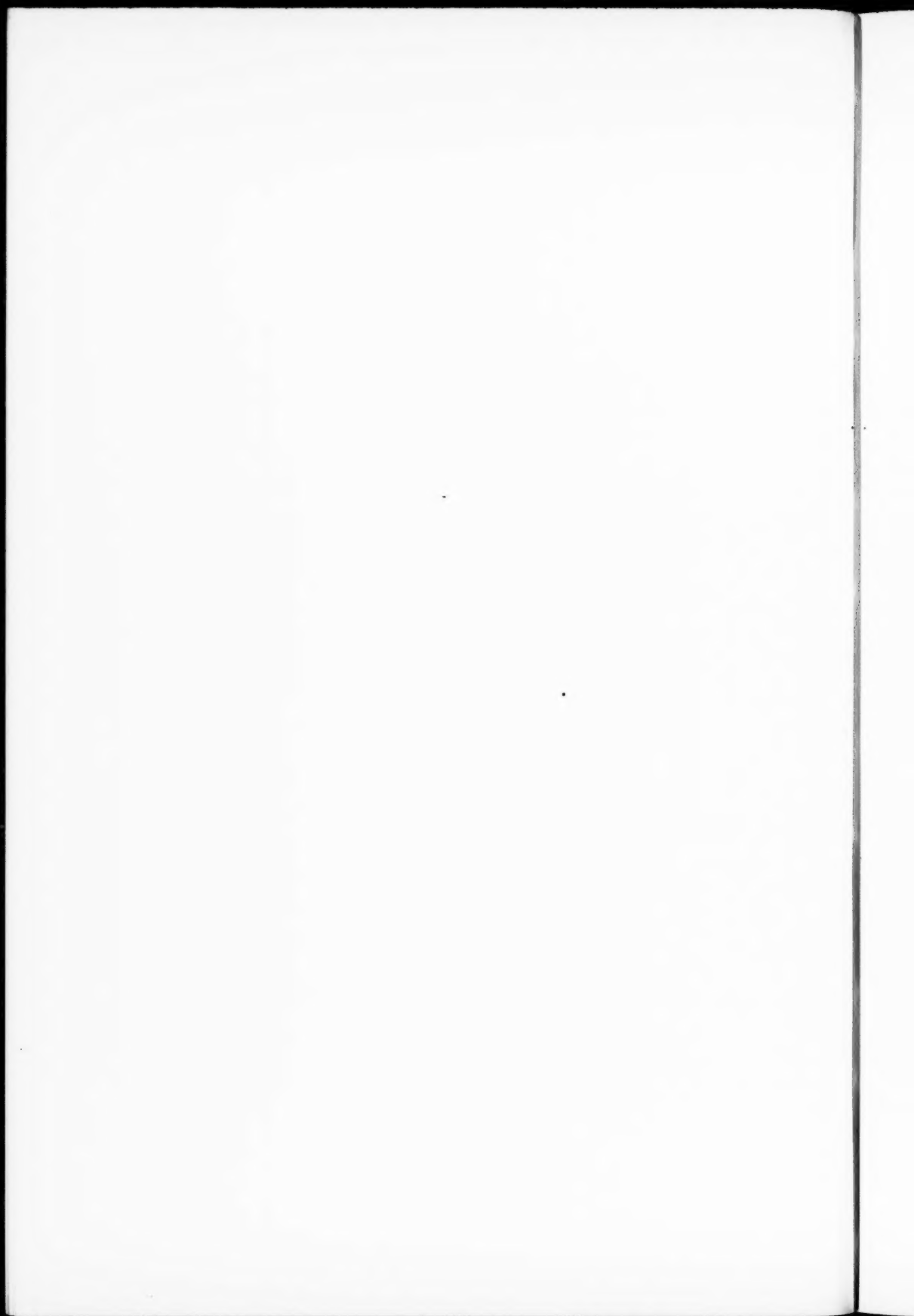
All these questions are related, and in connection with all of them, as far as Canada is concerned, fruitful knowledge has accumulated from the experience of the last few months. Better relations than ever prevailed before have developed between our Dominion immigration authorities and our provincial welfare authorities, and citizen interest in child-caring and protection services has strengthened the latter.

The vitalizing of our whole system for the placing of children and their supervision offers new vistas as to the possibility of the migration and settlement in Canada of large numbers of British children, for whom it is altogether likely that thousands of homes would be offered. The evils of child migration to Canada in the past lay in its commercialism under the private auspices with which rested the selection, transport, and placement of the children. Could the rich experience of the past few months be drawn upon, through the United Kingdom Government, the Dominion Government, the provincial authorities, and the social agencies, a challenging opportunity in a new system of migration and settlement might well be risked. Canada could not receive a finer addition than these children whose parents have lived and died as free citizens.



PART THREE

SOCIAL WORK IN PRACTICE



THE UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHY OF CASE WORK TODAY

Gordon Hamilton

CASE WORK has an honorable record in our democracy and must play a significant role in any free society. Case work would be meaningless in any but a free society, for case work postulates values in individual development for full socialized capacities. We believe in the wholeness of individuals and the interdependence of society, national and international, cultural and economic and spiritual. We believe in interest groups rather than in classes and in the mutuality of all interest groups in the steady enlarging and enriching of the objectives of welfare. We look on life, as a recent editorial in the *New York Times* put it, "in terms of building individual beings in a growing complex of connected action."¹ Our increased concern with social and economic and political forces makes welfare seek a living and realistic interchange with the social sciences, long aloof and themselves too much divided.

Difference is not new to social case work, but our early differences were preprofessional, the effect of growing up unevenly with apprentice-trained workers. In the twenties some assimilated the new mental hygiene contribution more rapidly than others, but in recent times one could not have found separate kinds of case work; for we had recognized a common base, and no arguments to segregate case work as public versus private, or psychiatric case work versus other fields of case work, could seriously interfere with the slow but steady professional integration.

Now case workers of varied experience have come to accept professional education for social work; they have agreed that our

¹ *New York Times*, March 16, 1941, Section IV, p. 10.

concern lies in problems of standards of living and satisfying social relationships; that all cases consist of inner and outer factors and that psychological insights are as much needed to treat economic as emotional problems. They see no divorce between understanding the personal and the social aspects of man. They have not changed their sense of the worth and importance of the individual, believing only more firmly in self-determination consistent with one's capacity. Their concern with families is slowly bearing fruit in new understanding of intrafamilial tendencies. The worker-client relationship has become both more professional and more participating, and there is greater awareness of the use of the professional self² in case work. Case workers increasingly understand how the client brings into the situation both rational and irrational attitudes about his needs, and how some of these attitudes, with psychological insight, can be worked through. There is also increased application of the democratic ideal in respecting the rights and integrity of the client as a person. Probably most case workers have taken a middle ground between accepting biological and economic determinism and free will. Pragmatically speaking, they know people change, and environmental factors do shift or can be shifted to some degree. They know the individual can, with varying capacity, adapt to agencies and institutions, but that he also can individually or collectively modify them. They have accepted (with a few periods of aberration) that their jobs as social workers lie largely with problems of social reality, but with a sturdy conviction that this reality can be altered by new and scientific knowledge of the spirit within us. Case workers have never claimed that case work could cure the ills of the social order, but the identification and articulation of other social work techniques has made an integrated, interrelated, professional approach to prevention and treatment, to research and social action, more possible. In all social work the idea that the individual, the group, the community must participate in the solution of their own problems has been the dynamic.

² Virginia P. Robinson, in *Supervision in Social Case Work* (Chapel Hill, 1936), gave an important interpretation of the development of the professional self.

When I say that in case work we are now facing divergence, I must remind you that we hold the above as a sound foundation so that we can perhaps tolerate discussion of what is unlike without too much frustration. I must also remind you that one can only have schools of thought before conclusive scientific data are secured. As knowledge advances in a given area, speculation diminishes. In trying now to present two systems of ideas which seem chiefly responsible for our current differences I would not have you suppose that half the case workers practice one way and half another; for the truth is that most case workers who are professionally mature are eclectic and have their own clinical habits, so that it is only at extremes and through oversimplification that one can catch the distinguishing characteristics of basic assumptions.

To state the problem in its simplest terms I should say that the present differences seem to lie between those case workers who continue to stress the "organismic" view of the individual and society and those who are stressing the "partializing" of experience through the use of function; or from another angle, between those who emphasize the objective understanding of social need and those who emphasize the administration of social services. Since there can be no hard-and-fast line between organic and functional, least of all in the field of social work, and social need and social services are clearly two ends of the same stick, the statement seems to be an absurdity, yet it does probably represent a point of departure. An extension of the functional position seems to lie in the insistence that case work has nothing to do with "treatment" but only with the offering and administration of "services," which are to be at all points distinguished from "therapy."³ We might all agree that treatment was never a happy word for the inclusive term as to what case work does. At any rate, the vigorous objection to "treatment" and "social adjustment" and the substitution of the "helping process" for these do seem to represent a "concept" associated with the func-

³ For the distinction between therapy and case work service referred to here, see Jessie Taft, *Newsletter*, American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, July, 1939, p. 9.

tional approach. One is never too certain about words, which often act as barriers to, instead of a means of, communication.

The older set of concepts or assumptions runs about as follows: that the base of social work is potentially scientific; that the social sciences allied with the physical sciences must increasingly throw light on social needs and social improvement; that the organic and psychogenetic theory of personality is fundamental. Case workers following these concepts assume that the objects of study and treatment are individuals,⁴ not aggregates of organisms. The personality is from the beginning a whole. The whole and its parts are mutually related; the whole being as essential to an understanding of the parts as the parts are to an understanding of the whole. Personality is both biological and cultural. Social study is important because cultural and economic factors are important, and history is important because the history of the organism is the organism. The worker can see uniformities and tendencies from the history. Events must be interpreted in terms of the many interacting factors, and their relations not ascribed to single causes. In addition, it would be assumed from psychoanalytic disciplines that unconscious processes effect behavior and attitudes; traces of the past affect these unconscious processes, and certain classical infantile situations and, in general, instinctual drives may be especially influential in the behavior of the person; that in the conflicts between the individual and his culture the conflicts and traumata may become internalized with resulting neurotic illness, or unsocial gratification, and that defense mechanisms such as projection, rationalization, and repression must be taken into account in any treatment of the individual.

These workers would admit that when case work was assimilating new concepts of the emotional life, when psychiatry itself had not yet assimilated its ego psychology, there was a tendency in case work to minimize the immediate practical and emotional situation in favor of rather sterile researches into early experiences. They would say that this tendency was corrected, that the

⁴ For a complete statement of the organismal point of view from which part of this is paraphrased, see Henry A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 38, *et seq.*

immediate reality situation was being faced and treated, but that it was just as true as ever that one would need appropriate, selective factual information, including relevant history, for the treatment of any but the most superficial problems. The method of getting such factual information has improved in the sense that history is closely related to the specific request and moves from present to past; the goal has not changed.

They would see no sharp distinction between the offering of services and treatment. The client usually asks for a concrete service as his first request, perhaps as his sole request, so that the giving of a practical service is completely natural to any form of case work. Nor is it too much to say that helping an individual to avail himself of the social program of the community is the chief business of case work. These concrete, individualized services are case work, just as relief giving (or assistance) is a case work service. One no longer speaks of relief as "a tool in treatment," not because it may not be "treatment," but because in the first exposure to psychiatry one thought of the "emotional" problem, mistakenly called the "real problem," as something behind or underneath the social problem, instead of grasping the fact that problems to one degree or another are psychosocial. Because they believe that needs can be objectively recognized by the case worker as well as known to the client, they continue to stress diagnosis, the chief purpose of which is to tell one what not and how not to treat, as well as what and how to treat. Only diagnostic ability can distinguish those maladjustments which arise chiefly from economic and cultural factors and those with more complicated psychosocial causality. Only diagnostic ability can insure that services are given appropriately as well as responsibly. The tendency is, then, to consider the physical, psychosocial interplay, and because of increased diagnostic skill more freedom is felt to handle economic and other problems on a practical level without having to plunge into "intensive case work" on the one hand, or retreat into agency procedures on the other.

These case workers would accept the reproach of being interested in the client's social adjustment, but they would say that this does not mean coercing him to a goal "according to

some norm of the case workers' or agency's selection,"⁵ but that clients, like other folk, often want help with the less tangible problems which are interlaced with needing relief, or child care, or convalescence. To try to differentiate treatment as something always given in a clinic from treatment in a social agency seems to them artificial, since the worker-client relationship, when professionally oriented, has the quality of "treatment" even in very simple situations. Nevertheless, they would say that the case work role in treatment can be distinguished from the medical or psychiatric, although in our mental hygiene infancy it was not so clear. In short, there are specific and appropriate case work versions of "therapy."

These case workers would say that all effective team play rests on a functional division of labor; that there is no gain if everyone tries to do everything, if case work and group work get mixed up, or case work and psychiatry. They value the legal definitions of function brought in by the public services, and appreciate the contribution of the faculty and graduates of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work whose publications have set forth with clarity and conviction a philosophy of function. They would, however, resist the substitution of the functional for the diagnostic approach to social need, preferring to add concepts of function to what they believe to be already tested ground. This roughly sums up the first position.

It is difficult to state adequately a point of view with which one is only intellectually familiar, and I have been warned that only those who have "experienced it" should state it, but since the publications to which I have already referred have been both extensive and explicit, and everyone has read or heard demonstrated a good many cases illustrating the practice, I shall at least mention one or two of the more common emphases. My excuse for the attempt is my belief that a profession must find intellectual means of communicating and reviewing its experience.

The central idea of the second group is, perhaps, the acceptance of the will as a creative force by which the person is able to utilize

⁵ Isabelle K. Carter in *Social Forces*, October, 1940, p. 137.

and master external conditions and internal pressures.⁶ These case workers start with the same acceptance of the unique and total organism, but emphasize how the parts are divided from the whole through self-differentiation, paying attention chiefly to the stimulus situation (agency) as that part of the total environment to which the person reacts. Since growth, psychological as well as physical, is a living process, self-initiated activity or movement is the desired goal. The individual life is seen as a succession of related short units or episodes—"bits of daily living"—in which the present is always the chief focus, with the idea that everything important for the organism may be found in the existing circumstances.

Since the meaning of the episode is assumed to shape itself toward a definite course and a clearly defined task, the case worker accepts it as his responsibility to allow the person "to experience something definite"⁷ in the relationship, this definiteness being largely derived from agency function. The setting up of specific services with functional limitation—"the negative aspect of function is necessary"—will enable the client to localize his problem so that he can solve it. He is helped through the actual experience of asking for and taking help in an agency setting.

This allegiance to the agency, according to Dr. Jessie Taft, appears "most to differentiate the case work process from therapy." The case worker defines himself "in terms of what he is there to do" (as the agency representative) and leaves the client free "to discover whether this is an answer to his need." It is assumed that when the client uses this process with its limitations of service, time, procedures, budget, etc., the experience will be instrumental in helping him to meet his other life situations. The worker relinquishes his "too great sense of responsibility for the

⁶ Jessie Taft, "Foster Home Care for Children," *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, November, 1940, p. 179.

⁷ Jessie Taft, "Relation of Function to Process," *Journal of Social Work Process*, vol. I (November, 1937), 6-7 *et seq.*

As to partializing, the worker must "learn how to maintain our functions intelligently and skillfully and how to isolate whatever can be isolated . . ." p. 8.

"The client's risk is lessened by the fact that he is not putting out a life and death need but only a partial want, something he can work to obtain in more than one way or even do without if necessary." p. 18.

client and his need" in favor of refining his knowledge and skill in the carrying out of a specific function. The client "can only discover what his need really is by finding out what he does in the helping situation." A client comes to see with the help of the worker something he wants from that agency which the agency can give. It follows then that diagnosis is not of the need, still less of its causal factors, but is rather an evaluation of the client's ability to use, or his eligibility for, the agency resources.⁸ His fear is focused with the agency, and diagnosis is only that part of the need which is expressed in the relation of client and agency. A corollary is that the more definite and tangible the expression of what the agency does—time-limited periods and specific services with "acceptance of the negative elements involved"—the more helpful to the client. The services given through an agency are thought so to affect the person as to change or at least modify the relationship with and the problems threatening the life of the family. As a person shifts his feelings in one agency relationship, the shift is supposed to alter the configuration for him. The stress of the worker-client relationship is on "partial living in terms of adaptation . . ." "On this basis the individual may endure every experience as such without tying it up causally, totally, or finally, with all the rest of his life, or with what goes on in the world at all. The person then lives more in the present . . ."⁹

In practice, these case workers turn away from history, avoid for the most part "supportive," as the word has been commonly used, treatment, stress limits of time, beginning, ending, separation, and consider particularly that part of the person which is "well enough to use help." They have, no doubt, made the field more conscious of how people feel about taking help, particularly the more ambivalent and painful elements in that feeling, and

⁸ Almena Dawley, "Diagnosis—The Dynamic of Effective Treatment," *Journal of Social Work Process*, vol. I (November, 1937), 26. In this definition, "case work diagnosis lies in this area of clarification of exactly what a person is asking of the agency, discussion with him of what the agency has to offer and the way in which it can be offered and determining with him whether this is what he wants and is ready to take at this time."

⁹ Otto Rank, *Will Therapy* (Knopf, 1936), p. 248. While this statement refers to therapy its application in the functional approach has been, I think, obvious.

they have stimulated the field to recognize and build on latent strengths sometimes overlooked. But because they reject traditional diagnostic method in favor of evaluating the client's will to organize himself in a contractual partnership with the agency, they say that the client alone knows best what will be the solution to his problem. As a child-placing worker puts it, "We will not know better than he does whether or not his child should be placed. Only as he knows will we begin to know too."¹⁰

The client may want help on only one point, or he may want further help, but always this help is organized against the control of agency function and around the particular thing he is asking at the moment. Again, "as case work is practiced today it is no longer necessary to analyze deeply the material of each individual client; instead the worker becomes active around the behavior of the client and his immediate situation."¹¹ The client then relates himself in a positive "going along with," or in negative assertion against the helping process, the positive movement being the expression of his growth or will to change. These themes, in the main, outline the second position.

Now in trying to set forth two sets of concepts abstractly it is hard to say whether one is dealing with one of those swings of opinion to which our profession is subject, or whether there is an inescapable difference in principle. What everyone seems to agree upon is that there is today an inescapable difference in practice.¹² The unfortunate thing is that case workers of one persuasion or another tend to discuss only their own approach, and one could not easily resolve the problem unless there were objectively minded persons starting from unlike disciplines studying and reporting on the same cases. The disagreement lies between those who wish to retain the emphasis upon social need as the basis of practice, with the diagnostic element uppermost and agency function thought of as a necessary division of labor, and those who would make agency function the basis with evaluation

¹⁰ Helen Baum Lewis, *Social Work Today*, April, 1941, p. 17.

¹¹ Margaret Kauffman, "Supervision of Case Work Staffs," *The Family*, October, 1938, p. 198.

¹² Jessie Taft, "Foster Home Care for Children," *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, November, 1940, p. 183.

of the client's purpose in a given situation accented; or between one set of ideas which calls for recognition of the problem, analysis of causal factors, attention to the psychological picture of the person who has the problem, wide range in differential treatment in one's own agency or through any appropriate agency, and another set of ideas accepting as aim the provision of services with agency as the fixed point. Elizabeth de Schweinitz¹³ states the two purposes as a definite antithesis. "Do we," she says, "assume primary responsibility for the adjustment of the individual or is our purpose the best possible provision and administration of agency services?" If these aims are really to be opposed, we are dealing with a difference in principle; if they are not opposed, social case work can be enriched.

We would all agree, I am sure, that quantitatively the bulk of case work lies in meeting requests for concrete social services. Obviously, in any but large cities or in any but sheltered situations, this must be true. At intake, people ask for definite and usually practical things, and in some public agencies, with case loads between one hundred and two hundred, determining eligibility in a case work way is, at present, about all one can realistically expect. But the ultimate charge upon the public services is welfare and the prevention of preventable social difficulties. Welfare is, perhaps, what most people mean when they use the term "social adjustment," and in child welfare it is hard to imagine starting anywhere except with the child's needs. There can be no quarrel with anyone who presents the view that many persons with social problems can come to terms with a specific service, can make their own use of it and go about their business. Too often the mistake is made of trying to handle as problems, aspects of the client's situation which he can deal with himself. This was the defect of early case work, to which so-called passivity was, in part, a reaction. To say that the client should be treated so far as possible as a self-directing person who can manage his own end of the helping process has in it much of the best of the idea of self-help always inherent in case work. But to say that

¹³ Elizabeth McCord de Schweinitz, "Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiple Services in a Public Agency," *The Compass*, November, 1941.

if the worker sticks to clarifying his end the client will always be able "to take it or leave it" seems to ignore fundamental characteristics of personality structure and economics alike. Many people want and need more help with their interpersonal problems than the determination of eligibility and the use of limits may offer.

Only as a profession matures is it able to accept the fact that the areas in which it can help people are not enormous. But the skilled practitioner has to understand a great deal to help people wisely. The first effect of facing frankly what is known either of economic or psychological reality was greatly to inhibit the case workers. Because of early diffuseness and trying to do everything for people they felt that personality problems were so overwhelming and so ominous that, for a while, they did little except say, "It must be hard for you." To this, the insistence on the client's being able to do something, to move on his own problem, has been a healthy reaction. But while our knowing may not help the client to know, and indeed we have learned not to interpret all we see, the converse, that only the client's knowing enables us to know, does not seem to me to be true. Practitioners must consider levels of possible adjustment. Can the client manage as a wholly self-directing person on a reality basis? Then perhaps all he does need is clarification of agency function. Can he hold his ground with additional help? Can he develop further capacity for a satisfying life? Are his capacities impaired or lessening? If so, can or cannot anything be done through case work and other means? This presupposes ability to diagnose psychosocial need and from this knowledge to help the client clarify and use his inner potentialities and external resources. Is it presumptuous to assume that case work, in conjunction with the social sciences, will increasingly chart and understand family and individual constellations? And would it not be sterile for a profession to think that all that we can know reliably is through the client's knowing in an agency experience? Nor can I bring myself to believe that professional persons wish to be freed, through administrative definitions of policy, from the challenge and responsibility of social diagnosis.

There is no doubt of the great values gained whenever we give up too great an urge to control or manage anyone's affairs whether in case work, group work, or any other democratic operation. The emphasis on agency function is intended to throw the balance on the side of the client's desire and capacity to coöperate responsibly with the agency of his own choosing. It is assumed that the majority of people will get along, if they can, through the helping experience, break through the patterns which have inhibited them—the will to change being mobilized to effect change. Rather spectacular change and movement are, in fact, claimed for the method. One cannot but wonder, however, within the economic and psychological circumstances, how real the choice is and what is the motivation of the movement thus precipitated through function. For the combination of a direct approach, the use of agency limits as reality-testing devices, the often unexplored alternatives, have together the effect of very positive suggestion. This may arouse anxiety. Someone may say, "The anxieties are there, so one may as well bring them out through negatives and limits." But since it is the nature of anxiety to tend either toward hyperactivity or paralysis, I believe we cannot always safely induce movement through the functional device alone. Continuing to see the client as a person in a social situation should not mean ignoring the presenting request, but, rather, more fully understanding its meaning. However, we must also remember that for the suggestible, insecure client with a weak ego organization, retreat may actually be cut off by his having to come to terms with a function prematurely. I realize that proponents of the second theory do not believe that there is anything in the concepts themselves which calls for rigidity in application, but as I see current practice I find this a real danger. Only study and discussion, however, can resolve the question.

Acceptance of agency function, both public and private, has made for more responsible case work, and one must admit that case work, in its struggle to understand the psychosocial situation, has often attempted too much, pulled too many things up by the roots, and pursued a too patterned and too directive course in respect to the other's life experience. But there is,

I believe, an even greater danger in setting up too arbitrary limitations or overvaluing the "most man-made and temporary"¹⁴ of our inventions (agency programs). For case workers, within the case situation, must decide to what extent they should limit their activities to helping the client find out what he wants, helping him choose and use the appropriate service, and how much they have a responsibility to explore the contingent problems, the history of the difficulty, and to educate or stimulate further related activities. Free choice alone will not solve problems, nor even sharing them for a brief time, unless the problem is capable of solution this way. Concentration on a particular defined area chosen by the client is certainly the usual place to begin, provided one does not forget that the interrelation and fusion of needs in the human situation occur constantly. Social case workers are learning to focus their cases better. The question is how focus is best achieved—through diagnosis or through partializing.

Medicine, too, has a history of both administrative and professional partialization. Many of us have, when inquiring about the employability of a patient, heard the doctor say, "Well, I'm treating him for a gall bladder condition. As far as that goes he is employable. But I see that he also attends the orthopedic clinic, so perhaps you had better ask the doctor there." The patient has an employable gall bladder but an unemployable foot. For the sum total of all these, which is a person, a living physical and psychological whole, there is often no clinic. Medicine is beginning to have such clinics, and coördinated programs in social work suggest that appropriate services may be grouped and nucleated for more adequate treatment. I think we can assume that most clients want to be treated as well as the profession knows how and that there is generic case work as well as its administrative adaptations.

I am not quite sure whether the intent of the second philosophy is toward less referral and fewer coöperative cases, although it is reasonable to suppose that if the case worker is to relinquish his sense of responsibility for the client's need, is to accept the

¹⁴ Bertha Reynolds, book review in *The Family*, March, 1940.

idea of a "continuous separation from the outworn psychological past" and increased self-initiated movement as a result of the helping process, the older ethics of responsibility for seeing that the client's need is either met through some agency or made the basis of community planning might be modified. This is of importance if it should lead case work away from the "organismic" point of view, which I have already described as characteristic of the first set of concepts. For the chief contribution of social work has lain in its insistence on the multiplicity of social causation, its recognition of interacting phenomena, and its willingness, at the risk of diffusion, to study the whole psychosocial situation, since complex forces cannot be simplified beyond a certain limit. It is a good thing for client and case worker to pick out something concrete to act on together, but this must not distract us from a ceaseless searching out of causes, knowledge of which may help to "block the downward path."

Attention to the presenting request and to the client's attitudes toward the agency is indispensable and false only if our penetration into related thema is blurred. Grasp of the significance of the present is dynamic whenever we can grasp it without considering those differentials for treatment which history and social study can often best supply. We have already found in public service how acceptance of a category may lead to the rigidities of categorical administration. We need classification for appropriations and public support, but the infinite variables within people and their situations are always the objects of socialized administration. It is easy to make a ritual of eligibility and forget that people in need must not have too many conditions set.

Fortunately, both sets of concepts concur in giving a central place to the ego and the reality-facing side of experience. There is, however, a basic difference in the interpretation of personality (ego) development. The first group, believing that there is wide range in people's capacities, due to the strengths and weaknesses of the ego, look for significant persons and events in the life development, in which agency experience is only one event; the second, postulating creativeness and self-determination

of the will, tend to derive their diagnosis—or what I should call evaluation—from the use the client is making of the single episode of agency experience. Both groups would accept the client's view of persons and circumstances, his emotional response to them, as the single most important factor in treatment; and both would agree that creative experience lies at the root of all knowledge; and all case workers would recognize that reality experiences with their corresponding affects have been internalized both consciously and unconsciously. While never treating unconscious material, the case worker must be aware of how unconscious factors operate. No doubt case workers had displayed earlier a one-sided interest in the instinctual life, but I believe they are now using a more rounded, but more flexible, approach to inner and outer realities, the recent observations of psychoanalytic psychiatry being especially important for case work understanding of man's adaptation to reality. Case workers had first to become aware of basic instincts and universal economic pressures before they could arrive at a clear understanding either of individual character traits or of particular economic and social situations. Surely there is solid ground for the position that focus is best achieved by clarifying the situation through disinterested observation, skilled history taking, and diagnostic processes increasingly scientifically based, and thereby concentrating on one or more aspects of the problem with the client, rather than for the assumption that the aspect presented by the client in his request is always the one most relevant to its solution.

In so far as acceptance of function helps us act more responsibly as practitioners, there is great value; in so far as this seems to imply that the client's experience must be partial, and that his struggle for the reorganization of himself must be in relation "only to the one problem in which he has learned the agency can help," I find danger for the advancement of a more scientific case work, a better planned community, and a contribution to the preventive and educational forces of social action. "The organismal theory of reality is in disagreement with the practice of studying a fraction of the organism's response and neglecting

the trend of which it is a part."¹⁵ Exponents of the second theory would not agree that in "partializing" there was inherent danger of case work practice being divorced from preventive and educational efforts, and I hope this is true. However, if some of us believe that the future of social work lies in more research, more use of scientific data derived from the sciences and our own professional practice, and others believe that "to establish truth or to engage in scientifically valid research can never be the aim of social work"¹⁶ because the helping purpose and scientific observations are in conflict; if the diagnosis of client need is to be minimized in favor of experience and concepts of service are to be opposed, not related to, concepts of treatment, then one would be forced reluctantly to admit that case work had reached a temporary parting of ways.

I find myself loath to accept the degree of cleavage which this oversimplified presentation may imply, for there are as many dangers when case workers get fixated on deep social pathology as when they presuppose a stronger ego structure than exists. If people had complete inherent capacity for working out independent economic and personal salvation, I suppose social work, let alone most of the other professions, would not continue. But as case workers, honestly reviewing our own development, we will readily admit that we have assimilated new doctrines often more fully than wisely. This is only to say that I believe we shall progress more surely by building on what we already know of the values of tested case work procedure—adding concepts of responsibility for function, but not making agency function the test and touchstone of all there is in the helping process—for our agency programs are not always responsive, either to scientific advances or social movements.

Assuming that the skilled practitioner will use all he knows flexibly and realistically, and that he will as little as possible dogmatically accept all of one theory to the exclusion of the other, it must be true for the present that social case work will

¹⁵ Murray, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Jessie Taft, "Relation of Function to Process," *Journal of Social Work Process*, I (November, 1937), 3.

lean one way or the other. But what could not long be tolerated would be a professional practice with two bases. Differences at the periphery, accepted and respected, make for growth; fundamental differences at the core make for schisms or nullification, retard the mobility of workers, lead to all sorts of crippling misunderstandings. It is the so-called "ideologies" which most irritate and divide people, and not the experiences which we share in the laboratory and the workshop. We must continue unremittingly in the search for new knowledge applied to the needs of humanity, and continue to learn from each other without prejudice or provincialism. Case work must remain an integrated part of social work, its insights into personality a constant incentive to, and corrective of, social action. Anything which distracts us from an attempt to make case work more scientific should be questioned. The problem of our generation is to link scientific advances, especially the social sciences, with the purposes of welfare, with economic and political as well as industrial and physical events. The evolutionary movement must be to make love instead of hostility dominant in human affairs, and to that end the science of society must be developed and strengthened. The test of a trend is whether it brings us closer to truth and, to use the old word, virtue, and the test of case work is not only its pragmatic ability to help, but its power to liberate, enlarge, and socialize the human spirit.

THE UNDERLYING SKILLS OF CASE WORK TODAY

Charlotte Towle

THE TERM "SKILL" has come to mean the art of dealing properly with specific situations. Because in some technical fields it has been possible for workers to gain facility in performing certain tasks without comprehension of the basic laws and principles of the field as a whole, skills have come to be regarded as techniques and procedures which can be imparted in and of themselves in relation to a particular problem. In social case work we have had phases of trying to formulate skills in this narrow sense of the term. Confronted with the untrained worker, the pressure of time, and the complex demands of a profession and armed with our own not too adequate professional education, we have longed for a magician's bag of tricks or the technician's well-defined techniques to pass on to those entering the field in order that they might become quickly effective. As we consider skill within a professional field, we are drawn back to the early meanings of the word which originally signified understanding, discernment, differentiation, comprehension, and judiciousness. Apparently those who understood, who were discerning, who were able to differentiate, and who were judicious came to think and act with an ease synonymous with our concept of skill. The very ease implied in skill was deceptive. We came to believe that its simple secret might be lifted out, abstracted from the whole, and attained without experiencing the whole.

Social case work skills cannot be thought of apart from the content of knowledge and body of principles or general conceptions underlying this branch of learning. They cannot be thought of apart from that particular integration of knowledge, philosophy, and experience which a worker brings to a specific situa-

tion. They cannot be divorced from the purpose or function of the particular agency in a given case. Most important of all, they cannot operate without reference to the client's needs and person.

With reference to skill in investigation or social study, the comments of Robert F. Hoxie on social research method seem relevant.¹ In our early gropings with scientific method we became historical and frequently we were narrative historians of a sterile sort rather than scientific historians. Facts were neither well selected nor always relevant to the specific problem. We knew somehow that history was important and that it had within it the power "to evoke and to solve problems still unstated or unrecognized." Because our investigations, however, were undertaken in furtherance of some definite human good, our scientific interest has been practical rather than academic. Our inquiries quickly came into accord with dynamic scientific method in becoming highly selective. Absorption in the past or history as an end in itself readily gave way to a use of history for light on the present problem. As stated by Hoxie, we have gone to the past in our scientific social studies because we have recognized that "living individuals are not altogether what we see them to be in immediate thought and action."² In this field we have come to use the process of scientific inquiry also as a therapeutic tool, and this function has modified the process in a way peculiar to the fields of psychiatry and social case work.

The experienced social worker is aware of the skill implied in a differential history which meets the specifications of scientific inquiry and which serves also as a treatment process. He may find it difficult to analyze what went into this skill and may only be able to single out this and that factor which contributed to its development. Among these he may recall that period when he explored a specific social situation in that random, unfocused way which resulted in the indiscriminate historical narrative which Hoxie deplores as a travesty of the scientific historical

¹ Robert F. Hoxie, *Trade Unionism in the United States*, "Notes on Method," Appendix I, pp. 376-79.

² *Ibid.*

method. He may remember that in this period, gradually, he learned to find the relevant in the mass of irrelevancies, that he learned to build up hypotheses and to infer cautiously. He may recall that in his undirected browsings he got a grasp of the complexities of the individual social situation and felt the need not only of knowing what to find, but also of testing that knowledge in relation to what he found. Probably every social worker new to the field relives in some measure this developmental phase experienced at one point by the field as a whole. Fortunately, we cannot take this experience away from him, though we may short-cut it dangerously. Many of us inched along through a period of inductive thinking in which we participated in formulating many of the hypotheses, theories, and systems which we now hand over to the novice. In contrast, the novice enters the social situation heavily armed in terms of what to find, and what to think, and perhaps it is not to be wondered at if hypotheses prematurely become theories and theory, dogma. How to shorten the time through instruction and supervision without depriving the worker of the opportunity to experience the scientific method in an evolutionary way so that it becomes an integral part of his professional approach is one of today's baffling educational problems.

If the experienced worker can analyze further the gradual emergence of his skill he may recall that at an early point in his study he began to diagnose and to use his grasp of basic treatment principles and that his skill as an investigator increased in direct proportion to gains in diagnostic ability and with deepened understanding of treatment principles. He began to secure valid diagnostic material in so far as he was therapeutic in his approach to people. These skills developed hand in hand. Diagnostic and treatment skills imply a capacity for precise analysis of a case situation into its parts; for comparative thinking of the parts in relation to the whole; and for synthesizing the parts into a comprehensive interpretative statement in which the essential elements of the case situation are still discernible and, therefore, may serve as a treatment focus. It implies also some generalization, for each case takes on meaning in the light of

other cases and, in turn, contributes to the gradual formulation of a case work philosophy. Professional skills are directly related to—in fact, they emerge from—the development of valid generalizations. The case worker who remains absorbed in each case and regards it as absolutely unique is one who has not grasped its general import and who, therefore, must grope his way through each situation as though it were an initial venture. Generalization with resultant formulation of ways of working lies at the core of skill. Since the purpose of social case work, however, is to help the individual rather than to work in certain ways, diagnostic and treatment skills rest, in the last analysis, upon the worker's ability to see the particular relation of the factors within *this* situation which make it *this* situation and not another one.

Skill breaks down when formulated methods and philosophies are enthroned and when generalizations are rigidly applied without reference to the person presenting certain needs. The past few years might be characterized as a period of generalization in contrast to the initial phase in the development of a science of social case work in which we were absorbed in individualization. We have made headway in formulating thinking derived through years of individual-by-individual experience and in applying thinking formulated elsewhere, notably in the field of psychiatry. It has been a productive period in that much sound theory has emerged to guide us in our present and future work, provided we do not abandon the scientific method through which it was achieved. This implies a continued weighing of evidence, a testing of hypotheses, and a questioning of theory in relation to the individual situation in which it is being utilized. Theories are seductive, however, and unless we consciously guard ourselves against their wiles we may seize on them or be possessed by them so that unwittingly we come to serve them rather than the individuals whom they were designed to serve.

The idea has been advanced that it is quite general, if not universal, for the individual to experience discomfort in asking for help. The assumption is that the activation of basic dependency inherent in this experience engenders anxiety over help-

lessness and anxiety over loss of one's identity. Another assumption is that in the relationship established between the helping person and the one helped, anxiety is aroused because of the guilt activated; for in so far as this relationship recreates the parent-child situation, unresolved conflicts, sometimes of a psychosexual nature, emerge in various forms and in varying combinations of symptoms which express dependency, hostility, anxiety, and the like. In either instance, regardless of differences in the interpretation of the basis of the conflict, there has been agreement that it is essential that the worker deal with this conflict so that that discomfort, which is so productive of demoralizing effects, may be relieved in order that the individual may make constructive use of help. This concept has validity when used with close reference to the individual situation. Skill is obstructed, however, when the worker hangs tenaciously to the assumption.

A woman revealed marked anxiety when she sought relief and the placement of two children. The worker became absorbed in trying to deal with the woman's discomfort in getting help. The interviews were highly repetitive in the worker's attempts to come to grips with the feelings which she thought it essential to clarify before working out the placement plan. Finally the worker gave up; the anxiety was not alleviated; but when relief was given and the children placed, the mother moved into the experience with obvious serenity. If the worker had focused on this woman rather than on a theoretical assumption of how she must be feeling, she would have seen at a much earlier point that in being helped this person found comfort. The childlike dependence which she brought to the experience had none of the relatively more adult conflict elements in it. If conflict over being helped was present, it was so deeply repressed, so long latent, that for all practical purposes it was non-existent in the case work relationship.

A commonly accepted idea is that the case work relationship should offer the individual the opportunity to be self-determining. Dedicated to this idea—an idea which is greatly reinforced by the trends of the times—many of us lose sight of the re-

sponses which clearly indicate that some individuals are unable to use the relationship in this way. We have learned that when this opportunity has been offered it may constitute an authoritative demand which the individual may be unable to meet, and, if so, he may react with resultant hostility, anxiety, and a response that may vary from aggressive demands to a collapse into abject dependency. Thus we may do the individual more damage in the long run than if we had met his dependency at the start. Our own fears may operate here, as in many other areas, against discriminative help, which is synonymous with skill. Accordingly, the skilled worker is endeavoring to meet the individual where he is, in terms of capacity to carry responsibility in any area whether it be in responding within the interview, expressing feelings, or initiating and effecting plans.³ The case worker who staunchly maintains that he can help only the person who can use a certain kind of relationship frequently is saying that he can relate himself only to that individual who least needs help. While this stand may be reconciled with the function of some agencies, it cannot be reconciled with our profession's purpose as a whole.

In recent years we have gained a deepened understanding of the import of hostility, both as it affects the personality adjustment of the individual and as it affects the treatment relationship. We have learned that the repression of hostile feelings is not only the core of many an individual's difficulty, but also that in helping him it is frequently doubly beneficial for him to give expression to these feelings. He may be relieved of hostile impulses in his life relationships and thus be freed for more satisfactory relationship to others and for greater assumption of responsibility for himself. With the easing of guilt over hostile feelings he may no longer need to project responsibility or to punish himself through failure and suffering in one form or another. Secondly, as he brings through the hostile impulses in the case work relationship, directed either toward the worker

³ This point has been more fully discussed elsewhere. See "The Social Worker and the Treatment of Marital Discord Problems," by Charlotte Towle in the *Social Service Review*, June, 1940.

or toward others, the worker's objective response may not only ease guilt, but may also enable him to enter into that positive relationship with the worker which is essential for, or at least conducive to, a constructive use of help.

As we learned this, our initial assumption was that we had found a simple answer to the woes of mankind and to the establishment of more effective treatment relationships. As we have worked with this concept, however, we have experienced its complexity. We have become acquainted with the marked anxieties, even the panic responses, that may be engendered as hostilities are released. We have felt the impact of the troubles that ensue in some instances when hostile aggressions find an outlet. We have seen that a more intensely negative case work relationship may result in so far as the individual blames us for his discomfort or resents our acceptance of his negative self. In short, we frequently unleashed forces with which we were unable to cope. The skilled worker has learned to move slowly in this area and to observe intently the individual's response, in relation to all that he has learned about him as a person, so that hostility and anxiety may not be released beyond the capacity of the individual to deal with it, or beyond the circumstances of his situation to afford opportunities for the redirection of hostile impulses and the constructive utilization of anxiety. The skilled worker also has learned ways of limiting the person if a precipitous response is generated within the case work relationship. He may set time limits, or help the person handle his guilt through bringing out positive feelings to offset the negative ones; he may interpret, reassure, permit, or even help the person maintain some of his rationalizations and defenses; he may direct the individual to activity in the social setting or to activity comprised in steps in agency procedure through which the hostile impulses may be atoned for and the anxiety eased. These techniques for dealing with or controlling the individual's response imply great skill in knowing when and how and what to say and do, a skill which emerges from intensive observation, close listening, and the diagnostic ability which stems from knowledge and experience. They are not techniques

that can be handed over to the novice as a body of well-established procedures or routines to be utilized in general or in this or that situation. When they are so used they inevitably are misused.

Skill in the use of scientific method may be affected by what the worker brings to the interview. We see the world through our own eyes, and what we see is subject to the limitations of our range of vision and to any dysfunction in our visual capacity. Likewise, as we relate ourselves to people the reaction we induce is not solely the reaction of the other individual, but is the product also of what we inject. An individual's reaction to a given social worker will typify his response to that kind of approach, but it does not give us a conclusive picture of the kind of person he is. Too often we conclude summarily that this is a dependent person, or this is a deeply anxious person, when any one of us could well ask, "Is this person being dependent to meet my demands, or is this anxiety a response to my uncertainty or aggression?" In diagnosis and treatment, therefore, we are led to consider what the worker brings to the client. What he sees, feels, and thinks as well as the response he begets will be determined by: (1) experience (personal and professional); (2) knowledge and skill; (3) personality needs, with particular reference to capacity or incapacity to objectify those needs. Today we are aware of the importance of the emotional needs of the social worker. In fact, it has become such a dominant concern of supervisors, instructors, and case workers themselves that we tend to overlook the other determinants when they may have a direct bearing on this factor.

Consider first the relation of experience to what the social worker observes. A young worker recorded her visit to the home of a family applying for relief. She gave a vivid description of the bleakness of the home, of its disorder, of its deplorable lacks. She noted that the mother was unfriendly and untidy, and recorded the impression that she seemed shiftless and uncoöperative. She expressed to her supervisor the opinion that Mrs. X. could not be a planful person and that she felt hopeless about working with her.

Shortly thereafter the supervisor, a woman of some years' ex-

perience, visited this same home. The differences in observation may be due in part to chance factors, but one is aware also of a different perspective. She found a home that was in relatively good condition as compared with the homes of other factory workers in the same district. Fundamentally it was clean, but disorder prevailed, though perhaps no more disorder than is inevitable with overcrowding and four active young children. The artificial flowers, the children's toys, the varied diet in relation to the income, and the improvised sun-bathing contraption in the one south window so that infant Jimmy might get the sunshine recommended by the Infant Welfare—all evidences of resourcefulness, rather than of shiftlessness, and a normal yearning for something more than bread alone. She saw an intelligent sense of values within the superficial disorder and meagerness of this woman's world. She did not find an unfriendly woman so much as a weary and discouraged one; not an untidy woman so much as a shabby one; not an uncoöperative woman so much as a person with ideas of her own. Case developments confirmed the soundness of observations.

One might suppose that the young worker was unsympathetic or that she was a punitive person; that she had some basic need to reject the disadvantaged, or that she tended to dramatize and distort in response to her own personal needs. Her response might be symptomatic of any one or all of these difficulties. Further acquaintance with this worker, however, indicated that her social and economic background together with a lack of professional experience combined to give her no comprehension whatever of such factors as what constitutes a normal way of life among poor people; how much order is possible in overcrowded housing; what constitutes planfulness when one has meager resources with which to be planful; that a weary woman who has always been socially and economically disadvantaged may not relate herself to a stranger with the gracious manner of a more advantaged person; or that one may feel defensive at having to ask for help. Actually, this worker's subsequent development showed a capacity to be understanding, and no marked hostilities or punitive attitudes were revealed. One

would say that the older worker was more accepting of the limitations of others. We accept what we understand; probably there is very little acceptance of the unknown or the strange. Therefore, the capacity to accept may grow with experience.

Likewise, the worker's lack of experience may affect, not only what he does or fails to do in a situation, but also his response or emotional attitude in the very doing. Recently a psychiatrist expressed concern about a worker in whom he had noted anxiety and tension. This worker had not impressed her supervisor as being anxious or tense in general. Inquiry revealed that she had been drawn into the assumption of more direct treatment responsibility in the case of a deeply neurotic young woman than she was professionally prepared to carry. A strong relationship had developed between the worker and the patient with the latter giving full confidences, then reacting with hostility and becoming inordinately aggressive, not only in relation to the worker, but in her social situation. In a discussion of the worker's difficulty, emphasis was placed on the fact that this case probably was activating the worker's basic conflicts. That may be so; we would not be ready to say it was not so, or that this factor may not have entered into her response. But before deciding that this was the whole difficulty we would want to know how much she knew about handling this kind of a response. It was found that she had a vague impression that in some mysterious way it was therapeutic for a client to unburden himself. She had no comprehension of the possibility of resultant anxieties nor of the import of released hostilities. Nor did she know, nor had anyone helped her to learn, the ABC's of how to deal with anxiety, in short, how to direct or control the therapeutic relationship. In view of this, I wonder if she may not have been intelligently "anxious and tense."

Knowledge and skill attained through experience and through professional education continually operate to determine the worker's emotional response within the interview. One could cite many examples. The overauthoritative tendency of young or inexperienced workers to routine and exhaustive inquiry emerges frequently from their need to know in order to feel

capable of helping. The overauthoritative tendency to instruct, to guide, even to dictate, may be produced by a need to reassure themselves as well as others that they have something to give, and it probably will subside when they are more secure in professional knowledge and skill. An eagerness to reassure, to minimize the problem, and to encourage invalidly may arise from a need to be liked personally—a need which will diminish when security in their professional contribution brings them the clients' acceptance on a realistic basis. Absorption in and glib use of terminology may characterize workers who have not yet grasped the full meaning of the terms. When this comprehension comes, language will grow more simple and understandable. The vague uncertainty and lack of direction frequently noted in interviewing lessens when knowledge gives meaning to what the client is saying and doing.

As human beings inevitably we bring to this field of service personal needs and a wealth of lay attitudes, biases, and prejudices, their content and depth varying with backgrounds and previous experiences. Furthermore, as human beings, throughout our training and professional work we are subject to the full range of frustrations, stresses, and strains to which those whom we serve are heir. We bring from life's gratifications, and the self-realization which has been our lot, the strength and capacity to help. Probably through our frustrations and other negative experience, providing they have not been too great, we are attuned to feel with the disadvantaged, and almost inevitably there will be instances when we will feel like them and, therefore, against them rather than with them. At such times our effectiveness will be undermined. In case work we all identify in some measure with our clients. In fact, the human tendency to identify may be regarded as the very core of altruism and one of the motive forces in all social work. It occurs, however, sometimes in excessive degree in response to deep personal need, and in such instances it can obstruct the development of a helpful relationship. When we are responding to unresolved emotional pressure ourselves, when we are frustrated in our own desires and urges in life, when we are feeling deprived and defeated, in short, when we have deep conflicts to appease or resolve and

when we do not understand our needs and urges, then unconsciously we may use the client to meet our need rather than meet the need which he brings to us. I need not elaborate the dilemma produced, that predicament in which the worker is almost inevitably doomed to self-defeat, and in which the client is frustrated or experiences a reinforcement of his original disturbed feelings. Conversely our involvement may drive us arbitrarily to limit an agency's function.

In these cases our wishful thinking will crop out; our need to defend the client, protect, or deny him will make it difficult for us to think logically; we may be less self-critical than usual and in staff conferences we will find ourselves less receptive to the perspective which our colleagues bring to the discussion of the case. Finally, perhaps, defeated and frustrated, we will terminate the case abruptly and sometimes vindictively. The feeling we experience in termination is sometimes very revealing indeed.

In these instances the client may reveal our involvement. There will be a lack of movement which will be revealed, not only in a general lack of progress in his social situation, but also within the interview. Frustrated in finding help or irritated by the pressure of our emotional need, he may become resistive, hostile, or markedly anxious. He may defend himself against us through evasive talking, through resistance or projections, or through taking himself out of the situation. In some settings the client's imperative need for the service does not leave him free to escape, so he makes an adaptation of one sort or another. He soon knows what provokes our anxiety or interest so he earns his way, and, in the long run, may feel unobligated and entitled to the service. Or if our involvement has gratified the client, as when our punitive attitudes meet a neurotic need for punishment, or when our protectiveness has fostered his need to be dependent, he may give himself over to enjoyment of the relationship which becomes an end in itself. This will be reflected in his response in the interview, and here again there may be repetitious productions, or an endless bringing in of new problem situations to engage our aggression or protection.

Such involvements are usual ones to which any of us may be subject. When we find that our interviewing skill is seriously

impaired by them, we may suspect fundamental difficulties which may not be met in the educational process. Since we all bring a personal need to the case work situation, our professional effectiveness cannot be based on an absence of such need, but, instead, on our capacity to deal with it.

Finally, it is important to recognize that in attaining a scientific approach we must accept the limitations of science, namely, that there are no short cuts, that there are no substitutes for its slow and painstaking ways, that there are no escapes from its complexities, that its theoretical formulations must ever be tested and therefore are ever subject to change, and that its generalizations cannot be abstracted and adapted to unquestioned usage as well-established techniques or arts. This creates a problem in passing our present formulations on to the younger generation. It is a problem peculiar to no one school of thought. It appears to be a prevalent one, in keeping with the trends of the times and characteristic of our developmental stage in the use of scientific method. It is one which must be solved in some measure if the case worker of tomorrow is to surpass in skill the case worker of today. Indeed, there is danger that the case worker of tomorrow may fall short of his predecessor if he merely annexes the results of our thinking without the basic thought processes through which our skills have been attained. When the social worker looked at the human individual from a scientific standpoint, man as man became important, for differentiations based on social and economic status, racial, national, or sex factors, conditions of body or mind, became incidental to his identity as a person. Science, then, has served as a humanizing force in giving a deeper understanding of human nature. It is important to remember, though, that science in any field may reinforce our tendency to generalize, and its adherents must guard against the subjective enthronement of those observations which are personally gratifying or which in some way serve their user's purpose. We see the inhumanities that man is committing against man in the name of this or that scientific generalization. May social case work avoid such misuse of scientific method.

CHANGES IN THE THEORY OF RELIEF GIVING

Grace F. Marcus

SOME THIRTEEN YEARS AGO I wrote a book, and the book, like this discussion, had to do with conflicts between relief giving and case work. The book made something of a stir in social work circles. It recorded the first flat encounter of the psychiatric social worker with the problems of relief, and this circumstance was enough to create a small excitement in that period of case work history. When I wrote *Some Aspects of Relief* I enjoyed the exhilarating illusion that we had solved the conflict between relief giving and case work. Not long after began a series of changes that transformed the conditions under which relief was dispensed. New developments overtook practice and new theories were created to guide them. Midway through all this I discovered my mistake: my book had not solved the conflict between relief giving and case work; it was, rather, perpetuating it. I tried to take the book out of circulation. The effort to bury it was only partly successful; this was another case of "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

It may seem that the idea that the old conflicts between relief giving and case work still persist is a figment of the imagination. Among the other annoying characteristics of conflict are its habits of evasion. Two of our most recent books on case work theory and practice pass delicately by what might seem to the casual observer a dominant activity in case work, namely, relief giving. The omission is odd and therefore notable. You will also recall that conflict has a trick of assuming alien disguises. For some years now we have been plagued by an undeclared but no less bitter war of doctrines, waged not about relief giving and case work per se, but around the psychological parentage of certain

ideas. The issues in this Chinese war between ancestor worshippers have little to do with the essential differences between Freud and Rank, and even less to do with the validity or invalidity of their respective contributions. I offer it as a phenomenon meriting our darkest suspicions. But other ghosts walk among us. I freely admit that it is no longer good manners to deny public assistance a place under the case work sun; but there is a caste system in case work marking off those who administer relief from those who engage in the treatment of difficulties in personality, behavior, and relationships. What is at the root of such irrationalities? From what are we defending ourselves?

Recently I reread my own book on relief giving. In my opinion some of the ideas in that book still stand. For example, the behavior manifested by the parties to relief transactions is identified as common human behavior inspired by understandable human motives and responses. The garden varieties of reaction in the relief-giver are shown to play an important part in determining the social usefulness of relief. Relief is acquitted of responsibility either for rehabilitating the client without reference to his other problems or for producing his personal or social decay. All these ideas have been to the good: some misunderstood or unperceived influences were discovered and rendered that much more accessible to professional control.

When I wrote that book I thought I was laying the ghosts that had been haunting practice to the detriment of its wide-awake vision. I did not realize then, as I am able to realize now, that all the ghosts are not laid at any one time. My own theory was ghostridden. Though there was new insight into the fears and prejudices that prevent money from being used for its proper purposes, the concept of "relief as a tool" harbored a subtle but insidious denial of the value of money as a thing with which the case worker could with dignity busy herself. In my view it was not the difficulty in putting money to its appropriate uses that required the exercise of case work in the giving of relief. Relief served a higher if ulterior purpose, that of providing a means whereby treatment of other problems

than those of financial need might proceed. Though I justified the giving of relief, the justification I found was partial and resided, not in the homely uses the client could make of money, but in the use the case worker could make of the client's need of money to save him from something else. In my thinking, which was typical of the time, the older prejudices against those in need survived in the assumption that because clients were in need of relief they were also in need of rehabilitation. This preconception was hidden behind the conscious thesis that the problems in their personalities, behavior, and relationships were not peculiar to them as an inferior, separate class but could be found anywhere in our citizenry. The question that escaped my attention was this: If these difficulties are universal, why, especially, should clients submit to treatment of them? Is it their need of relief that gives us the right to expect this of them? Or is it our traditional benevolence that makes us want to compensate the poor for their poverty by ridding them of problems that the rest of the populace may retain at their will?

Once you locate the latent assumptions behind the professed theory, it takes no searching scrutiny to see why it was defeated in the application by its own fallacies. But this was not the whole of the difficulty. These ideas about relief as the hand-maiden of case work were part and parcel of new concepts of individualization which became entrenched in the inmost citadel of case work as the very core of its philosophy. Case work had always, and rightly, set great store on understanding the individual, but it had been halted at that frontier where the rational contends with the irrational in the personality. Now, with the assistance of psychoanalysis, case work was introduced to the hidden parts of the mind. It would be impossible to overrate the value of this new knowledge to a professional practice so deeply engaged with the intimate affairs of human beings as case work necessarily is. The problem, of course, was the time-honored one: How was this knowledge to be appropriately used for the purposes of case work? We can see that if psychoanalysis had entertained among its distinctive purposes that of giving relief, case work might not have run such grave risks in imitat-

ing its method. If, on the other hand, case work were not always stumbling over the personalities, behavior, and relationships of its clients, it might not have seen a misleading resemblance between the problems in its task and the problems to which psychoanalytic therapy was devoted. As one of those who enthusiastically failed to make these elementary distinctions, I may not be conceded authority in saying that it was well-nigh inevitable that a practice not yet sure of its identity would confuse its mission with that of a therapy from which such blinding revelations had come. I believe that, under the circumstances, it was natural that case workers seeking to know their clients should concentrate on the unconscious influences affecting their behavior, in fact should conclude that to know their clients at all—that is, to “individualize” them—they must do so by search into their personalities, conduct, and relationships and by a process as like that of psychoanalysis as differences in skill and opportunity would permit. However, if you are trying to work within a framework of ideas like these, relief is bound to remain a separate consideration, a barrier to be gracefully surmounted to get to the real center. You will think that subordinating relief to problems of personality, behavior, and relationships is essential to the achievement of anything that can be properly designated case work, since on this transfer of emphasis the individualization of the client—the heart and soul of case work—seems to depend.

If mass relief giving had not erupted on to the social work scene, the conflict inherent in these ideas of the relationship between relief giving and case work might have been directly exposed in the practice to which they were applied. On the other hand, it was the development of public relief giving that gave case work an opportunity to find its balance again and to find it by returning to its own base the tasks social agencies are required to do, that belong to no other organizations, and that constitute the reason for their being supported by the general public. It must be noted at once that the ideas of individualization and the processes evolved in case work for applying them could not be conveniently incorporated into public relief giving.

To some case workers, both in public and in private agencies, the inhospitality of the public assistance agency to these ideas and practices represented a limitation on its usefulness which must be removed if progress were to be made. To others, the incompatibility between public assistance administration and this kind of case work was no misfortune since it seemed to furnish a function for the private agency free of the dangers and suspicions of competition or duplication. To still others, the limitations of the public agency were not to be viewed with either this condemnation or relief: the limitations might be harsh and arbitrary, temporarily ill conceived, but in them were a meaning and value that needed to be retrieved to restore to case work its unique identity as a social practice.

New ideas and new discoveries have a troublesome tendency to present themselves in negative ways as if they were bound to make their acceptance more disturbingly difficult for everybody concerned. It was so in this instance. The functioning of emergency relief administrations offered no hint to the average horrified case worker that in their very limitation was to be found a clue to the mysterious, elusive identity of social case work. Nor were fear and resentment disarmed by the manner in which the enterprising so-called "Rankians" were insisting on that everyday part of the personality which the so-called "Freudians" had submerged in the unconscious. I assume, however, that we cannot ask important contributions to be made without cost to our complacency and disarrangement of our current configuration of ideas. It appears to be of the essence of new contributions that they rudely call into question our treasured ways of thinking and feeling. The so-called "Rankians" were doing case work a service in recalling to case workers that the individual has a conscious ego. Freud himself would not have denied this fact, it involved no treason, but the idea was a jolt to the so-called "Freudians," and besides it was part of a theory that otherwise took issue with Freud. What happened is a pretty example of the way we humans behave when confronted with the expense of changing our minds. The reaction of many case workers was instinctive. This different concept of the in-

dividual was an attack on individualization itself. They rallied all forces to the defense of the citadel, including some bystanders whose main interest was in the excitement, and raised the banner of Freud. I grant that there has been comedy in these proceedings, but had we stopped to look before we leaped to the defense, more of us might have discovered earlier that we were defending our theory of individualization, not from attack and heresy, but from correction and growth. We might also have found that at last we were on the high road to solution of the haunting conflict between relief giving and case work.

It behooves me to bring my argument down to earth. Just what was this contribution that was wrung from the widespread development of the public assistance agency? What has this stepchild, this Cinderella, had to offer to the more refined older practices of case work? The answer is that the developments in public assistance agencies have revealed the importance to case work of an administrative backbone. To explain this answer I must go back to some of the events that accompanied the psychiatric contribution to concepts of individualization.

In its earlier days no doubt could be entertained that case work was a social service delivered through and controlled by the agency. Often the very steps in case work were prescribed by the administration, and policies were set up to decide the case worker's course in petty contingencies. The intention was, of course, to provide a framework, but increasingly, as case work discovered the individual and the necessity for the use of discretion and judgment in serving him, the old agency policies were found to be a straitjacket restraining movement of thought in the professional mind. A number of influences converged to produce an antagonism to emphasis on the agency and to the development of more congenial policies, but they all derived essentially from a preoccupation with problems of personality and relationships. There was an ardor for discovering each client's peculiar problem being free to deal with it in whatever way might seem individually indicated. There was a conviction that the essential basis for case work was a client-worker relationship on which the existence of the impersonal agency must not be

permitted to intrude. There was also an identification of case workers with clients in the latter's supposed feeling that the social agency is itself a forbidding symbol of the personal inadequacy and failure of those whom it serves and therefore it is an unfavorable environment for the full development of the service case work might render. In all this may be seen the retreat from acceptance of the agency as an organization publicly supported to meet common urgent human needs. The social interests the social agency was conceived to serve were minimized to the point of denial, and the agency was gently retired from the worker-client picture.

A great deal may be said in criticism of the definitions of eligibility set up for public assistance agencies by statute and elaborated in their own policies. One source of the case worker's reactions to them, however, has been their infringement of the unlimited freedom associated with this development of individualization. The basis of the public agency's administration of relief is social even when the definitions and interpretations under which it operates are miserably defective. The agency is the agent of the public that supports it, and it carries a delegated responsibility. Its relief must be given on terms dictated by its obligation to make sure that funds and services are dispensed to the proper persons for the purposes that have been acknowledged necessary and good by the public. It must, in turn, require certain information and certain activity from its clients if its position as giver and theirs as recipients are to be legitimate. This base of operation offers no happy ground for the unrestrained pursuit of individualization. The worker-client relationship is affected by the presence of conspicuously impersonal factors. The client is aware that the worker is the agency's representative, that the worker's power to give or deny is limited by agency policy, and that even the agency's power is limited by public prescription. In short, the client is dealing, not merely with the worker, but with an agency that can be held to its responsibilities as it can hold him to his. Whether it be admitted or approved, the basic shift entailed in all this is a shift from relief as a gift to relief as a right, the title to which depends on

the meeting of conditions and the assumption of duties and responsibilities by the client. Certain objective considerations cannot be evaded by worker or by client. The terms on which relief must be given and received restrict them both. Certain basic agency requirements cannot be adjusted or waived in deference to the client's reasons for resisting them, however explicable these reasons may be in the light of his personal problems. Nor can relief be used to relieve or cure his emotional difficulties, that is, to finance him during a course of case work treatment. Relief cannot be shoved from the center of the stage.

We might look a bit more closely to see what is demanded of the client when relief is given for defined objective reasons on defined objective terms. In the process of proving eligibility he has repeatedly to decide whether the assistance he is seeking is worth its successive costs to him, whether the good, natural reasons he has for shrinking from the investigation into various aspects of his private affairs and relationships are more important to him than are his reasons for applying for assistance. An inner victory over various rebellious emotions may be required of him in order that he may understand what information he must supply and why it is needed. Once on the assistance rolls, he has to live on a budget that is fixed by agency regulations, to accept the necessity of living on it, and to take as his own the problem of living on it as skillfully as possible for his good. What can be more invasive of all that he feels to be himself than a set of circumstances inflicting upon him changes in his standards, adjustment of his private habits, and surrender of financial control? How is he to take all the various denials of his personal needs and tastes without loss of his individuality and what that individuality means to him?

It is the responsibility of the case worker in the public assistance agency so to give relief that the client will make the best possible use of it that his capacities permit. There can be no stereotype in the method of doing this, for each client has his own way of reacting to his own peculiar situation. Moreover, agency policies cannot anticipate all the particularities of each

situation, and their application must rest on the worker's ability to use discrimination. We have said that the task of the worker is so to operate that each client's native powers to manage himself will not be interfered with; we can go further by admitting that unless the relief-giver has consummate skill the client frequently has no proper chance to assume control in a situation it would be so easy for him to feel is utterly controlled by others. We might take, for example, the problem of keeping clear for the client the real nature of the outer necessity so that he will not be provoked to evade it because it seems to be the worker's personal imposition on him. Or we might consider how readily the client can be weakened in the struggle to make a difficult decision if he is led to feel that he must fight, instead, for recognition of its difficulty for him. Through all this process of relief giving the worker has to be alert to ways in which the client can be given full opportunity to exercise his powers of judgment, his initiative, his freedom of choice, instead of getting lost in submission to, or battle against, an outer control. What does this amount to but an individualization, the more exacting because it must be focused and concentrated and because it cannot dodge concrete and direct issues?

Perhaps, before we can agree that this task of relief giving involves a very real individualization, we need to clarify just what it is in the individual with which we are dealing. In this giving-and-receiving relationship it is that part of the client's personality technically known as the "conscious ego" about which we are concerned. It is to the problems that the client's ego finds in asking, receiving, and using relief that we are sensitive, and to the capacities of the ego for meeting them that we are addressing ourselves. The ego's functions are the functions of managing; of determining action in the light of conflicting impulses and external demands; of distinguishing between fact and feeling; of recognizing necessity; of using reason as an instrument for testing possibilities and measuring consequences; of meeting obligations; of preserving its own whole identity; of meeting its own needs as much as possible in its own way; of employing abilities to the best advantage; of altering outer cir-

cumstances in its own behalf. The ego has to maintain its own against unconscious forces that may corrupt its powers of reason and impair its executive capacities. The problem it has in doing this was so baffling that psychoanalysis had to investigate the unconscious personality in order to command understanding of the manifest ego. Unlike psychoanalysis, case work has always had to deal exclusively with the conscious ego; this was its immediate, unavoidable task. This task has, however, been obscured by the fascinations of peering into the unconscious. As a consequence, case work delayed in returning from the unconscious to the ego and accepting a professional responsibility for comprehending, in the light of the indispensable knowledge psychoanalysis supplied, the functions of the individual ego and the problems of that ego in discharging them.

In this discussion of developments in the public assistance agencies my assumption has been that the necessity for this focus on the giving and receiving of relief marks an advance toward a reconciliation of the old conflicts between relief giving and case work, and that this advance consists in the agency's taking specific responsibility, on the one hand, for defining the terms on which relief can be secured and in the client's assuming responsibility, on the other hand, for the duties he must perform in order to make use of his rights. For our purposes, which are those of seeing what serves best the welfare of the individual in a society whose welfare cannot be separated from his, it would be indefensible to make a virtue of the public agency's present necessity if that necessity operates against the interests of the individual as they are involved in his utilizing financial assistance to the greatest advantage. According to the older concepts of individualization with their stress on flexibility, the agency avoided the setting of requirements as detrimental to a client-worker relationship concerned to meet emotional needs. Was this concept of individualization fully attuned to the psychological meanings inherent in giving and receiving, or was it overlooking a whole set of psychological factors at work in the conscious ego?

If we review the development of the individual, we find that

in early infancy all his needs must be divined and met by others. Soon an educational process is set in motion. To free the individual from so vulnerable a dependence, his early habit training is directed to enabling him gradually to perform for himself the services previously performed by others. One effort after another is required of him if he is to obtain what he needs and wants. Additions to his self-respect and increments of approval from others accrue from every gain he achieves in doing for himself. Even to retain the love and consideration he formerly received gratis, he must begin to observe duties and responsibilities. As he grows older his security and status come more and more to rest on his ability to earn for himself things previously given. Apart from the prestige won by this self-sufficiency, he prizes self-sufficiency because it enables him to make his own choices, use his own initiative, manage in his own way. The receiving of gifts becomes limited to more or less traditional occasions, and even for gifts he usually expects to make some return. I do not deny that this process of socialization has to contend with resistance in the individual to surrendering the receiving position and also with desires to reinstate himself in it, but even when he habitually seeks to be the recipient, he is uneasy lest the price exacted of him be a hampering sense of obligation, if not actual submission to the giver.

When case work relaxed into a loose flexibility in its relief giving, it had in mind preservation of the client's self-respect and independence from the encroachments of an authority derived from the case worker's power to give and the client's need to receive. The conditions of relief giving were made to fit the individual case and became subject to the client-worker relationship. This attempt to remove for the client the blight in having to take relief failed to take account of the cultural influences embodied in the education of his ego from early childhood. In fact, it thrust him back into dependence for fulfillment of his wants and so reversed the whole course of social development to which his training had been dedicated. In other walks of life the client had learned that money is not usually given without a return in goods or services or the incurring of definite

obligations, and even in his relations with family and friends he had expected to earn any favors he might ask. What, then, does it do to his sense of reality and relationships to receive from a total stranger in a social agency money on terms that are indefinite and unrelated to responsibilities he must meet? To have to rely on a relationship instead of on what he himself can do, though the doing may be difficult and painful, is to experience again the helplessness of infancy. Against this helplessness the only defense is to make that relationship persist by satisfying the worker, an arrangement that may have its comforts and yet involve an abandonment of the ego's healthy need to know what its obligations are and where it is still free to make its personal choices. It is in this general dependence on a relationship in which control is vested in the other person that the antisocial nature of charity lies: the client is robbed of proper opportunity to exercise the capacities and perform the duties which the entire process of a socializing education has made essential to his justification for living. When relief giving is thus made subservient to a subjective relationship, case work is running counter to character development instead of sustaining it. In addition, the services from which relief giving is distinguished may be converted by the client into a payment to the worker rather than used as his own means to overcome problems that materially concern him.

What I have said is not an endorsement of all the inappropriate requirements public agencies have devised and put upon their clients. Nor would I care to be interpreted as believing that social workers have found all the answers as to what sound requirements should be. No exceptional keenness of vision is needed to discern the existence of a problem in determining the responsibilities that the client might be constructively expected to assume. I have discussed relief giving in the public assistance agency and said nothing about relief giving in the private agency. I do not see how a theory that applies to one can be held inapplicable to the other. The private agency is under the same compulsion to take direct responsibility for its relief giving and to cease using it as a crutch for other services.

The private agency's problem in clarifying just what it does and does not do is complex. To make real progress means, first of all, a recognition that the giving of relief is in itself a service and that the factors operating in its giving and receiving are paramount in, and determining of, the worker-client relationship. Some valuable work has been done within private agencies in both the family and the children's fields, enough to demonstrate that the assumption of responsibility for the relief giving function offers unlimited opportunity for the development of the case work art and therefore of that service to the individual that sees his welfare and the welfare of society as one.

THE PLACE OF PSYCHOSOMATIC KNOWLEDGE IN CASE WORK

Leon J. Saul

IN RECENT YEARS a gradual shift in the causation of disease has become noticeable. Formerly the chief cause was the invasion of the body by disease germs. Pasteur's discovery of bacteria and their part in disease was accepted by medicine only against great opposition. But bacteriology, the science he founded, has made great strides in conquering many of the scourges of mankind. Smallpox and typhoid are all but eliminated, and great progress has been made in vanquishing tuberculosis, the infectious diseases of childhood, and many other diseases caused by living organisms. So great have been the triumphs against these invisible invaders that the infectious diseases are no longer the "Captains of the Men of Death."¹

With the gradual diminution of infectious diseases, disorders of a different type are becoming the central problem in medical research. Among these disorders are various heart diseases, such as high blood pressure, angina pectoris, palpitations and extrasystoles; gastrointestinal disturbances, such as colitis and constipation, stomach pains and ulcers; respiratory disorders, such as asthma; skin conditions, such as neurodermatitis and chronic urticaria; metabolic and glandular maladies, such as hyper- and hypothyroidism, and diabetes; and various other affections, such as fatigue, insomnia, and headache.

These are but a few of those ills the flesh is heir to which are generally due to causes other than infection. Of course, these ills are symptoms and can be caused by infections, injuries, and a variety of other agents. But in the majority of cases such agents

¹ U. S. Bureau of Census, *Vital Statistics*, special report, Vol. XII, No. 16, March, 1941.

cannot be detected, and so the problem of their causation has come to assume a central position in medical thought. There is a growing tendency to consider these disorders to be a result, not of damage to the body structure (by injury or infection, for example), but rather of disturbances in the functioning of the body—even though it is intact—because of special stresses and strains upon it. To use an analogy, an automobile engine knocks. The knock may be due to structural damage, such as a cracked cylinder block. On the other hand, it may be that the machine is in perfect mechanical condition and that the knock is a result of the driver's putting too much strain on the engine by taking steep hills in high gear. This latter knock is a "functional" disorder in an intact mechanism. It is increasingly suspected that the stresses and strains of life, although not always the sole cause, play a significant and central part in the ills I have mentioned.

The stresses and strains of life are, in the final analysis, emotional. And the emotions are essentially our perceptions of the biological forces within us which motivate our lives. Each person feels these forces as various needs, responses, and urges which seek satisfaction—needs for food, shelter, occupation, reproduction, aggression, ambition, love, and so on. These he tries to satisfy in life, which is no easy task. To make it even harder, he must, as a social being, strive to satisfy these needs only in accordance with the restrictions externally of society and internally of his conscience and ideals which result from past training and experiences. Each person is more or less hard pressed on three fronts—by his needs and desires, by his ideals and conscience, and by the difficulties and dangers of the world, all of which he must strive constantly to reconcile and harmonize.² No one succeeds completely in this threefold task. No one is entirely secure in the external world, fully mature and well integrated in his desires, and irreproachable before his own conscience and ideals. And the less one succeeds, the more emotional tensions develop.

That these emotional tensions, which are basically biological tensions, can affect the physiology normally and abnormally is common knowledge. Indeed, physiological changes are intrinsic

² S. Freud, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (New York: Norton, 1933).

to every emotional state, as seen in the quick pulse of anger and fear, the flushing of shame and embarrassment, and so on.³ The need of companionship is not apparently "physical," yet when thwarted it can disturb sleep and appetite and much more besides. Recently the whole country was concerned over Laddie, a dog which sickened and died because of separation from its master, who had left for the army.⁴ The dog was even sent to the army camp, but too late. The child's cry for its mother expresses a biological need upon which, helpless as it is, its very life depends. Maternal feeling, as well as sexual feeling, has been shown to be associated with certain hormones. Laughter and tears are direct physiological concomitants of emotions.⁵ Every manifestation of human activity, thought, and feeling is inseparable from the physiological functioning of the biological organism which is man. When the biological needs, urges, and responses cannot be satisfied in the external world and in accordance with the inner ideals and conscience, then physiological tensions, which we perceive as emotions, increase. Intensified and unrelieved states of tension disturb normal physiological functioning, thus causing disease symptoms—just as the automobile engine knocks when under the strain of being forced up a steep hill; and such strain, sufficiently prolonged, leads to structural damage.

That emotional tensions can disturb normal physiological activity enough to produce disease symptoms of many kinds has been known since the dawn of medicine.⁶ It is only in recent years, however, that a sufficiently exact instrument for psychological observation has been developed to make possible studies of just what specific emotional tensions are related to specific physiological symptoms. At first Pasteur discovered the general relationship of bacteria to disease. Then came the investigation of the relationships of specific bacteria to specific diseases. Psychosomatic medicine is just entering the stage of searching for such

³ W. B. Cannon, *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1934).

⁴ *Chicago Daily News*, February 8, 11, 13, and 14, 1941.

⁵ E. Allen and co-workers, *Sex and Internal Secretion* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1939), pp. 1088-1117.

⁶ H. F. Dunbar, *Emotions and Bodily Changes* (2d. ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

specific correlations.⁷ The psychological microscope which has made this possible is Freudian psychoanalysis.

Among the first disorders to be studied in this way were certain stomach and bowel disturbances, including recurrent stomach pains, ulcers, constipation, colitis, and diarrhea.⁸ Cases were selected for study in which, after thorough medical work-up, emotional tensions appeared to be the chief cause of the disturbance of function.

A successful businessman suffered from frequent pains and burning sensations in the region of his stomach. Thorough medical and laboratory examinations, including x-rays, were negative. No ulcer was detected at this time, but the man was found to be of the same psychological type as a series of patients who, after years of similar pains, developed peptic ulcers. He was active, independent, constructively aggressive. By his independence and initiative he had built up his own business and was its sole executive. He was a self-made man and a lone wolf. He felt that whereas others continually depended upon him for support, help, and advice, he himself never received anything from anyone. In fact, he never could allow himself to do so because the act of receiving made him feel as though he were in an inferior position. He was the kind of man who simply could not endure having anyone else pay a luncheon check. This issue of independence, responsible activity, and giving to others was a central feature of his emotional life. But as his analysis progressed he began to reveal opposite desires. He noticed that often when he met someone, the thought would flash through his mind, "Now what are you going to want from me?" Sometimes, in conversation, he would fleetingly think, "No one ever does anything for me, why should I do anything for you?" He maintained that he never really wanted or expected anything from others, but when he heard a radio skit in which someone, spontaneously and without thought of reward, went out of his way to help someone else,

⁷ F. Alexander, "The Influence of Emotions on Your Health," paper read at the Jackson County (Illinois) Medical Forum, January, 1941.

⁸ F. Alexander and co-workers, "The Influence of Psychological Factors upon Gastro-Intestinal Disturbances. A Symposium," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, V (1934), 501.

the tears streamed down his cheeks. He had some marital friction owing to his unwittingly trying to force his wife into the role of mothering him. He was thrilled by a play in which the wife put out her husband's slippers, ministered to his every want, and took the full domestic and social responsibility. In his dreams this independent go-getter and executive was repeatedly relinquishing his business and domestic activities and, back in his boyhood home, being cared for and fed by some buxom, maternal woman.

As the analysis progressed, the man gradually revealed that beneath his drive and independence was a little boy yearning for a mother's love and care. The reason for this was readily found by tracing it back to its origin in his childhood. His parents had been unusually cold emotionally. Neither the birthdays of the patient and his brother nor Christmas were ever celebrated, and gifts were never exchanged. The patient felt that genuine warmth and interest were lacking. As is so often the case with children when an emotional situation is too overwhelming to handle, the patient pushed the whole thing aside ("repressed" it) with the reaction, "I don't want the love anyway. To have it is to be a sissy. I am above that. I am strong and independent, I do everything for myself, and I ask nothing of anyone." Yet he so craved regard and acceptance and so dreaded rejection that at parties, instead of risking a rebuff by asking a girl to dance with him, he would inquire, "If I should ask you to dance with me, would you accept?"

So, behind his independence and drive was the little boy's craving for maternal love and care. His stomach pains occurred at the times when these cravings were especially frustrated by excessive demands and responsibilities, by the disloyalty of a friend, by friction with his wife, by occasional business trips when he left his home and friends, etc. Thus his symptoms were due to strong cravings for maternal love of which he was unaware, but which deep down saddened his life and kept him constantly working and giving as an escape from his inner hurt. It should not seem strange that frustrated longings for dependence, solace, and love can cause stomach disturbances which, if they persist over the years, lead to ulcer. The longing for maternal love is a deep bio-

logical force. Such frustrated love can lead men and women to worse than stomach disorders.

In another case the external situation was more important than the inner personality make-up in causing the frustration. This was a man who had been indulged for years by a devoted mother. He was not of the leader type and lacked the ambition so often observed in peptic ulcer cases. After a protected life of ease and popularity, he married a wealthy, ambitious, and capable woman who was very much a leader. The patient was soon disappointed in his expectations of obtaining in this superior woman a substitute for his indulgent mother. Instead of ministering to his wants, she devoted herself unreservedly to her own career. Not only did he fail to obtain from her the satisfaction he desired and needed, but he felt driven into competing with her. He plunged into business in an effort to make an independent position for himself and at least to equal the income his wife earned. Unlike most ulcer cases, he detested these strenuous efforts, but he forced himself to them, and at just this point he developed, for the first time, recurrent stomach pains after meals. These pains persisted for over ten years, until a peptic ulcer was finally found. To complete the story, this man shortly thereafter was divorced from his wife, and remarried. His second wife was the opposite of the first in many important respects. She was not superior, she was not ambitious, and she liked to cook for the patient and take care of the home. Soon after this marriage his symptoms disappeared. He had found the satisfaction of his needs for love, care, and indulgence, and was no longer driven to strenuous efforts which were beyond his emotional means. In this type of case the thwarted cravings and not the total personality type are most directly related to the stomach symptoms.

Another condition which has been studied for the specific emotional factors involved is asthma.⁹ The importance of pollens in its causation is fully established, but it has also been observed that in certain cases attacks are precipitated by emotional upsets.

⁹ Th. M. French, "Psychogenic Factors in Asthma," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, XCVI (1939), 87.

Th. M. French and F. Alexander, *Psychogenic Factors in Bronchial Asthma* (*Psychosomatic Medicine Monograph*, July, 1941).

A series of such cases was selected for psychoanalytic study. As in the gastric cases, a wish for love was found to play a role. But in asthma it is a somewhat different kind of craving, not so much for support, indulgence, and being fed, as for the closeness and protectiveness of the mother. Moreover, it was just when this need was threatened that the attacks occurred. Everyday observation shows that for many people the moment of actual separation from those to whom they are attached is even more painful than the absence which follows. Some people find parting so painful that they agree that there will be no farewells said. In a series of analytically studied cases, all thoroughly worked up by allergists, the asthmatic attacks occurred consistently just when the person suddenly felt threatened with separation or estrangement from his mother or mother-substitute.

One example is that of a young man both of whose parents died shortly after his birth. He was brought up by cousins of the father. We know how sensitive children are and how great are their needs, not for demonstrativeness, but for genuine love and security. He felt that these were lacking and that he was not sufficiently wanted. He reacted with bitter resentment, which led to aggressive behavior and estranged his foster parents still further. Moreover, his overt aggressiveness and his underlying feelings of deep loneliness and rejection made him such a difficult fellow that he was quite isolated from people and had no close, warm relationships. His only real attachment was to his foster parents, whom at the same time he so intensely resented. He could not restrain this resentment, but if he expressed it in words or actions, he risked losing his only real human relationship, full of conflict though it was. It was in those situations that he had his asthma attacks. He was repeatedly getting into scrapes, and the foster parents repeatedly decided that they were through with him. The threat of being disowned by them produced the emotional situation in which his attacks occurred.

Another young man was an only son. His father traveled a great deal, and the mother, so often alone, turned her affections excessively to the boy. Not until he was eleven years old did the mother give up having him sleep with her while the father was

away. When the boy grew up he felt overly attached to his mother but for years he was unable to break away. He became engaged and, as was to be expected, the mother opposed his marriage. He decided to go through with it in spite of her, but he was terribly upset at the prospect of leaving her and, above all, of estranging her. Not the physical, but the psychological separation, the threatened loss of her love, was what terrified him. His asthma began with this decision to marry against his mother's will. His later attacks, so far as could be ascertained, as well as those observed during his analysis, occurred in similar emotional situations. The threat of separation, whether in the physical or psychological sense, was the central feature in the emotional settings of the asthma attacks in all the cases studied.

We have seen that the emotions which play a role in certain cases of stomach pains and ulcers, and also of asthma, are longings for love and care, in a certain form and status.¹⁰ In selected cases of high blood pressure, and indeed in other cardiac conditions, such as palpitations and extrasystoles,¹¹ a very different emotional relationship has been found. Here anger and hostility seem to be the chief impulses involved. This bears out popular knowledge. "Don't get your blood pressure up" is a common caution against getting angry. The great anatomist, John Hunter, who suffered from angina pectoris, once said: "My life is at the mercy of any rascal who can make me angry."

Selected cases of high blood pressure without determinable physical causes have been studied.¹² Two central features were found repeatedly. Each individual was caught in an emotional conflict which he could neither solve nor escape, and he was left in a state of constant rage. However, this rage was never expressed openly but was kept repressed, and the patients were all most pleasant in their human contacts.

¹⁰ L. J. Saul, "Some Observations on the Relation of Emotions and Allergy," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, III (1941), 66.

¹¹ M. L. Miller and H. V. McLean, "Status of Emotion in Palpitation and Extrasystoles," to be published in the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*.

¹² F. Alexander, "Emotional Factors in Essential Hypertension," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, I (1939), 173.

L. J. Saul, "Hostility in Cases of Essential Hypertension," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, I (1939), 153.

One of these patients had a mother who was dominating and extremely ambitious for him. She directed his entire life and he fulfilled the letter of her ambitions. At forty he was a pillar of society, but he hated it. He saw his name on the door of his suite of offices and shuddered, thinking, "It's a prison." He felt the same way when he entered his home each evening. He hated it all, for he felt that none of it expressed his own will. It meant only submission to his mother's domination. He wrestled constantly with this conflict which he could not solve and from which he could not retreat. Submission was intolerable, but rebellion caused unbearable anxiety. Inwardly he felt trapped and enraged, just as in childhood he had never dared express his anger at his mother for her domination. In a characteristic dream he was walking down the street unconcernedly bouncing a ping-pong ball, while a tornado uprooted trees and houses all around him.

The studies mentioned above have focused on the influence of the emotions upon the organic symptoms. A most interesting recent study¹³ brings out reciprocal interrelationships. It shows not only the effect of emotional tensions upon the physiology, but also the effects of certain relatively automatic physiological changes upon the emotional state. It has recently become possible, by a simple method, to determine the amount of secretion of certain ovarian hormones during the course of the menstrual cycle in women. This was done in a series of cases, and the daily findings were compared with the patient's concurrent daily psychological state. Significant correlations were found. In the normal cycle, to oversimplify the state of affairs somewhat, there is a gradual increase of certain hormones for the week or two following menstruation: the estrogenic hormones, or, estrogen; when ovulation occurs, another hormone, progesterone, appears. During the increase of estrogen, from the end of menstruation up to the time of ovulation, it was found that the psychological material concerned itself increasingly with interest in men—with husband or fiancé. After ovulation the material concerned itself less with

¹³ Th. Benedek and B. B. Rubenstein, *The Sexual Cycle in Women. The Relation between Ovarian Function and Psychodynamic Processes (Psychosomatic Medicine Monograph, in preparation).*

the love object, and more with pregnancy, children, and such maternal interests.

The hormonal level is, of course, only one of the factors that influence these desires. Another is the life situation, past and present. These studies indicate that not only do the hormones affect the emotional state, but the emotional state affects the hormonal secretion. For example, if expectations of love are heightened and then frustrated, the hormone level usually falls.

The effect of past experience is illustrated by a young woman who was brought up by excessively strict parents. The parents were so severely and threateningly repressive in regard to anything related to sexual matters that when she reached adult life she did not dare even to look at a man. This aspect of her emotional life was so strongly repressed that sexual and maternal wishes did not appear even in her dreams. She literally did not dare even to dream of such things. This degree of repression led the investigators to predict that she would have less hormone secretion than normal, and this was found to be the case. This type of study tells us something, not only of the effects of the stresses of life on the bodily functioning, but also something of the physiological mechanism of origin and mediation of certain of the biological impulses which we feel as wishes and emotions.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that in the studies I have reported it is never maintained that emotional tensions are the only cause of these conditions or even that they are the sole cause in the cases studied. The psychosomatic field is a new one, yet the consistency of these specific emotional conflicts in these specific medical conditions is a finding that must be highly significant. It shows that whatever other factors may be operative, in certain cases at least, the emotional factor is of central importance.

The examples cited will serve to show that these disturbances in physiological functioning result from aberrations of those emotional forces with which the social worker is so familiar in other connections. These emotional forces are the biological drives which motivate our lives. Underlying the symptoms in the cases quoted were longings for love, needs for maternal indulgence and protection, drives to independence and release from emotional

domination, the rage of bafflement and frustration, and so on. These forces motivate the brain, the muscles, the viscera—that is, they motivate thought, behavior, and the functioning of the bodily organs. To describe the emotional tensions which disturbed the stomach, the respiration, and the blood pressure, I have had to describe the thoughts, behavior, and lives of these people. A general theoretical formulation in rather schematic form is the following:¹⁴ The human being, like other biological organisms, functions as a unit from its beginning as an egg cell.¹⁵ As it grows and differentiates into its many organs, the chief means of coördinating its behavior is the central nervous system. The brain is the center for the nervous system. In it various biological impulses are coördinated and perceived, thought takes place, and the activity of the organism is integrated and controlled. The dynamic situation is something like that of water in a system of pipes. If the pressure increases and the water can't get through one pipe, it flows into another. So if the emotional tensions mount, they influence thought and also seek a vent in behavior. If they are not relieved normally by thought and action, then, as the emotional pressure rises, they are turned inward, as it were, and disturb the normal physiology. It is common to see one symptom disappear and another take its place. In this way emotional tensions affect thought, behavior, and physiological functioning and when sufficiently intense and prolonged they cause symptoms and even structural damage.

Psychosomatic medicine deals with these emotional tensions as they disturb the physiology and produce physical symptoms, but these are the same forces that produce neurotic suffering. The successful businessman with the stomach pains felt isolated from people and at one time developed frank compulsion neurotic symptoms, consisting of philosophical doubts of his own existence and a compulsion to count his steps when he walked. The emotional tensions which affected his stomach also affected his thoughts and his behavior. The rejected young man with asthma

¹⁴ L. J. Saul, "Physiological Effects of Psychoanalytic Therapy," *Association for Research in Nervous and Mental Diseases Proceedings*, XIX (1939), 305.

¹⁵ E. Coghill, *Anatomy and the Problem of Behavior* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929).

never developed frank symptoms of a purely psychological nature, like the counting compulsion, but he was severely neurotic, always in debt and always ruining his chances of success. This behavior was a result of his early rejection, that is, an expression of the same basic emotional tensions which were related to his asthma. The whole life of the forty-year-old businessman with high blood pressure was a bitter rebellion against the domination of his mother. He suffered from insomnia and from such frequent and severe attacks of acute anxiety that his condition had long been diagnosed as "anxiety hysteria." The high degree of emotional tension under which he lived affected his blood pressure, motivated his unsuccessful attempts to rebel against his well-ordered life, and caused his insomnia and anxiety attacks. It is thus readily seen that the same emotional tensions affect the thoughts and feelings, the behavior, and the physiology with varying emphasis from case to case. These observations make it clear that the emotional tensions which produce psychosomatic symptoms also produce the various disorders which the social worker deals with daily in case work. These are the tensions which affect the thoughts, feelings, and behavior to produce neurosis, psychosis, alcoholism, prostitution, purposive accidents,¹⁸ criminality, and similar disturbances.

These emotional tensions are basically the biological forces which constitute man's nature. There is no sharp line between the normal, the neurotic, the psychotic, and the criminal. The difference is only one of degree. Usually in these pathological conditions the organism is not damaged, and the physical and mental mechanisms are not differently constructed, nor motivated by different kinds of forces than in the normal. The great variations are functional in nature. They are due to differences in the development, the balance, and the constellations of the emotional forces. The same emotional forces which, if they develop and integrate normally, lead to the heights of human accomplishment and satisfaction, lead, if their development and integration are

¹⁸ H. F. Dunbar, *The Bearing of Emotional Factors on Social Health Programs Dealing with Economic Disability* (American Association for Advancement of Science; Mental Health Publication No. 9 [1939]).

warped, to the protean manifestations of neurosis, psychosis, and criminality, and to all manner of psychosomatic symptoms.

Thus psychosomatic symptoms are a part of the total picture. They result from the same forces which disturb the personality. Often they are a clew to the nature of the emotional problem. They usually fluctuate with changes in the emotional situation. There are many cases like the one in which a man's severe stomach disorder disappeared when he relinquished his strenuous position and resigned himself to a more simple existence. But above all an understanding of the genesis of psychosomatic symptoms puts our comprehension of the total personality on a more biological basis. It enables us to see man more completely as a biological organism, motivated by biological forces which we perceive as emotions; it helps us see how these forces vary congenitally from person to person, and how their development proceeds from within and is influenced from without, so that the personality develops from the interaction of these inner biological forces with the pressures and conditions of the environment. And it helps us to see the actual physiological strains upon the organism which result when the normal operation of these biological forces is interfered with either by internal conflicts or by external difficulties. How an individual handles the situations in which he finds himself depends upon the result of the interaction of his biological endowment with the influences of his past training and environment. Sometimes the immediate environmental situation is so bad that the best balanced person will break down under the emotional tensions which accumulate. But often the individual's balance is unstable and all too easily upset because of improper upbringing and development. In the last analysis it is with man's emotional nature that we must deal, whether in psychosomatic medicine, in criminality, or in neurotic and psychotic disorders.

An appreciation of the role of these forces in human nature and of the fact that they are susceptible of scientific study offers a new hope, not only for the solution of the physiological and psychological problems which have been mentioned and which daily confront the social worker and the physician, but also for a

solution, however distant, of some of the broader problems of living together. Emotional tensions are primarily powerful feelings directed toward other human beings. From them arise, not only personal psychological and physiological problems, but also various problems of human interrelationships and social life.¹⁷ Even war is ultimately an expression of human behavior. Perhaps it occurs only under certain economic and sociological conditions, but the forces stirred up by these conditions are the emotional forces of human nature.

Psychosomatic symptoms themselves have a sociological aspect. They are generally considered to be a result of the stresses and strains of our complex modern civilization.¹⁸ Stomach ulcers and high blood pressure have been found by certain authorities¹⁹ to be especially related to the strenuous, ambitious, competitive activity of our present culture, and to be absent or very infrequent in certain other societies. It has been reported, for example, that peptic ulcers are not found among the coolies of China nor among the Indians of Latin America, and this has been attributed to the lack of strain and ambition of the way of life of these people. High blood pressure is largely an Occidental disease. It is rare among the Chinese, Egyptians, and Africans. It is not found among the Negroes in Africa, although it is two and a half times as common among Negroes here as among the whites.²⁰ The same widespread emotional tensions which play a role in these symptoms also play a role in many of our social problems. The problems of production and distribution would not be so difficult to solve technically were it not for the human emotional elements—

¹⁷ S. Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontent* (London: Hogarth, 1930).

¹⁸ Cannon, *op. cit.*

W. B. Cannon, "The Role of Emotion in Disease," *Annals of Internal Medicine*, IX (1936), 1453.

H. M. Frost, "The Human Significance of Changing Mortality," paper read at the Thirty-second Convention of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, December 1, 1939.

¹⁹ H. R. Hartman, "Neurogenic Factors in Peptic Ulcer," *Medical Clinics of North America*, XVI (1933), 1357.

E. Weiss, "Recent Advances in Pathogenesis and Treatment of Hypertension. A Review," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, I (1939) 180.

²⁰ V. E. Schulz and E. H. Schwab, "Arteriolar Hypertension in the American Negro," *American Heart Journal*, XI (1936) 66.

the self-interest, hostility, and so on, which interfere with objectivity and coöperation. It is a tragic truth that people try to love each other but cannot. Problems of national morale are largely problems of human emotional reactions. War itself has its ultimate source in man's emotional nature. It occurs when these emotional forces are mobilized by certain sociological and economic conditions. Why these emotional forces lead in some cases to neurosis, in others to psychosis, in others to criminality, in others to psychosomatic symptoms, and in others to social phenomena—these are questions of great practical importance. Only the merest beginning has been made in working out the answers.

Indeed, how little of our effort and resources go to the scientific study of these forces in human nature which are the source of our greatest happiness and our profoundest misery. Happiness connotes the harmonious operation of these biological forces, but our education has been of the intellect alone. Only recently has science obtained a key to the life of the emotions. Let us hope that as this knowledge grows, future generations will be spared the gross errors of emotional upbringing to which most children have been and still are subjected, and that future children will be guided through a proper emotional, as well as intellectual and physical, development to satisfactory life conditions, so that the forces within them will carry them, not to physical, mental, and social suffering, but to that inner freedom which alone spells happiness in the biological sense.

THE DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA OF NORMAL AND ABNORMAL

LeRoy M. A. Maeder

THIS STUDY is an effort to present in everyday terms practical and usable concepts and criteria of normalcy and abnormalcy, in a manner of value to the social case worker, and oriented to everyday clinical case work practice. "Normal" and "abnormal" are used in the sense that they are used in everyday life. Normal is not used, in case work, primarily in the sense of a normative, authoritative, or idealistic standard; nor in the sense of an average norm implying a statistical or mean norm, standing between the actual extremes. The norm which is used in case work is a composite of generally recognized and accepted desirable standards of living and behavior, which society upholds and which have been laid down in mores and laws. Behind it stands group agreement as to standards of health, attitudes, and behavior.

A person may be called normal if he is able to fill an average niche successfully in the community and in the established social organization, be useful to himself and society, adjust reasonably well to changing situations of varying levels of complexity, and keep his balance under ordinary conditions and the usual situations of stress and strain; if he is able to take care of himself, get a reasonable amount of happiness out of life, and fit in relatively well with persons and situations according to his abilities, training, position, and the opportunities open to him. With only minor failures in integration and adjustment he pursues a reasonably sure path of life. The measure is what other persons in the community generally can and do accomplish in similar situations. In the large, in social work, a normal person is considered by case workers, in making a diagnosis, from the economic, environmental, health, psychological, and sociological viewpoints.

From an economic point of view, a person is normal if he is able to and does maintain himself in his community sufficiently well in terms of income and material goods, services, and comforts so as not to require outside relief in cash or in kind. He is generally and consistently employed in a type of work that he likes, to which he is adapted by ability, and which pays him a living wage sufficient for himself and his dependents. When a person falls below a certain generally recognized minimum in his command of these essential materials and services, society takes cognizance of his situation and governmental or public agencies step in to provide cash or work relief. This public relief may be supplemented by private agencies, in cash and special services.

What a person does in the world with the material or economic assets and the essential services he has available is another indication of his adjustment to his environment. Is he able to budget his money so that he meets his obligations? Does he maintain a fairly well-managed and well-arranged, clean, attractive home and grounds? Does he operate well and efficiently on his job? Does he take advantage of private and public recreational facilities and opportunities for use of leisure time, according to the customs of persons in the community and as modified by his personal preferences? Does he have church affiliations for religious, social, and recreational purposes? Does he make a balanced allotment of his time into the major divisions of work, play or home life, and sleep? Does he make use of the average educational opportunities? Does he utilize the opportunities for group living to satisfy the basic need of all persons for some associations outside the home and immediate family group?

To be physically normal requires that a person have a generally healthy body, relatively free of painful, disabling, contagious, or active social disease, injury, or defect which interferes with his earning or enjoying a living and functioning moderately well in daily life. He has fairly accurate and sensitive sense organs and balanced perceptions, is relatively sound in motor apparatus, skeletal structure and limb, able to get about, speak, and care for himself adequately. He follows a sensible health regime, and gen-

erally avoids excesses, unjustified health risks, and undue fatigue. He is physically well adjusted.

Psychologically and sociologically, a normal person must be able to adjust and function reasonably well and smoothly within himself and with his fellow men. He must be mature, effective in life situations, and capable of making and enjoying group relationships. To be mature, a person must be a man of action, experience, responsibility, realism and of complete, warm, object relationships.

He is a man of action in observation, thought, judgment, speech, sex, work, play, and social relationships. His actions are self-initiated, purposive, well directed and controlled, coördinated in orientation to the outside world, and sustained to accomplishment as related to average aims and ambitions.

He is a man of experience. He has profited by a full living-through of each stage of his development. He has taken and retained from each previous period of life that which is good and useful for the next period; he has rejected and sloughed off the outmoded, childish, and useless. As a consequence, he has for each successive period an armamentarium of good habits, attitudes, ways of thinking and reacting. He has a definite, clear-cut character. He has positive culture traits and realistic ideals of a constructive nature. He has definite ideas, aims and ambitions, preferences, likes and dislikes. He knows where he stands in regard to religion and morals and politics. By thirty years of age, at the latest, he has this adequate ego-ideal and superego, fairly well set in a definite form, and has arrived at a definite choice of his lifework. He has a realistic attitude toward money, viewing it as a medium of exchange, as important, concentrated power; he does not give it fantastic connotations, nor overevaluate or underestimate it.

The normal mature person is a man of responsibility, serious, self-dependent, able and eager to take responsibility for his own actions and mishaps, successes and failures. He is the ultimate authority for his own decisions and acts. He sees and knows himself as he is. He himself is able to give to others in terms of direction, support, and stability. He recognizes prestige as a re-

sultant of accomplishment by self. His life runs relatively easily and happily, without constant conflicts and emergencies.

Reality observance and functioning have an important place in his life. He sees himself as he is and the world as it is. He has progressed from the early stage of fantasy living and wishful thinking to the vantage point of viewing things objectively and honestly as they are. His thoughts, actions, and plans are in accordance with these realities. He is fully as realistic as regards his emotions. He gives his regard, affection, and love where they are merited, and withdraws them when the occasions for them cease. He suffers only by necessity, not by choice or for pleasure purposes. He does not love his enemy, but takes adequate measures of constructive action or defense against him. He experiences guilt, remorse, and sorrow only in relation to proper occasions and then in proper amount and duration. Above all, he has a healthy, controlled anxiety reaction, to warn him adequately of a real, threatening danger. It is neither excessive nor inadequate. He is able to meet the ordinary strains, stresses, and emergencies of life, such as illness, loss of job, money, home, friends and loved ones, and severe change in economic and social status and relationships without paralyzing anxiety and collapse. He is not easily diverted from his aims and thrown into anxiety and frenzied aggression by obstacles and frustrations; he meets the situation by constructive action, defense, or retreat adapted to the realistic state of affairs.

Finally, as a mature man, he is capable of complete, full, warm, animate object relationships. Before describing the nature of this object relationship, it is necessary to outline some broad considerations relating to the general life-energy stream at one's disposal. The general psychical energy stream, composed of libidinal and aggressive components, may for practical, clinical, and social purposes be regarded as composed of four layers: the purely sensual and sexual, which is of, and nearest to, the physiological; the tender or affectionate layer; the object-relationship segment; and the sublimated area which is more nearly intellectual, impersonal, and related to work, art, literature, travel, philosophy, and science.

All these layers of the life stream are subsumed in the marital relationship. The last three are included, roughly speaking, in the filio-parental, sibling, and woman-to-woman relationship; the last two, the object relationship and the sublimated, in the friendly relationships between men. In the case work relationship, the object relationship predominates. The normal person, generally speaking, would have the proper combination of these components, related and adapted to time, place, person, and situation in life.

Object relationship is the fifth element of maturity and the third layer of the general psychical energy stream. Object relationship denotes the fact and ability of one person to relate fully and warmly to another person as a human entity. It constitutes an altruistic relationship, including three main elements: anchorage, understanding, and acceptance.

Anchorage is something on which one may depend for security. Man, being a finite being, apparently requires various fixed points, stable foci, or centers of gravity in his important spheres of life, in order to have a sense of security. He requires certain physical, social, and personal anchorages or fixed centers or points in relation to which he arranges his other important spatial and psychological dispositions. He needs such anchorages in home, job, and persons. These anchorages are and should be stable, dependable, reliable, and more or less continuing. This does not mean that they do not change or that they are perpetual; but they do not change abruptly or without opportunity to prepare oneself for the separation. Eviction from home is painful, but doubly painful if sudden. Dismissal from a job is rendered less poignant if the disengagement is gradual. Between persons there must be the assurance of continuity under the particular circumstances in which the individuals expect to enjoy and utilize the relationship.

"Friend," using this term in the broad sense, is used to indicate this object relationship. In this personal anchorage, a friend is dependable; he does not betray one, fail one, or change essentially in his attitude or behavior until he has given adequate but unequivocal evidence or notice, implied or expressed, of his intention to change essentially his relationship. The friendship

continues until it is modified or terminated by obvious circumstances, mutual consent, or adequate notice. The average person usually has a number of such friendships in the course of his life. It is important that he be flexible in his relationships, able to make, continue, and discontinue relationships as his friends and life situations change and require it.

Second, in an object relationship, there is understanding, mutual, kindly, sympathetic, and helpful. In the use of understanding in the object relationship, the person asking help first reveals himself and his situation and problems frankly in all detail to his friend. He requests his friend to check and verify, from a reality point of view, his own observations of himself and of his situation and problems. He divulges his own interpretation of this state of affairs and requests an objective and unembellished evaluation of his own estimate of the total situation. He exposes for review his own thoughts and plans resulting from these previous steps of review and analysis. He gets encouragement and support from his friend to test his theory or plan further in the world of reality, or to give it up.

The application of the understanding process in object relationship implies the utilization and adaptation of the scientific method, with the aid of a reliable person, to a self-testing and review of one's own assets and potentialities and their functionings. It uses the steps of (1) observation of phenomena and collection of facts; (2) verification of observations; (3) classification and evaluation of data; (4) the formulation of a theory, to serve to explain those facts and to act as a guide for the prediction and control of the occurrence of future phenomena of the same order; and (5) the encouragement of the person to test and verify these hypotheses in experiment and practice. It means a rigorous, frank, and objective testing of one's vital functions of sensory perception, of observation and criticism of one's inner self and of the outside world situation, of thinking and judgment, and of one's ability to plan and to relate himself to things and persons in the outside world as a whole.

The third element of an object relationship is acceptance of each other. It implies that one really likes and gets pleasure and

value from the human friend over and above the value of the give-and-take of the understanding process. It connotes an additional something which has led to the result that one selects and has this particular person, rather than another, as his object. Acceptance is usually based upon similar interests, experiences, and objectives. It also rests upon a personal something which may be personal love, or tenderness, or joint sublimated interests or values over and above that of other persons. Object relationship, of a warm, complete, animate nature, is, therefore, in contrast to the so-called partial object relationship, in which the person is treated like an inanimate object, a material, a thing, or a possession, and is regarded and estimated for a particular use, value, function, or even for a part of its body.

Although complete object relationship is the required and normal relationship of maturity, a mature person may and does use identification variously in everyday life. He uses introspective subjective identification as a means of observing and understanding well his fellow men. He also will use, although sparingly and in a socially acceptable and modified form, the egocentric and narcissistic, the masochistic and subservient, and the highly hostile and competitive types of identification, as proper occasion calls for their use, as in the theater. He will use also imitative identification as a means of taking unto himself desirable traits of other persons and will, at the same time, maintain full well the essence and core of the individuality of his own personality.

Transference also will be used by the mature man as a means of first approach to a new acquaintance and as a guide to further study and understanding of the other person. In the first instance, the other person is likely to remind him of some better known person and thus occasion a measure of transference which serves well as a guidepost in the first approach to that new person and as a steppingstone to further study, differentiation, and understanding of the individual as he really is.

We therefore find that a normal person, for practical purposes, is a person who is able to fill a reasonable niche in life, measured by the standards of his community, on economic, environmental, physical, psychological, and sociological levels. The norm

or standard adjustment and function will vary, of course, according to the person's position and age. It is normal, for instance, for the young child to be instinctual, aggressive, ambivalent, pleasure-driven, dependent, and capable only of partial object relationships; whereas that same behavior in adulthood, either consciously or unconsciously, would be considered immature. The adolescent is engrossed, as is appropriate for his age and period of life, in fun, activities and the problems of sex, of more intimate personal and complicated social relationships, of the broader aspects of the future and his relationship to life, of his place in the world and of his preparation for his lifework; but the same absorption would be abnormal and immature if prolonged beyond the late twenties and into the thirties and forties. By the same token, it is entirely normal for the young adult to be interested and absorbed in love, sex, romance, marriage, and children, whether or not he eventually becomes a husband and parent; but to continue this vivid preoccupation into the periods of involution and old age is abnormal. It is usual for a person in the late thirties and forties to be deeply interested in building security for himself and his family, for sickness, and old age; therefore to be preoccupied with his job, profession, the attainment of place and position in life, and the consolidation of his various positions. In the period of involution it is proper that he look to retirement, to the lessening of sex urges and responsibilities, to a greater interest in ease, travel, and intellectual and artistic pursuits. In old age it is to be expected that the aging man's interests in social relationships and intellectual pursuits will diminish and that he will be more interested in habits, health, eating and sleeping, and the orderly life.

Psychologically, therefore, a normal individual of adult years must be a person of reasonable maturity, a person of action, experience, responsibility, realism, and capable of complete object relationships. This connotes that he has a relatively good basic ego structure as the core of his personality and psychic make-up, to stand on the borderline between his inner self and the outside world. He is emancipated, self-controlled, well knit, and focused. He has self-confidence and a healthy self-respect. He is trust-

worthy and truthful. He is able to think and judge. He is productive and useful. He has emotional control and balance. He enjoys an integration and synthesis of all these faculties. He makes minimal use of the mechanisms of defense. He deprecates excesses in any realm of his life. He has a personality stamp of his own. He is related and adjusted well to himself, to his race, to his social status, and to his environment. He is developed to conform to his age, sex, and position. He is consistently friendly in his attitude toward the world and to persons. He functions relatively smoothly and enjoys the premium of happiness and pleasure from a job well done and a life well lived.

The abnormal, unusual, or deviant person is, by contrast, an individual who definitely and obviously departs from the average and standard way of functioning as measured by the prevailing concepts, in various aspects and degrees in the intellectual, physical, economic, psychological, and social spheres; and to the extent that in his divergent conduct he substantially disturbs his basic adjustments, social relationships, lifework, success, and happiness, and suffers from disorganization, confusion, anxiety, friction, and deviant and more or less extreme patterns of behavior.

Abnormalcy may be evidenced and considered, in general, in terms of either lack of development or of distortion and disorganization. From the point of view of deficiency in development, a person may be either immature, delinquent, or mentally deficient. From the point of view of deviation, plus a measure of lack of development, the person may be neurotic or psychotic.

Immaturity relates to the failure of a person to develop quantitatively and qualitatively to a sufficient and full degree. The main indices of immaturity, without added serious deviation, are inactivity or passivity; dependency; ambivalence and emotionalism; paucity of ideals; pleasure functioning; and narcissism and partial object relationships.

The immature person is disposed to inactivity and passivity. He needs to be prodded into activity by another. He is unable to maintain sustained and constructive activity over a period of time and to a successful end. He may be bold in fantasy and plan, but soft in effort and weak in accomplishment.

The immature man is dependent. He is prone to leave it to someone else to observe, think for him, and direct his activities. He functions predominantly on the level of obedience, follows directions, and relies upon someone else's ego to give impetus and guidance to his life. He therefore relates to persons on a child-parent basis, in the pattern of a young child. Afflicted with this lag in psychological and emotional development, he is inadequate to meet the tasks of life independently and self-dependently. Life as a whole, accordingly, constitutes a constant threat to him, with the result that he is continuously exposed to anxiety as a warning of the threatening danger. In this state of hypersusceptibility and vulnerability to anxiety, he is forced, as a means of self-defense and of avoidance of anxiety, to inactivity, the use of childish mechanisms, such as inactivity, ingratiation and obedience, or a retreat into fantasy, crying, suffering, real or feigned sickness, or the more extreme neurotic mechanisms of defense.

The immature individual is ambivalent; thinks and feels in two ways at the same time. His emotions and thoughts are antithetic and, so to speak, act independently of each other. He invests the same idea or situation or person with contrary feeling tones simultaneously. Approximately equal emotional forces of positive and negative nature are at work within him. He swings quickly back and forth between aggressive and passive, warm and cold, moods, between this idea and that idea. He is given to excesses in emotional outbursts, rivalry, and jealousy. He is unable to resolve ordinary conflicts promptly and satisfactorily, and thus free his energies for further tasks. The immature person has a wishy-washy ego-ideal and superego. His basic ideals are confused, contradictory, ill-defined, and inadequate to meet ordinary needs and demands of life. He makes emotional mountains out of factual molehills; he is disposed to brush away stern and serious realities with flimsy rationalizations.

The immature person follows the principle of instinctual and impulse gratification first, last, and always, at any and all costs, regardless of real consequences and of ultimate ensuing detriments. This constitutes a childish way of functioning in which impulse, drive, force, energy, feeling, and instinct are first and

controlling. The ego, representative of environment, reality, and experience, is out of command, in second place.

In the immature individual, partial object relationships are characteristic. He relates to another as though that person were a thing; or he relates to a particular part, trait, or aspect or value of that animate object or person. For instance, he may see the person as a purely sensual sexual object, as a means of support, a crutch, as an instrumentality or a means to another end, failing entirely to see and relate to the other person as a complete, human entity. Probably his sole complete relationship to a person as a whole is to himself as the object. He loves himself; he is narcissistic.

In addition to immaturity, resulting from a failure to live fully and successfully through each stage of development as a preparation for the next period of life, we also have delinquency and mental deficiency.

The delinquent person may be defined as the individual whose conduct or misconduct is so deviant from the usual average behavior in the community that the discrepancy comes to the notice of other persons. His transgressions constitute minor offenses against the culture to which he is expected to conform. If the behavior is so divergent that it constitutes a major offense against law and is punishable by law, it becomes criminal. The delinquent conduct may be due to immaturity, particularly in the lack of development of a socially conforming ego-ideal, to mental deficiency, neurosis, or to psychosis. Accordingly, the acting-out person is variously termed "immature delinquent," "mentally defective delinquent," "neurotic delinquent," or "psychotic delinquent."

The mentally defective individual, by virtue of defect, injury, or disease in the prenatal period, at birth, or early in life, is so lacking primarily in intellectual development and functions that he is incompetent to take care of himself adequately in economic, social, and personal life. For the welfare of himself and the welfare of others, he is in need of the aid, supervision, care, control, and protection of others lest he become the tool of designing

and unscrupulous persons. He also usually has other shortcomings of personality.

Further deviations which involve, not only retardation in general, and in emotional and ego development, but also severe digressions, are the neuroses and psychoses. The neurotic person is usually able to maintain his position in the world. His personality remains more or less intact. His social conduct is relatively good. His disorder is expressed chiefly on the psychological level of reaction. However, due to his functional disorder, to friction in his mental apparatus, represented chiefly by anxiety running rampant and the predominance of emotion over reason, he is deprived of the usual pleasure accruing from relatively successful social living. He is immature in certain aspects, excessive in his need for affection, exaggerated in his hostility and in his striving for power, prestige, and possessions. He is deficient, distorted, and ambivalent in his interpersonal relationships. He is unable to give fully of himself in his relations with others. He is inhibited, evasive, and devious in his actions and thoughts. He is somewhat unrealistic. He makes extravagant use of fantasy life which he takes too seriously. He uses excessive and unnecessary mental mechanisms of defense. He is likely to be beset by fixed habits and stereotyped forms of conduct on a rather primitive level. He employs immature and childish modes of dealing with life's situations, which for a time may pass unnoticed by his friends and even by himself. He has unrealistic guilt feelings and aggressiveness. His reactions are not too well related to life. However, he still fights vigorously, but too much as measured in terms of results. He is lacking in a fine synthesis of all functions.

The psychotic person's ego is severely damaged in essential and important functions. His powers of observation are twisted by illusions and hallucinations. His memory is impaired and distorted. His thought processes are warped, delusional, and too prone to fantasy and direction by the unconscious. His insight is deeply disturbed. His emotions are much out of contact with the world or are greatly lacking. He is torn by severe conflicts and disturbances of integration. His sense of reality is seriously impaired. By virtue of his severe and more or less prolonged mental distortion

or disease, he is unable to take care of himself, is likely to be dangerous to himself or others, and may be the victim of designing persons. If the degree of mental illness or disorder is productive of conduct socially incompatible and so grave as to entail social and legal consequences, the condition is termed insanity.

In her everyday work the case worker is called upon constantly to distinguish the normal from the abnormal, qualitatively and quantitatively. She has to estimate accurately whether in a constantly changing social set-up the person with a problem—the client—is reacting to usual situations within normal and accepted limits; whether in an emergency he handles the situation reasonably well or whether he generally reacts inadequately, inconsistently, and abnormally. The case worker is constantly carrying out two functions. First, she discerns and discloses to the client his abnormal circumstances and mental processes as a basis of understanding on his part. This, in turn, orients him and gives him the means through which to get his bearings and to do something about changing himself and his position from the deviant state. Second, she gives the person enlightenment as to what a normal situation in life is, and practical information as to how the average person who is integrated in and to life functions in everyday life at home, on the job, and in interpersonal and social relationships.

Thus the social case worker is constantly engrossed with the determination of and distinction between normal and abnormal, with the evaluation of the client and his problems, with the interpretation of his difficulties to him and to other relevant persons; and with the process of re-education of the client and his family in normal and accepted ways of functioning in life as socially adjusted and integrated persons, to the end that, with a comprehension and understanding of normal and abnormal, he may begin to function in more areas in relatively normal ways. It thus definitely behooves the case worker constantly to broaden her basic knowledge of normal and abnormal by continued enrichment of her experience through contacts with persons, things, and situations in a rapidly changing physical and social milieu.

CONSERVING HUMAN VALUES IN PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAMS

Dorothy C. Kahn

I HAVE BEEN REQUESTED to carry forward into the present situation some of the ideas I attempted to present two years ago under the equally ambitious title "Democratic Principles and Public Assistance." At that time I stated some obvious propositions and examined our attitudes and performance in the light of them. These propositions were:

1. It is not good for people to be poor.
2. Poverty, or the state of being in need, and personal fault or inadequacy are not causally related.
3. The social treatment of persons in need is distinguishable from study of the problem and collective action required to change the situation.
4. It is the proper function of a democratic government to remedy or alleviate an evil which it cannot prevent.

Nothing short of the most careful analysis of current practice would throw any light on the degree to which these and the many other propositions formulated in Conference sessions find acceptance in practice. Such analysis is largely lacking. I do not mean to disparage the valuable and extensive research that is being done in our field, but I find myself among the increasing number of persons who wish that instead of piling up stimulating thoughts year after year by laying hundreds of thousands of words end to end, we might alternate between stimulation one year and self-examination another, the latter a more difficult but no less exciting experience. This would mean that at least every other year enormous resources of energy would be focused exclusively on how well we do what we so enthusiastically say and, conversely, might temper our enthusiasms to reality. This

apparent digression is explained by my recognition that all I can hope to do here is to give a cursory glance at what we are doing to conserve human values in public welfare programs at the point where the service meets the client and to raise once more some of the questions that are as yet unanswered for him, for us, and for the American public of which we are all a part.

The first of these questions is raised by my subject. Why do we talk about conserving human values in public welfare programs? Is that not their function and purpose? Or are there still unresolved conflicts between the purposes of these programs and our practice in administering them? I am convinced that there are, and the conflicts are not only in the minds of those in our so-called public—the advocates of bigger and better pensions, the protestors against social workers and all their works, the self-appointed guardians of the public purse—but in our own family, in the minds of practicing social workers, skilled and unskilled alike, who are afraid to buck the breakers on the shores of our established prejudices in order to reach the calmer sea of reason beyond.

There is much glib talk today about relief and assistance as a "right." The idea has been established in law, usually the last validation of a popular belief, but it has not been thoroughly established in practice. We have allowed ourselves to be prodded into an insistence on this idea by false contrasts between assistance and insurance. Yet we have no small share of responsibility for the contrast. We say loudly that the person who is in need has a right to relief and then we proceed to set up, or at least condone, a vast system to prevent him from getting it.

A. Delafield Smith, of the general counsel's office of the Federal Security Agency, in commenting on this question of the right to relief says:

Many legal cases reflect the distinction between the so-called bounty of government as distinguished from, let us say, contractual rights. The tradition of philanthropy is reflected in the hesitancy of the courts to review judicial administrative action in this area to the same extent that they would in the case of agencies which regulate the exercise of private rights. However, while respecting the discre-

tionary functions of administrative agencies generally, the courts do not hesitate today to invalidate arbitrary or capricious decisions on the part of governmental agencies operating social programs.

He further points out that:

Many years ago Judge Burnett of California in discussing an appropriation for the relief of orphans in that state said: "This is rightfully considered, not as a benevolent gift, but as the fulfillment of a legal and moral obligation growing out of the duties and privileges of citizenship." It should be noted that the Judge in that case was not uttering either a pious wish or what lawyers call a "dictum"; but the Judge in fact held in that case and by that language that the appropriation of which he was speaking constituted a privilege of citizenship within the meaning of those words as used in the constitution of the State of California. He held therefore that the rightful beneficiaries of that appropriation could not be unjustly classified and could not be treated in any discriminatory or inequitable manner. The Judge added that: "The modern trend and development of civic ideas is no more emphatically shown than in the unmistakable recognition and expression by statutory and constitutional provisions of the duty of the state to afford assistance and support to the citizens who are not able to support themselves."

Mr. Smith then makes this further comment which goes to the very heart of the problem:

There is of course a difference between Title I of the Social Security Act which provides a system of grants-in-aid to the states for old-age assistance, and Title II of the same Act which establishes the national program of old-age benefits. But this difference is a difference of method and not of theory. The rights and privileges which accrue to the individual in either case accrue because action has been taken by the Government to assure the availability of the means of livelihood to all aged individuals. Title II, the national old-age insurance scheme, is a long term approach to the same problem with which Title I also deals. Inherent in this long term approach is the idea or purpose to some extent of preventing the situation which makes Title I a necessity.

The method employed in Title II is the collection of contributions during productive years and the payment of monthly benefits upon retirement. Eligibility is defined in terms of age, employment and wages. In Title I eligibility is defined in terms of age and need. The reason for this difference in defining eligibility is because Title I is all-inclusive and there would be no limit otherwise. Title I is

intended to cover all those who are not provided for in Title II or who are not otherwise provided for. If therefore we did not limit the scope of the provisions of Title I to actual need, we would go beyond the function of government which is to avoid poverty and want and all their unfortunate consequences. As we have seen, it is this function of Government which justifies both Title I and Title II. Let us realize therefore that rights of the individual in each case arise from the same source and are of precisely the same character.

In other words, we have, for practical reasons, devised two ways of doing the same thing in pursuit of the basic ideas that "it is not good for people to be poor" and "that government has a responsibility to remedy or alleviate an evil which it cannot prevent."

Let us take a long view of these two methods as they affect aged persons and dependent children. Many persons are surprised when they are reminded that our old age assistance and possibly our aid to dependent children loads are probably temporary in character and will shortly begin to decline, if they have not already reached their peak. If old age insurance had been established in this country twenty-five years ago, as it was in many other countries or even ten years ago, for that matter, we would never have had as substantial an old age assistance load as we now have, for the simple reason that many of these persons would have been covered by insurance and would now be drawing benefits. It is true that there has not yet been any appreciable drawing off of OAA or ADC cases to old age and survivors insurance, but there will be, inevitably, as the present generation of workers in covered employment grows older. This will be so even if we do not extend coverage as we intend to do. If we extend insurance coverage to those employed in agricultural work, domestic service, and by nonprofit organizations and to self-employed persons, our assistance rolls in these categories will markedly decrease, if not all but disappear. (Do not let this disturb the present generation of public assistance workers. They, too, will be drawing old age benefits, I believe, by the time this happens.) The prospect of change is emphasized for the purpose of lending much needed perspective to the problem of needs and rights. Present provisions may meet the same client at very dif-

ferent points. It may be useful to contemplate the gradual disappearance of one of those points, lest we unintentionally impede the march of history in the field of social security.

Relief and assistance, then, appear as interim measures in our halting progress toward basic maintenance for everyone. They exist, not because they are good in themselves, but because as a nation we have not achieved sufficient conviction about this business of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to pay for what it would cost, or to disentangle our objectives from the conflicts arising from our changing economy. It is not because money is not accessible. It is only that we choose to spend it in other ways. We cannot bring ourselves to change our contributory insurance system, for instance, because some people are afraid that Henry Ford might get what some persons call a pension. We thus build up a vast system of wage records and employers' taxes to prevent that possibility. We cannot use our surplus food, but we build first a vast system of direct distribution to those on relief and then an equally vast system of food stamps and certification, in order to assure ourselves that it would be better for millions to be undernourished than that one family or individual should get a pound of butter that they might not have paid for with the sweat of their brow. And the twisted thinking that produces these efficient devices carries over into more complicated and less efficient systems of determining eligibility.

I do not contend that these are currently unnecessary. They are largely indispensable under present conditions, and we are making steady progress in their simplification. I am merely trying to point out that if we really believe that people, and I mean all people, should live in decency regardless of their present or past habits or behavior, and that it was the intention of the Social Security Act to make some progress in that direction, then determining eligibility becomes a fairly simple process of fact finding and not a witch hunt for the latent chiseler that lies in every one of us. The reasons why this witch hunt is usually carried on in the assistance and relief services would bear some examination. Nobody has ever suggested a staff of investigators

for unemployment compensation to ascertain whether or not individual employers were in collusion with the employees seeking unemployment compensation benefits. The facts (easily ascertainable) of tax payments and work record plus severance from the job were sufficient. As yet the "availability for other employment" clause has had little test.

The facts of need, on the other hand, are less accessible, though not nearly so difficult of determination as some of their impedimenta have made them appear. If, for instance, a person cannot be found to be in need without a review of all the assets, real and personal, of his relatives unto the third generation, then the problem is complicated indeed. Moreover, it is no wonder that the defenseless workers who engage in this relentless search bear a grievous burden. They personify a legal but irrational invasion of the private rights of persons often far removed from the client himself. Some valuable people in public welfare administration have been sacrificed on this issue, an issue that has been disguised as a fight over "pensions versus relief." Nor can social workers generally hope to escape a certain amount of public indignation as long as they are forced to administer ideas which, although incorporated in support laws, are enforced in an increasingly haphazard fashion by the courts.

The process of determining need is encumbered by still other devices, such as records of current expenditures, property values, and other items, the relation of which to the current level of assistance grants defies all the rules of logic to explain. Strangely enough, a recent amendment to the Social Security Act designed to clarify further the need basis for assistance has pushed us measurably forward in the recognition of the needy person's rights. I refer to the amendment on income and resources. This reads in part:

Effective July 1, 1941, state plans for old age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children must provide that "the state agency shall, in determining need, take into consideration any other income and resources" of an individual applying for one of these forms of assistance.

This amendment has made it necessary to clarify the intent

of the law and to suggest criteria for administration. It thus objectifies still another item in the determination of need, under the head of which countless injustices have been committed. It becomes necessary at last to point out, although use of these criteria cannot be made mandatory, that income and resources to be legitimately considered in relation to assistance grants should be real and not fictitious, actually available to the client and of some appreciable significance in meeting his needs. The absence of such resources plus proof of age and other appropriate facts constitute a legitimate and legally enforceable claim for assistance.

No matter how far we move, however, in the direction of simplifying the process of defining the client's right to assistance when need has been established, the whole business will continue to be administered with uncertainty and clumsy procedures unless first we, and then the general public, can divest ourselves of the notion that assistance is somehow harmful in itself and can only be prevented from demoralizing its recipients by a real or manufactured "*quid pro quo*." I say again that as long as we continue to appease witch hunters with notions that aid to dependent children is good because it is a kind of wage to mothers for taking care of their own children, that old age assistance does no harm only because old people shouldn't work anyway and therefore will not be deterred by assistance—as long, in fact, as we refrain from seeking out those who are in need—so long will the public, our colleagues, and, especially, our clients fail to see assistance as the prelude to social security for all. Further, unless the grudging restrictive attitudes that still encumber assistance administration are rooted out, the entire structure of social security will be threatened. I do not mean that it will fall. Far worse; it will be maintained only because it is politically impossible or inadvisable to repeal it, not because it is a recognized and necessary part of our governmental program.

There are some symptoms already of this inner decay in the steady increase of assistance rates for the voting aged as contrasted with the totally inadequate and slowly rising rates of assistance to the nonvoting children. It will do no good to hold national

conferences on nutrition in order to dramatize the elusive vitamin in the interest of national defense, when the great bulk of the undernourished lack, not only the necessary number of vitamins, but the money with which to buy the food in which vitamins hide.

Social workers know these things and do not hesitate to bear witness about them in seeking increased appropriations for assistance, both special and general. Are we equally forthright on those other aspects of our problem that determine more rigidly than appropriations can do, the framework within which we work? Certainly we knew long before the courts relaxed in their enforcement of the support laws that clamping men in jail buttered very few beans for their families. Yet it was only last year, after a sharp and bitter division two years before, that the professional association succeeded in agreeing about the undesirability of compulsive features of what we euphemistically call "relatives' responsibility."

It is no secret that, excepting in those places where busy politicians, for their own reasons, have led all the potential eligibles to the doors of our assistance offices, substantial numbers of persons eligible for and in need of assistance are not getting it. This is not only because there is not money, nor because they are turned away, nor even because there is any remaining vestige of stigma, but merely because there are many who do not know what they are entitled to. Why do we not tell them? Is it that by doing so we would be interfering with another inalienable right—the right to starve? What is it that makes this idea—not a new one to most of us—seem slightly improper, if not actually subversive? How explain the distinction between recoil from this suggestion on the one hand and the established fact that Old Age and Survivors Insurance considers it to be its duty to seek out those persons who become eligible for benefits? Old Age and Survivors Insurance, you will say, is holding some of their money and feels obliged to return it. And whose money is the assistance agency holding?

These questions, I grant, are severe tests of our belief in the right to relief. They are complicated by a lot of technical argu-

ments about contributory and noncontributory insurance, means tests, the initiative of the client, etc. But if we really mean that people in need have a right to assistance, then we will find ways of their getting it—not some of the people, but all of them. Furthermore, there is no ultimate escape from the fact that when we have exhausted all the categories of compensable status—old age, blindness, widowhood, invalidity, unemployment, etc.—there will always remain some whose only definable status is need, a status they share with the elect referred to above.

Let us try out these ideas about conserving human values on another of our public services, the Works Projects Administration. Here is the almost perfect device for straddling the need-right issue. If one were to try to explain the WPA to a man from Mars, the story would run something like this:

"Many people are unemployed. They cannot get work producing the things or rendering the services the rest of the people need. Do not interrupt to ask why. The Government recognizes that this is nobody's personal fault and so it, the Government, will try to fix things up. There is a lot of work to be done [interruption will again have to be discouraged at this point], and it is not good for people to be idle and get soft, so the Government will put them to work. Of course, the jobs must be noncompetitive—that is, only work that nobody but the Government is willing to do at the moment—and the work must be nonproductive, in the sense that it must not make anything that could normally be produced by private enterprise and bought and consumed by private individuals who have some cash in hand. [The man from Mars will understand this even if you do not.] Also, not all the unemployed can be allowed to work on these projects because, (a) it would cost a lot of money; and (b) people ought not to get anything for nothing; so (c) only those in need of relief will be allowed the privilege of (b)—that is, of not getting anything for nothing. This is the way we build our great dams and power projects, schoolhouses and post offices. We tried a few other things like research projects and a theater project; but the research project found out some things that some people did not want to know, and the theater produced some plays that

some people thought other people should not see, so these were eliminated on what we call a 'technicality,' i.e., a good reason that is not the real reason." [The man from Mars says he understands perfectly. It is a wonderful system and proof positive of the superiority of a warm over a cold planet.]

There are many aspects of the idea of "rights" that could be explored in the WPA, but for brevity can we agree that the right to work is abridged by the means test and the right to relief is denied by the requirement (not the opportunity) of working for it? This is one reason why the American Association of Social Workers has for years advocated the abolition of the means test for work. At the same time it has urged that the opportunity to work should be extended by the Government to all who are able to and seeking work, all who cannot find other employment. This advocacy is based, not on some academic theories of political science or economics, but on the knowledge of social workers, acquired in an extended experience with people that cannot be matched by any other profession. We are not very adept in saying what we know. Our discoveries about people often hide under the principles we pronounce, and we frequently find ourselves in strange company because we have failed to explain ourselves. Our knowledge, in this case, is the fact that people want to work. Our mistake has been to assume that to state this was to state a truism. We should have been piling up the evidence that lies in countless relief records so that the world might see that people want to work, not merely to escape from starving, but because that is their habitual manner, not just of making a living, but of expressing their choice of activity. No amount of insistence can clarify this subtle point. I appeal the case workers who know what I mean to dig out the data so that we can make at least as much progress in eliminating the compulsive features of work as we have in removing them from family relations. In this case, it is more urgent. If we fail, the slack period which our most optimistic economists agree will follow the present upswing of employment will find us, not with a greatly expanded program of public work, nor even work

relief, but rather, a system of concentration camps for the unemployed.

Case workers and group workers and all others who have the privilege of representing public social services to the client have an opportunity to invest the theory of "rights" with material from their experience, so that it may become clear at last that social work is not a screen through which the benevolent outpourings of government funds are prevented from reaching the wrong people, but rather a facilitating service essential to the protection of our constitutional guarantees.

Where does this leave the case worker who stands at the place where the service meets the client?

There is growing evidence that the service of case workers is being understood and sought in places where a few years ago such service was not even contemplated. Today Old Age and Survivors Insurance, the Employment Service, the Surplus Marketing Administration, and draft boards are seeking case workers. There are signs that military services will want them. However, for a long time the major concentration of case workers will be in public assistance. The extension of such services into insurance and other programs gives great comfort to those who have been trying to free the process of determining eligibility from its inheritance of philanthropic lore. It will facilitate this process to be able to see it in new settings. Its real test remains, however, in its old setting, where assistance is still encumbered with the popular conflict over need and right.

Here are two extreme examples in current practice. Some assistance units hug their case loads to their bosoms and resist any effort to simplify their task, as if doing so were an invasion of their professional integrity. One public welfare director in an agency with an average case load of 300 aged persons per week resisted the idea of using the Bureau of Vital Statistics on the ground that this was a violation of the confidential relation between client and agency.

In a recent visit to that part of the United States where it is dangerous to deny assistance to a pioneer, or to the son of a pioneer, I was shown a beautiful estate, the owner of which had

applied for old age assistance. When the investigator called she was received by the butler and told to go around to the back door. She went, and under the laws of that state found the applicant eligible for assistance. But in that same state Indians cannot vote for the President of the United States nor can they secure any form of assistance other than the grants of groceries provided by the Indian Service. It was the judgment of the local department and also the judgment of my social work guide that this was as it should be, because Indians would not know how to use money anyway.

I have said very little about the client. I wonder whether this is an accident, or the result of a deep conviction that if social workers will untangle their own ideas, the client will take care of himself. After all, a "client" is only a professional fiction. And as the distinctions between the secure and the insecure are gradually rubbed out, we have nothing to give him but an opportunity to make use of our skill in rendering to him what is rightfully and legally his, however much that idea may be denied in specific procedures. That skill, and his use of it, will be determined largely by how well we know what this is all about.

ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES FOR CONSERVING HUMAN VALUES IN THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Harriet L. Tynes

ONE'S FIRST REACTION might well be the question, "Aren't all administrative practices in the public assistance program for the purpose of protecting human values?" Surely it is only because we can reply with a confident affirmative that we can justify the existence of public assistance. That much would seem axiomatic. Nevertheless, certain assistance programs, and the same program at different stages in its development, have approached this goal with varying degrees of success, and I suggest that we ask ourselves, "What are the principles that have best served these programs and could be safely applied to all?"

A great man and a great administrator answered this question in very simple words that set forth the philosophy he consistently followed and that still inspires those who had the privilege of working with him. He was Mr. William A. Smith, and he guided the Virginia Emergency Relief and Works Projects Administrations from their beginning in 1933 until his death a year ago. He used to say, "Whenever I make an administrative decision, I always think first of the man out there in the welfare office waiting to see the case worker, and then going home and telling his family what she said. And I ask myself, 'Is this plan the quickest way to get the right help to him?'" Whether the question to be decided was a new auditing system for the state office, a change of organization in the districts, or an adjustment in eligibility standards, Mr. Smith always found that man in the welfare office his best guide, and I submit that there is ultimately no safer counselor for any of us.

Essentially, it seems to me, the problem revolves around two questions: What kind of organization will most surely and quickly provide the "right kind of help"? What standards and practices will best guide the workers who meet him and try to aid him?

Consideration of the type of organization needed must be limited to brief reference to a few points which directly affect the administrative practice, leaving the rest to those learned tomes which are being produced with heartening regularity and are charting real paths through the wilderness. Usually the subject of organization is no sooner mentioned than there follows as the night the day the topic "Selection of Personnel." It need not detain us now because, for better or for worse, we are wedded to merit systems and, in spite of the fact that it was a shotgun affair, we fondly hope to live so happily ever after that we can dispense with all discussion of such romantic matters.

Starting, then, with the administrative arrangements, and at the risk of commenting on the obvious, it would seem essential that in any large agency, whether state or local, there be at least one person who gives full time to determining standards and directing those procedures which immediately affect the man who waits in the public assistance office, further, that this person whose task is so essential be directly responsible to the administrator. It is granted that organizations are known to function otherwise. Sometimes there is a "spread" of this vital responsibility, or the staff member in charge may be far removed from administrative councils. Either arrangement usually results in wasted energy and a blurring of the whole picture. The administrator's office sets the key for all the rest of the program—as it goes, so goes the staff. If the talk at administrative conferences is always limited to how much money is available, what the last statistical report showed, and how the next organizational change should be presented to the budget office, there is little hope that the intake worker will feel that her job is to think first of the human being across the table. If the client is really the most important person in the program, it follows that those things which most concern him should be directly represented on the administrative staff.

Since administrative practices in the case work field mean so

much to the client, as well as to the efficiency of the agency, it would seem all the more necessary for these practices to be determined by those whose experience with clients enables them to foretell the results of procedures in the average situation, and to guide the agency in making provisions for the atypical case. This is not a point at which an inexperienced person can be safely trusted. In this connection should be stressed the desirability of bringing into consultation the workers who will use the procedures and put the standards into effect. It is questionable whether any department can afford a significant change in procedures without consulting a committee, or other group, of such workers. Arid state offices, and acrid local staffs, are the natural result of failure on the part of the state to consult local people before new practices are inaugurated.

Another phase of this matter of representing human values on the administrative staff is the question of clearances between staff members. Clearances are thorns on which much tender flesh is torn and blood is shed, and the carnage is not limited to the harassed members of the agency staff. In the final analysis it is the client who pays if regulations which affect case problems are not cleared through the person responsible for such procedures before they leave the administrative office. Administrative practice should certainly include definite provision for such clearance.

Among the devices used in any large office which will reflect its general philosophy and sense of values are the regular weekly, monthly, or annual publications, the manual of procedures, and even the lowly bulletins. Whether the office is state or local, the way such material is presented and the emphasis it places, both consciously and unconsciously, on human values will affect the readers and the standards of work. The manual especially offers a chance to present requirements so that attention will be focused on what happens to people rather than on the technically perfect streamlining of the process.

Supervision is conceded to be one of the main administrative tools for improving agency standards. Supervision, I take it, is the provision for helping the worker on the job, and for helping

the job too. We read a great many beautiful and inspiring phrases in social work literature about the relationship which the supervisor and the supervisee should develop toward each other. We deduce that all the subtleties of kid-glove case work are to be brought to bear on this delicate situation, upon the assumption that if the right techniques are applied by the supervisor, the right sort of help will be available for the client. I should like most humbly to suggest that if the staff members are responsible adults—and a public assistance office is no place for those who aren't—they will develop as adults do, by experience and by the acquisition and sharing of information. If that is true, perhaps the supervisor's main job is to study the work being done and to give the staff factual information about the social problems with which they are working, the facilities to meet those problems, and the experience of other workers and other communities in similar situations. If the supervisor fills that large order as the staff has a right to expect, many of these fancy "relationships" may take care of themselves as they do in other professions, and we may be a heartier and healthier group.

The second problem of that man who waits in the welfare office is the determining of the standards and practices which immediately and personally affect him. Administrative practices are somewhat like scaffolding, erected to help us build the structure of social justice that the law, which is the master blueprint, intended. As state by state, and locality by locality, we add our part to this great structure, the average worker on the job will often be more conscious of the scaffolding than of the blueprint. The scaffolding must be constantly rearranged and adjusted to the building, and there comes a time when it must be torn away altogether, but it has its important part until the building is completed. We know how the administrative framework can aid the development of real services for those who need them. Most of us have seen that baffled look in the eyes of an applicant faced with some ruling he could not understand, some rough piece of scaffolding, instead of the solid protection he should have had.

We can all list certain more or less rigid requirements or

limits that beset the client and the case worker in the public assistance program. There are the thirty-, sixty-, or ninety-day limits within which a client may appeal from an adverse decision; the time that must elapse before he may reapply for assistance; or the number of weeks he must be incapacitated or absent from home before his children become eligible for aid to dependent children. There may be a set number of references to be interviewed, which slow-up the investigational process. Invariably, there is delay while we wait for clearances with other programs before planning a grant for the family; and when we do decide upon a grant we meet the whole galaxy of budgetary standards. No sooner have we survived that combat with the forces of fact than we may face the deadlines in the comptroller's or treasurer's offices. Perhaps we are somewhat too accustomed to thinking of "administrative practices" as consisting largely of matters of this nature, leaving to the vague and delectable fields of "case work" those really nice things that can be done with clients. But is this an accurate demarcation?

Rigid rules which leave no leeway for the special case are usually a confession of fear and failure in the organization that willingly tolerates them. Even the august comptroller's office can and should be brought into line by a just cause. But the struggle with this rough scaffolding should not obscure the very real advantage to the client of having definite administrative practices upon which he can depend, and from which he knows the agency does not deviate except in unusual circumstances. Reasonable and reliable rulings are a protection and a satisfaction to the client as well as a convenience to the agency.

We talk a great deal, and rightly so, about the need to individualize the client in the public assistance program. No one questions that individualization is desirable and necessary within the limits of what we are able to do for other clients in similar circumstances, but scarcely to the point of leaving both the agency and the client without any accepted pattern. The plight of the client in a 100 percent individualized agency might be pitiable indeed. Mistakenly, perhaps, but none the less really, many clients subjected to that regime would feel that they were

at the mercy of case worker caprice, or their own groping inability to put themselves in a favorable light.

It is the rare client who expects or wants life to treat him in a highly specialized manner. The client wants individual consideration of his problems, but he suffers a sense of outrage if he is treated differently from those similarly placed—outrage because he is deprived of rights that his acquaintances enjoy, or because he is given something at the expense of others in his position. It is essential to his sense of justice, and his basic security in dealing with the agency, that there be definite regulations which he can understand, which show him what he may expect and how to relate himself to the agency. I am not suggesting that we substitute rules and regulations for case work skills, but I am trying to say that good rules and regulations, good administrative practices, are an invaluable asset in the case work process.

Partly for encouragement, and partly because of the tendency to blame so much on the requirements of the Federal program, I should like to look back at some of the milestones of administrative practice during the past eight years that mark advancements which benefit the client, and for which the Federal programs may take the major credit.

The first is cash relief. But for the insistence of the Federal agencies, probably some states, and certainly many communities, would still be wallowing in a welter of grocery orders. Social workers need not be reminded what that would mean, what it actually did mean in the days when we struggled with it. Household budgeting as the method of determining need and the amount of assistance grants is another practice in which the Federal agency has backed reluctant state and local groups, to the great advantage of the client. Budgeting is by no means a finished matter. Perhaps nothing so challenges the special skill of the social worker as the development of adequate procedures in this field. We have learned much from the nutritionist, and even from the bookkeeper, and we need now to refine our own practices. We have written very little about budgeting procedures. Instead, we have left to supervision the necessary training

in such problems as the relationship between the family's ability to use the money and the amount to be awarded; the contribution to be expected from the working members of the family; where to put relatives in the budget; how far and by what formula to reduce grants when funds cannot be made adequate; and all the other questions the social worker meets and must answer if administrative practices are to be molded to human needs.

Of fundamental importance in this connection is the use of information derived from budgets in making state and local allocations of assistance funds. Unless the total allocation bears a reasonable relation to actual needs of the client group, the whole program breaks down. Allocations are too frequently based on estimates of the number of cases to be assisted multiplied by so much per case; the "so much" being merely an increase or decrease over average grants currently in vogue. If these grants reflect real budgetary deficiencies figured on a practical basis, all is well. However, if the average grant is a compromise between what clients need and what the agency has available, this procedure may perpetuate existing evils. Is it not more accurate to estimate for each agency the total budgetary deficiencies and use this sum as the basis for calculations, whether increases or reductions are in order?

Another point concerning which we have suffered long and been none too kind to the Federal program is that of the much-bemoaned "proofs of eligibility." There are times when the Federal requirements have been irksome and have appeared to work a hardship against clients, but isn't it true that they have had a tonic effect on the whole process of accumulating and evaluating evidence upon which to base case decisions? And have they not also opened up new and valuable avenues of participation on the part of the client in the investigational process? That participation need not be pushed to the point of requiring a helpless client to deal unaided with the technicalities of proving eligibility, but the client group as a whole seems to profit by having a part in the process.

Case record keeping is another protective procedure that,

while it certainly did not begin in 1933, has been greatly and helpfully influenced by the Federal program. Many who have worked in small rural communities know that the very existence of case records is due to Federal requirements without which state and local personnel could not have met the pressure to "cut out the red tape." ("Red rope" would more aptly describe the sentiments of some.) Again, while we are indebted to private agencies for developing the original techniques of case recording, we may largely thank our experience in the Federal programs for the briefer and more usable case records which now safeguard the client.

Another improvement in administrative practice for which we are largely indebted to the Federal program has to do with lessening the use of conditional or restrictive payments. I say "lessening" because, although I have quoted the Federal ruling often and ardently, I am innocently unaware of loopholes. Especially in small communities where everybody knows the client, and public opinion finds ways of following the tax dollar, we still need to be wary in defense of the client's right to spend his money as he pleases.

The settlement laws we still have with us, but we do not have them in their most virulent form in the Federal programs, and localities have learned to accept the amendment. Perhaps, though, there are few places in our program at which we need to plane off the rough scaffolding more carefully than in the matter of intrastate transfers. Administrative practices that provide endless shuffling of forms back and forth between the offices concerned, and leave dark pockets in which the luckless client may be hidden for weeks on end, are devices that need to be studied and improved.

The right of appeal and fair hearing has been reserved for the last. Probably no other one practice has done more to prove to the client and the public that he has a self-respecting right to assistance guaranteed him by law. Unfortunately, the statutory provision is not sufficient assurance that the client will be helped by the appeal process, for if the administrative practices of the agency do not protect him, he may be worn out by the proceed-

ing. As a safeguard for the client's rights and his respect for his government, in setting its appeal practices the agency might well ask such questions as the following:

What was done to bring about a satisfactory solution without a formal hearing?

If a hearing was conducted, was the appellant notified of the plan in a simple direct way he could easily understand?

At the hearing, were the appellant and his witnesses entirely free to present their testimony in a dignified but informal atmosphere?

When the decision was made, were both the appellant and the local agency notified in such a way as to strengthen their continued working relationship?

It is not possible to follow the client through the whole gamut of administrative practices that cling to the assistance program. However, there are a few standards by which that man who waits in the welfare office will measure the program and which, for that reason, should be our greatest concern.

First, did the procedure insure him an opportunity to gain a clear understanding of the law, the agency's practices, and his rights and responsibilities in relation to the program? If they did not specifically and definitely provide for that, the client still lacks that fundamental security in dealing with the agency to which we have referred. What is far worse, he is doubtful, critical, or afraid to use a governmental program designed to serve him. Whether his application is accepted or denied, the client's understanding of the program and procedures is the first essential in protecting his rights as an individual. Incidentally, it is also a good test of the agency's standards and policies. Procedures which the average client cannot understand or accept are usually questionable, to say the least.

In this connection may be considered the use, and the misuse, of the forms the client must sign. I don't regard these forms as necessary evils. Instead, I have a feeling that they have been maligned, for I believe that the preparation, with the client, of a well-constructed form offers the skilled case worker one of the easiest and most natural opportunities to interpret the

program to him. Step-by-step as the application, the property agreements, and the investigational permits are prepared, the case worker may tell the applicant why each procedure is necessary, what his responsibilities are in relation to the program, and how the whole process is designed for his protection. When the signing is completed, the applicant "has it down in writing." If the intake worker has done her part, the applicant knows what he has agreed to, and how he did it.

All of this is, obviously, only possible if the forms are well prepared, and if the intake worker has the skill and the time to give the explanation which is due. If the statistical and finance departments have, by an unholy alliance without benefit of social service, produced a document which is confusing instead of enlightening, something is lost in human values, and more time and skill will be needed by the intake worker to overcome the handicap.

The general practice of giving the applicant a written statement and explaining the law and the agency's procedures has marked another advance. The writing of these documents is a test of skill. They must be as accurate and precise as the law itself, but a great deal easier to read. They must be couched in terms the client will understand, and so composed that they make a clear and forceful impression on him. If the agency does not have a person equipped to do this kind of writing, it may employ someone to do it, and the department will reap a rich reward in better client and public relationships.

Second on the client's measuring rod comes the question, "Was the period elapsing between application and final decision as short as it could possibly be made?" Frequent reviews of all procedures that wedge themselves between the intake desk and the final acceptance slip often reveal bottlenecks that can be broken. Over how many desks must the application form pass before it reaches the investigator? On the return trip, how many O.K.'s are necessary before the grant is made? How much help is available to the applicant and the case worker who cannot, unaided, defeat the technicalities of proving his eligibility? These are points at which supervision, the good, straightforward,

help-on-the-job kind of supervision, can do much to protect the client.

Third is the question, "Did the procedures involve consulting an unjustifiable number of people?" In his intolerance of requirements which amount to running a gauntlet of workers, the client and the public are one. The assignment of functions within each office, the arrangements for clearances with other agencies, and the use of consultant services are all points at which we need to be wary in adjusting the practice to the client lest we sacrifice the client to the practice. Another hazard faced in this connection results from frequent changes in staff. Some changes are unavoidable, but do we always consider the client when we transfer workers for administrative reasons? Most of us can recall occasions when case worker X was transferred to the east side of the West End district with less emphasis on what the change would mean to her clients, who were just beginning to recognize her on the street, than to how well she would adjust her "feeling tones" to those of the new supervisor in the West End.

Fourth in the list of standards of the man in the office may be, "Was he confident at each step in the procedure that he was making his own decisions, and that he was dealing with a worker sufficiently informed and responsible to guide him?" Since the whole investigational and treatment process will determine how he rates the agency, it would be useless to select any one point at which the case worker's respect for his rights as an independent American citizen will show itself more than another. The client's desire to feel confident that he is dealing with a person who has accurate information and sufficient authority in the agency to advise him is certainly natural. Without ignoring the dangers of permitting him to "go over the head of the case worker," most agencies recognize the occasional advantage of arranging a conference with the supervisor on decisions that are especially important to the client.

Fifth, and last in the client's personal list of administrative practices, we may ask ourselves, "Did the procedure align him in public or private with any stigmatized group?" No matter how

strongly we feel about the injustice of any such attitude on the part of the public, or how courageously we are fighting for better interpretation of the whole group we serve, those stigmas do exist and the client knows it. If we fail to face that fact as frankly as we must, we are failing him. It is probable that in the past eight years we have made more progress in many communities in this connection than we have in other ways. The days of public lists of relief recipients, of long bread lines, soup kitchens, commissaries, and their ilk are gone throughout most of the country. The very magnitude of the program itself has mercifully tended to enlighten us. Statutory protection for records and case information has been achieved, and courts are increasingly willing to recognize the professional character of the public assistance service. All of these are administrative safeguards that the Federal programs have helped to bring about. We have every confidence that, as surely as democracy exists in this country, others will be gained.

It would be a mistake not to remind ourselves that the protection of human values is never a mere matter of mechanics. Wherever it has been achieved in public programs, it is a thing of the spirit which, from the administrator down through the whole organization, will find a way to express itself because it is the real goal and the guiding inspiration of the work.

WORK OR MAINTENANCE?

Edith Abbott

I WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY of restating some of the basic questions regarding our obligations—our responsibilities—as social workers to that great army of the unemployed whom we call our clients.

The size of this army is, as usual, a somewhat controversial question, ranging from the estimate of the conservative National Industrial Conference Board—6,142,000—to the seven and a half million estimate of the American Federation of Labor. Either of these estimates is considerably below that of the ten million we had in the winter months a year ago. But 7,500,000, or even 6,142,000, is still a very large number, and if you count not only the unemployed, but their dependents, you have a wageless group of between twenty-eight and thirty-three million men, women, and children shut out from participation in the democratic way of life.

We have heard many times in the last few months about the four freedoms that we are to maintain for all the peoples on the globe. But what kind of freedom do men have when they have no means of livelihood for their families? Is this freedom from want? Or freedom from fear? Clearly, we shall not have these two freedoms in our own democracy until we have found some way of destroying this calamitous recurring tragedy of unemployment and all the misery that follows in its wake. We spend a great deal of time planning how to get the funds for unemployment relief, discussing methods of efficient relief administration, of training relief workers and relief supervisors, and all the rest of it. But what I want to urge for consideration is something more than unemployment relief—it is unemployment prevention. That is the high obligation of our democracy, and

until we can stop these overwhelming recurring tidal waves of unemployment, we shall not have freedom from fear and freedom from want for our own people. After a prolonged depression, millions of people have been dispossessed and disinherited, and now, while this decade of suffering is still a part of our recent experience and still clear in our memories, is the time when we must plan never again to let this catastrophe fall upon the working people of our country.

We are agreed, I think, that unemployment is a national question and that proper provision for the unemployed is a national responsibility. The placing of this responsibility squarely before Congress was the New Deal policy in 1935, and Congress has searched for different methods of dealing with this question. Out of these dark and bitter depression years we have won some gains that must not be lost, some Federal programs for the unemployed: (1) a better public Federal-state employment service; (2) unemployment compensation; (3) the Works Projects Administration, or a work program for the needy unemployed. But let me emphasize this point: The employment services have not prevented unemployment; unemployment compensation does not prevent unemployment; and the WPA does not prevent unemployment. And, moreover, how adequate and how permanent are these programs?

The Federal-state employment service will be permanent and will gradually be improved. However, it is still so unsatisfactory that relief administrators require their employable clients to make the old weary rounds from factory to factory and come back with signed cards to prove—what everybody knew—that they were willing to work and unable to get work. These unemployed clients of ours are cared for on very inadequate relief, or no relief, and they are told they must walk the streets and look hopefully for jobs that do not exist, and they are temporarily “purged” from the relief rolls to make sure that they keep up the hunt for jobs that the employment service cannot find for them.

There is unemployment compensation, and you have heard many times that this is a first line of defense. But it is not a first

line of defense against unemployment. It is only a first line to ward off some of the miseries that follow unemployment; that is, it helps to provide for the victims of unemployment, instead of preventing unemployment. And how adequate is this first line of defense?

There is a very useful article by Professor Haber, of Michigan, in the June, 1941, number of the *Social Service Review*, which shows some of the limitations of unemployment compensation. In the first place are the low average benefits—sometimes less than \$5.00 a week—and the limitations of coverage, which varies, of course, from state to state, with very small percentages covered in some states—only 15 percent of the gainful workers in North Dakota are covered by the unemployment compensation system. Professor Haber finally comes to the conclusion that “coverage under unemployment compensation is illusory for a substantial proportion of wage earners.”

There are other limitations, such as the effort to limit benefit payments to regularly employed workers, which has led to the earnings eligibility requirements. At least 15 percent of the supposedly covered workers in 1938 could not have qualified for benefits on the basis of their nominal earnings. Then there are strange inequities between the different state laws and the varying methods of state administration, with average weekly benefits varying widely and with very low average benefits in many states.

I do not want to minimize the gains we have made, for they are very great gains and the system will certainly be improved and extended. But the important point about the Haber article is that he has come to the thoughtful conclusion that the sure way to solve the present inequities is “by the establishment of a national system of unemployment compensation,” and he recommends that the present state-Federal system should be a completely Federal system. A national system, says Professor Haber, would permit uniform benefit standards in relation to cost of living throughout the country, “a more adequate benefit system in all respects, a shorter waiting period, a higher weekly amount related to family needs, and a longer duration of benefit.”

The last five years, says Professor Haber, have been marked by an almost ceaseless conflict between the agencies at the two levels of government. The Federal-state system, he says, has "not measured up to expectations," and he points to the fact that a sober analysis of the probabilities of achieving the necessary amendments in the different states leads to the conclusion that only a single national system can bring about this objective.

The WPA has reached our relief clients more directly and more adequately than the other services. It has also been less permanent, an uncertain emergency service which has failed in recent years to care for much more than one-half of the people who were eligible for the program. Unlike the first two programs, the WPA has been, throughout its history, Federally administered and Federally financed. This program has been of untold service to our clients. It is now a proved method of saving the unemployed from extreme penury, from despairing appeals for help, and from the humiliation and degradation of idleness on relief. We must now use every resource that social work can offer to protect and make permanent this great program which we have wrung from the hard years of the depression and which is now slipping away from us. The present questions about the WPA concern its inadequacy, due to limited appropriations, and its temporary character.

The President in 1935 promised that he would take all—all of the needy unemployed—off the relief rolls. We know only too well how far short the Federal program has come from doing that and how inadequate recent appropriations have been. Today about half of the unemployed are people in need—our clients—that is, roughly, between three and three and one-half million men and women workers. In May, 1941, only half, or less than half, of them were on the WPA. For the current fiscal year the average number on the WPA was only 1,700,000, the lowest average in the history of the WPA. You know the story of the other two million needy unemployed who could not get on the WPA. Some of them were getting inadequate relief, and they were hungry, and their wives and children were hungry, and they were living in attics and basements and crowded in miserable homes, and they were without decent

clothing, and the two great freedoms—freedom from fear and freedom from want—that we are to spread throughout the world were denied to them and to their families. Then there are all the hundreds of thousands—millions, if you count the dependent mothers and children—who are in the states and counties that will not help the so-called employables. You know the kind of existence they have had; eating out of garbage cans, burning their bits of furniture for fuel, the children staying home from school because they do not have decent shoes and decent clothes to wear, and all the rest of the sorry story. And you now know the answer of the Administration to these unhappy people. You were shocked, I am sure, in June by the President's request for the inadequate sum of only \$875,000,000 for the WPA for 1941-42, which will leave many of these unfortunate clients of ours in want, more of them living in the fear that comes with want. The number on the WPA was scheduled to be reduced to only 1,300,000 by the end of June, and after July first, to come down to less than a million.

Many people think that the defense program is going to employ all the unemployed. They think that we are going to establish social security at long last and abolish unemployment by sending men to the munition industries, to camp construction, and to the armed forces of the nation to prepare for service in the air, on the seas, on the desert sands. Let us look at all this carefully. About 40 percent of the WPA workers are in poor physical condition, not fit for work in the defense industries. Some could be made fit by proper medical care and treatment, but the WPA cannot give them such treatment, nor can any other agency of our Government.

An excellent editorial in a May issue of the *New Republic* says with regard to the WPA and defense: "Since the savings of most of these people on WPA are exhausted, since they are probably older, more discouraged, longer undernourished and more thoroughly sifted by private employers and found wanting; since, furthermore, there is no good prospect of private employment making them useful," fewer of them will be eligible for the new industrial development required by the defense program.

A report from Washington calls attention to the fact that defense contracts are not distributed in the places where the need for the WPA has been most acute. Up until about May, "twenty industrial areas had received 73 percent of defense funds based upon present defense orders. Only 19 percent of our WPA employment is in these centers. In other words, those areas of the country which have received only one-fourth of the defense awards have about four-fifths of the WPA employment."

The *New Republic* said also that the "maldistribution of defense industries has left the unemployment situation extremely critical in certain localities. It will not be possible to withdraw from the most favored regions enough money to take care of the least favored."

I was recently in Nebraska and in some of the other states of the plains, and I can tell you that if you have both a lantern and a magnifying glass you cannot find any signs of the WPA being made unnecessary by defense contracts in those states. Let us make no mistake about it; we shall still need the work program for our clients, even if we drift into a long-continued war.

The WPA organization is not perfect. After five and a half years it still has some difficult problems to face. But I ask again whether we shall let it be destroyed, or let this period of growth and development continue. The editorial in the *New Republic* said that the WPA has provided and can provide:

(1) organization, (2) a civilian labor force, (3) morale. The WPA has not only been the largest employer of labor but one of the most efficient. It has taken broken, dispirited men and with them it has built some of the great bridges, parks and hospitals of the world. It has gone through the wildest fluctuations in appropriations and labor force in an orderly manner. It has operated through the whole pyramid of political pressures and come off with dignity and a clean shirt. It has worked not only in the glare but in the heat of publicity in the most adverse circumstances, and its scandals have been little ones and its crimes somewhat below ordinary incidence. Such an organization must not be crippled. Instead, it must be put to work

building the morale and the bridges, highways and airports we need for the national defense.

We have had neither equity nor justice for the unemployed. They have carried the heavy burdens of the depression, and it has left black marks on their bones. We have tried to rescue them from evictions, from starvation, from the tragic consequences of being homeless, helpless, and hopeless. And what we must do is to say, "Never again."

We have duties and responsibilities on the home front. We are dedicated to the war against unemployment and destitution here on the first line of defense. And here is the real issue, the real controversy. As an abstract proposition, delegates to a conference of the American Association of Social Workers recently piously resolved that workingmen in our democracy have a right to work, that there is a public responsibility for finding a job or providing a job for the man who is able and willing to work but who can find no job and for whom the employment service can find no job. We know that there is no hope that this will be done promptly. We know that neither the Federal Government, nor the state governments, nor any other governmental authorities are really going to employ all the unemployed without a means test, in any period which we can now foresee. Social workers have a special responsibility for the needy unemployed, and surely we can agree that the needy unemployed should be given work. But here we are, face to face with the plans for the next fiscal year, when the President's proposed appropriation for the WPA will provide for only one fifth of the needy unemployed, and the worst of this is that fewer than before will be able to get relief, for relief appropriations are being ruthlessly threatened.

My major proposal is that we urge that the Federal Government must take the responsibility for, must face and deal with, the total problem of unemployment, and must be further charged with the whole responsibility of caring for the victims of unemployment. I am talking of today and tomorrow but I am also talking of the long future. I repeat: The entire responsibility

for the unemployed and all the programs for the unemployed must be in Federal hands so that the whole problem of unemployment can be dealt with as a major concern of the National Government. In addition to the employment services and unemployment compensation:

1. We need a work program.
2. We need a program of planned orderly migration.
3. We need a training and a retraining program.
4. We need an unemployment assistance program for the needy unemployed so that the Federal Government will be responsible for work or maintenance for this group, and so that our unemployed workers will be emancipated from the humiliation of going on the general relief rolls.

I am not asking that this should be done at once, but I stand squarely for doing part of it today and tomorrow; that is, that the Federal Government assume immediately complete responsibility at Federal expense and through Federal agencies for work or maintenance for the needy unemployed. The unemployed must be a Federal responsibility, and for those who cannot be given work, some other provision must be made by the Federal Government. Only in this way, only by placing the total problem of unemployment in Federal hands, can unemployment be abolished and the wageless worker cease to exist in this democracy.

Is there any other alternative? There is only one, and I am afraid that many people believe that it is a good one. The A.A.S.W. at the Delegate Conference voted down the Chicago proposal and accepted the old plan, that the Federal Government provide grants-in-aid to let the states provide a better relief program. Chicago objects to placing the unemployed on any general relief program. We look forward to a time when relief can be forever abolished.

Not all the king's horses and all the king's men, nor all the Security Board, nor the administrator of the Public Assistance Bureau can bring order out of the relief chaos which exists in this land of democracy today. Part of this chaos is familiar to you in the difficulties about state and local settlement and the

hardships which all relief administrators are required by law to inflict upon migratory laborers.

We owe a great debt to Congressman Tolan and his committee, and the ten volumes of testimony and the valuable report they have recently issued are what we have been wanting for ten long years. The Tolan Committee tells us that:

A body of Stateless people is appearing, existing in a limbo of lost settlement rights and forced to migrate in search of elusive employment opportunities. The Committee has observed that the great majority of these people are . . . in search of a job and not a hand-out.

To quote the Tolan Committee again:

The basic lesson is that whereas the Founding Fathers had learned before 1789 that a free flow of commerce between the States was an indispensable element in the founding of a Federal Union, the 48 States are today engaged in erecting new and higher barriers against the interstate flow of the American people. These barriers are intended to protect each State from assuming the burden of supporting that varying proportion of moving people who may need public assistance. The construction of these barriers actually works to foster the situation it is intended to correct. Persons with initiative who through circumstances beyond their own control have fallen on relief in one State are afraid to leave such assistance in search of employment elsewhere for fear of losing their settlement rights.

One of the great merits of this plan I am advocating of placing total responsibility for the unemployed on the Federal Government is that we can then take proper care of migratory labor. I tried to explain this plan to the Tolan Committee. I urged it to ask for the care of migratory laborers as unemployed men and not to provide for them by means of a grant-in-aid for general relief. But the Tolan Committee was like the Delegate Conference of the A.A.S.W.—it preferred relief. It seems less complicated. This preference is easier for me to accept from the Tolan Committee because, of course, they have never known at first hand how bad relief is, while every social worker knows that every public relief office is a well of despair.

Let us not think that we can wave a magic wand by a new grant-in-aid for general relief. The relief situation is indescriba-

bly confused from coast to coast. Perhaps I should not use the term "indescribably" since there is an excellent description in an article in the March number of that invaluable official magazine, the *Social Security Bulletin*. This article shows that in spite of the gains which we hoped and dreamed of making under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, we still have confusion worse confounded in the state relief programs. There are more than ten thousand local governmental units throughout the country administering these programs. Many of these local administrative units were "authorized to determine the existence and extent of need without supervision by a State agency. A few of the local units were branch offices of State agencies; some were county welfare departments or county governing bodies. The great majority, however, were minor civil divisions—cities, villages, and towns."

Who are the administrators in these 10,000 local relief authorities? They are good substantial average men, very rarely women, who are trying to save money for the local taxpayers who elected them. They have been brought up on the old theory that relief is a disgrace, that men can find work if they try, that there isn't money enough to do more than give them a handout anyway, and that the old hip-pocket method of keeping relief records is good enough for anyone.

If anyone thinks, hopes, or believes that Federal grants-in-aid can bring order out of our relief chaos in any reasonably near future, I can only call that person a dreamer of dreams. To get even reasonable order out of this disorder means an endless series of state legislative sessions, most of them special sessions, and a prolonged struggle with local officials who are determined to go on with the present system. Let me illustrate with a paragraph from this invaluable study:

During 1940, persons in need of general relief in the United States received assistance which varied greatly in kind and adequacy, depending upon the State and even the locality in which they sought aid. The diversity in the type and amount of care provided was the inevitable result of the highly decentralized system, under which general relief is administered. . . . State participation in financing

or administering general relief is extremely limited or non-existent in many States. During 1940, in one-fourth of the States the State government provided no financial support, and in several others the extent of financial participation was very small.

I am opposed to handing the unemployed over to township, county, municipal, and mixed state agencies that deal with relief, not only because of the administrative disorder of the present system, but because this defeats the preventive constructive work that we should have in mind for the unemployed, who should be kept fit for work or be made fit for work. They should be the responsibility of some authority who is trying to deal with them as unemployed men and who must try to find some way to get them to work again.

A new grant-in-aid for general relief is no answer to this problem. It will not change the antiquated state poor laws and the state settlement laws and the eighteenth-century methods of poor law administration. We are told that the Federal authority making grants-in-aid will change all this. But can it? And how soon? We must get forty-eight different state legislatures to pass new laws or amend very complicated and deep-rooted old poor laws in order to get a measurably satisfactory relief system. It is all right to talk about bribing the states by grants-in-aid to amend the settlement laws, but forty-eight different state legislatures must be willing to act in the face of determined opposition.

Forty-three legislatures have been meeting this year, and only eight, I believe, are scheduled to meet next year in regular session. The other forty will not meet again next year unless they are called in special session. Getting forty legislatures in special session to amend the settlement laws is an undertaking that offers as little hope of success as any that can be suggested.

I am not opposing a grant-in-aid for general relief, but this is not the proper method of dealing with the unemployed if you are trying to deal with them in a constructive way, and there is a big job ahead in reforming the state laws and the state administrations even after you get a grant-in-aid for general relief. What I want to have considered is the long-time hopeful objective of gradually lifting people out of that pool of despair that

we call relief. And I want to consolidate gains already made.

We have lifted various groups out of the relief pool. Our nineteenth-century leaders took out the insane and the feeble-minded; we have taken out the injured workmen by means of workmen's compensation laws; we have taken out the old age group; we have taken out dependent children; we have taken out the blind. We should now take out this great army of the unemployed who have paid the heaviest costs and borne with courage the greatest suffering of all who have known losses and deprivations in this ghastly depression decade.

With all the gains that we have made, with all the added security that has been given to our clients during this decade of tragedy, our great objective, which is the abolition of unemployment, is still only a hazy mirage on a very distant horizon. Do not let a faint hope of a distant victory that comes with some lessening of unemployment destroy the gains we have made. With all our gains the problem has remained unsolvable, and infinite patience, courage, and faith will be needed for a long time to come before any perfect solution can be found. The solution will be found only by concentrating responsibility where it belongs, by placing it in the hands and on the shoulders of a Federal agency. This is a measure of preparedness. It is also a measure of reconstruction. I remain unshaken in my conviction that we shall have neither justice nor equity for the unemployed until we turn this whole problem over to the Federal Government and end the divided responsibility from which our clients have suffered so cruelly. I take the liberty of repeating those true words that were spoken so long ago, and repeated in another hour of trial, "A house divided against itself shall not stand."

One of the fruits of victory that will go to all the combatants in the present titanic struggle in which the world is lost will be a new overwhelming tidal wave of unemployment. That is the wave of the future that we can see only too clearly, and it is not beyond hope, beyond dreams, that barriers can be constructed against it, that we shall make ready and be prepared to protect our clients from the ghastly consequences of this clearly foreseen disaster.

THE VALUES IN PRESERVING STATE AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN GENERAL RELIEF

Hugh R. Jackson

IN DISCUSSING the value of forms of governmental organization and distribution of responsibility as between levels of government, we should always recognize that there is no absolute solution which will prove to be the correct one at all times and in all places. The choice is never between perfection, on the one hand, and total imperfection, on the other. It must always be relative, and what may be desirable at one time in our history or in one part of our country may not serve the needs and conditions of another time or place.

I do not see how we can intelligently discuss the question of organization for general relief, or the distribution of responsibility for such relief as between the Federal, the state, and the local governments, without considering the entire question of public assistance. If anything is clear it is that we need to determine where we want to go in terms of a pattern of responsibility and of organization to meet the needs of all persons who are in need of public aid, and we should proceed toward the establishment of that uniform pattern as quickly as the practical exigencies of our times will permit. The system of distributing financial and administrative responsibility differently for various segments of the welfare problem has clearly not been helpful if our objective is the provision of adequate care to all those who are in need within our country. This system, under which we have had varying rates of participation by the Federal Government in work relief, old age assistance, and, until recently, aid to dependent children, has emphasized the needs of some groups of the population at the expense of others, and has encouraged competition in the use of public funds for specific

needy groups for whom care should be provided. I have no objection to categories as such, nor do I object to balancing the financial scales in order to encourage a superior type of care for those in need, such as work instead of support in idleness, but I do object to a system which makes aid more readily available to specific groups of those who are in need at the expense of others whose need is equally great and who have an equal claim upon our resources.

Moreover, the attempt sharply to classify persons in need in the various groups has not worked out satisfactorily. Certainly the classification of employables and unemployables is not a practical or a desirable one, as every public welfare worker who has been called upon to classify a case load knows only too well. Although some recipients of public assistance may be set down clearly as employable and others as unemployable, we know that there is a great number of persons whose employability falls in the doubtful periphery of either category. Some of our workers and some of our executives in the public welfare field have already begun to have a rude awakening as to who is employable and who is not, as a result of the recent rise in employment opportunities due to defense efforts. Even if such a division were possible, I do not perceive its value, since neither group has any greater claim upon our facilities and resources than the other. We have seen a definite tendency during the last decade to emphasize the care of the so-called employable unemployed because, obviously, the great problem which confronted us as a nation was that of unemployment due to a reduction in productive activities. As jobs increase, however, I suspect that we shall find that the interest of the public is concentrated to an even greater degree on the so-called unemployables, for as we continue to need man power and the number of clearly employable persons on the relief rolls is reduced to a minimum, we shall come to see more clearly the need of rehabilitating, both physically and mentally, many of those whom we so blithely toss into the unemployable category, in order that we may utilize their services in the productive efforts of the country.

The argument for Federal leadership and Federal participa-

tion in the total problem of caring for persons in need has been made so often as not to require reargument here. The need for some Federal financing and the establishment of standards for the entire nation, both as to the quality and the amount of care to be given, is perfectly obvious. Moreover, this concept of a Federal responsibility for those who are in need seems to be pretty completely accepted by the great mass of our people. Although we still have the great no man's land of those who are not eligible for the Works Projects Administration or the three Federally aided categories of assistance, old age, aid to dependent children, and assistance to the blind, we have developed an acceptance of the idea of Federal responsibility which, so far as one can see at the present time, seems to have become firmly embedded in American political and social thinking in the relatively brief period of less than ten years. The question, therefore, is not whether the Federal Government should play a part in the provision of general assistance, and other forms of assistance, but rather how much of a part shall the Federal Government play, and in what way? Stated simply, the question is this: Shall we continue with the development and expansion of the grant-in-aid system under which the Federal Government assists in financing, provides leadership, and establishes minimum standards while leaving the actual administrative responsibility to states or localities, or shall we develop a vast system of direct Federal operation and administration of our public welfare services?

What are the advantages of one plan as against the other? In the first place, it seems to me that public welfare is a field of government in which local participation and a sense of local responsibility are peculiarly important. In the field of public welfare we are dealing with the most basic problems of human life. Moreover, we are dealing with them in such a way that individual judgment and discretion are essential parts of the process of operation. There is probably no more intimate or vital relationship between people and their government than that which is to be found in the granting or withholding of public assistance. If the seat of ultimate authority and control is distant

and remote, the chances for injustice, abuses, arbitrary and dogmatic action are considerably enhanced.

Moreover, from the point of view of financial support for a program of public assistance, and from the point of view of the community as a whole, a real feeling of local responsibility is of prime importance. I accept the principle that public assistance should be made available as a matter of right to all our people who are unable to support themselves, and that it is not granted as a gracious gesture by the Government on behalf of those of us who have more of this world's goods. However, we would be making a frightful mistake if we proceeded from this principle to the conclusion that the neighborliness, good will, interest, and social and philanthropic impulses of our local citizenry were unimportant in the development of a sound public welfare program. If we are to secure the financial support which is essential, we must obviously utilize the sense of social responsibility which the great majority of our citizens have. Is it not perfectly clear that this sense of responsibility is much more acutely felt and more effectively exercised when the citizens of a given community feel that they themselves, and their local government, have some direct responsibility for the care of those in need? To be sure, we are citizens of the nation as well as of our own neighborhoods, but no one can doubt that the feeling of individual responsibility is far greater in relation to local administration than it is when we consider ourselves as part of the vast national community. If one doubts this, let him consider for a moment the relative effect and interest of a group of citizens in influencing the problems of government on a local or national basis. Local citizens and local groups of citizens can and do wield considerable influence in dealing with local public officials and local legislative bodies. The same group of persons cannot be interested to the same degree in seeking to influence national action, because they recognize that their voices are only those of a few among many, and that the chances of effective action based on their specific efforts are far more remote.

The second advantage of state and local administrative responsibility for public assistance under Federal guidance and

supervision is that our public welfare activities must be integrated with a variety of other community services, both public and private. It is hardly necessary to relate this need for integration, or to stress its importance. All of us who work in the field of public welfare know that our programs must be correlated with those of private family and child-caring agencies, the public schools, public health officers, councils of social agencies, and other manifestations of the community's social and civic interests. This coördination can best be accomplished when administrative responsibility is established locally, and when there is latitude to adjust the public welfare program to the needs and other facilities of the community. Those who advocate direct Federal operation might argue that such coördination can be achieved equally well under a Federally administered system, but my experience, and I believe that of many others, has indicated the contrary to be the case. On more than one occasion I have participated with state officials in local conferences with representatives of Federal authorities who were functioning within the community in which I lived or worked. In such conferences there have been occasions when we have agreed that certain modifications of policy or emphasis should be made in the activities of the Federal agencies in the interests of the community, but these Federal representatives have seldom had the power to make the changes or take the steps which they themselves recognized as being desirable. Always they were confronted with the necessity of securing approval or permission from higher authorities. It is not uncommon that even after extended consideration by these higher and distant authorities, the proposal was rejected, sometimes with the statement that it could not be undertaken because, although it might be good for this particular community, it would set a precedent which would be harmful in other communities.

Local and state participation in public welfare permits greater latitude in dealing with the special needs and special problems of individual areas. I do not mean that I think a Federally administered program of public welfare would necessarily mean one set of standards and one set of procedures which would be

applied automatically and uniformly throughout the country, but it is clear that under any system of Federal administration there must be much more uniformity and similarity of operation than is the case when direct administrative responsibility is left with state or local authorities. Certainly there are questions, both as to policy and method, which must be adjusted to local conditions, standards of living, and social attitudes. There are very real differences in method and in need for public aid as between rural and urban areas. We find different needs as between industrial, commercial, and agricultural sections of our country. I know that the argument of special conditions has been used in many instances to justify inadequacies and inequalities in various parts of the nation, and sometimes, in our righteous impatience to remove these inequalities and injustices, we have wanted to disregard completely local factors, local conditions, and local points of view. But so far as I know, there is no way in which we can successfully pull ourselves up by our own bootstraps, and there is no way in which we can, on an enduring basis, foist a program on a community or a state which is not willing to accept it. That may be possible in a totalitarian State, but it is not possible in a democratic nation, and I for one, even in the interest of human welfare, have no desire to be a party to attempting it. The answer lies in the more difficult and the less dramatic path of making the community aware of its own needs, and although we still have much to do in this regard, I think there is no doubt but that we have made considerable progress during recent years.

State and local participation also permits a degree of experiment and alternative in method that is healthy and desirable. I am quite sure that we have not reached the stage of perfection in technique or in policy in so far as public assistance is concerned. The opportunity to try alternative methods is obviously far greater under a state or local system of administration than it is under Federal operation.

Another important argument for letting the states and localities share in the public assistance program with the Federal Government is a very practical one, in that it splits the bill among our

pocketbooks so that the total expense of public aid seems less staggering than would otherwise be the case. It follows that if we are to have Federal administration we are going to have complete Federal financing. I do not think that any palatable system could be advanced under which the Federal Government would assume complete administrative responsibility and yet tap the budget of state and local governments for a part of the cost. If we were to submit a request for Federal appropriations which included the total expense of all our public assistance services, I am quite sure that the bill would terrify the hardest congressman, and I am perfectly sure that ultimate appropriations would be considerably less than the need required. In the process of meeting part of the cost out of our Federal pocketbook, another part out of our state pocketbook, and a third part from our local change purse, we are able to secure more adequate resources.

Finally, state and local participation with the Federal Government in administering public welfare provides a plan which is administratively feasible. Public welfare, along with many other functions of government, has suffered in the past from the existence of administrative units which were too small to insure efficient administration in many parts of the country. But the opposite of units which are too small has dangers and difficulties which are equally great. Big government can be just as bad as big business. When we attempt to establish central administrative responsibility for an operation that is as vast and as far-flung as the provision of public assistance or of general relief would be, the responsible direction of such an effort is in real danger of losing its social sensitivity through being too remote from the seat of actual operations. Think of the administrative machinery which would be necessary to operate such a gigantic organization in every hamlet and community of this land. With the best intention and desire in the world, bureaucracy would be inescapable. Finally, the administrative task of intelligently directing, coördinating, and controlling such a vast enterprise is probably beyond the range of our best talents.

I mentioned earlier that the choice between forms of govern-

mental organization and distribution of governmental responsibility was always relative. Let us, therefore, review what are supposed to be the chief advantages of the plan of direct Federal administration. First and foremost, it is argued that Federal administration and complete Federal responsibility will assure clearly and immediately a national standard of care and administration which is impossible with a variety of local programs, varied local political standards and social points of view, and local economic capacities. This is a very appealing argument, particularly when we get discouraged at what seems to be such slow progress, or lack of progress, in many of our communities. Centralization of authority is clearly the pattern that we follow when speed is essential, or when we are confronted with a great emergency, but it is not necessarily the pattern by which we develop a great continuing program which, under our form of government, requires ultimately the approval of the people. I have already commented on the theory that we should establish a given public welfare program whether the community or the state likes it or not, and I don't believe we will be successful through these means in the long run. Moreover, we have a much more subtle and effective device in the principle of grant-in-aid. Although we certainly have not reached the millennium, I believe that we have made tremendous progress, in only a few years, with grants-in-aid under the Federal Social Security Act. Through this medium we have been able to establish public welfare services which did not previously exist in virtually every section of the country, and we have seen a definite expansion and development of those programs which did exist prior to the advent of Federal aid.

As for those areas whose economic capacities are such that they are unable to maintain an adequate minimum standard of care even though they wish to do so, this too can be met through the grant-in-aid device. Let me point out that such grants, even on a flat percentage basis to all states, are a great equalizer, both in so far as individual taxpayers are concerned and also as between sections of the country which have varying degrees of wealth. If a flat grant-in-aid as a proportion of total expenditures

is insufficient to meet the need in certain states within the nation, it is possible to develop a varying rate of reimbursement, depending upon the wealth of the individual states. A specific recommendation in this regard was recently made by a special committee of the Council of State Governments. I realize that any specific formula which is devised will be open to criticism, but I am not at all impressed by the argument that it is impossible to develop a formula which will roughly apportion funds in accordance with need and which will be acceptable to the country as a whole. The grant-in-aid system which we now have is by no means perfect, for additional steps can and must be taken to simplify fiscal and administrative relationships between Federal, state, and local governments. We need also to take further steps to assure a minimum base below which grants will not fall. The basic idea back of the system is sound, however, and can be used to achieve the purposes which we desire.

A second major argument which is advanced for direct Federal administration—at least for the so-called employables—is that by so doing we shall be able to lift this vast pool of our fellow Americans out of the odious status of relief clients. Although the establishment of such a system would unquestionably mean more adequate assistance in most parts of the country than is presently available under our haphazard system which involves no Federal participation, I do not see that a change in administrative responsibility would change the nature of the animal. I assume that any system of maintenance which might be established by the Federal Government would be based upon an investigation of individual or family need and that grants would be made in accordance with those needs. This sounds amazingly like relief or public assistance to me, no matter by what name it may be called.

Incidentally, one needs to recognize that if the Federal Government assumes complete responsibility for the care of employables it will be the Federal Government which will define what persons fall into this grouping and what persons are to be included in the unemployables who are to be cared for locally without Federal aid or Federal guidance. Since the line of dis-

tion is a fine one at best, we can be sure that as Federal appropriations vary in amount, or other pressing demands are made on Federal resources, the number and types of persons who are accepted as employables and included in the Federal program will vary. This gets us right back to one of the basic difficulties which our present WPA system offers—the unpredictability of the size of the group to be cared for at Federal expense and the consequent difficulty of planning intelligently and adequately for the care of those not included in the Federal scheme of things.

This problem is one which besets every state and local public welfare administrator in the country. Only recently one city found itself in the difficult position of being approximately \$1,000,000 short in its appropriation for general relief because of a sudden and unanticipated reduction in the WPA. Fortunately, that city had a fiscal system which made possible the speedy provision of that sum so that no special hardship was occasioned for the recipients of general relief. Most states and localities, however, do not possess such resources or flexibility.

A third argument which I have heard advanced for the system of Federal administration is that it would eliminate the spoils, patronage, and petty politics which permeate many of our state and local governments. Of course, distant pastures always look more green, but I recall that political considerations are not completely foreign to the Federal Government. The placing of direct responsibility in the hands of Federal administrative officials for the employment of personnel and the operation of a public assistance program throughout the country would unquestionably create tremendous patronage and pork barrel pressures, many of which can be avoided under a system of state or local administrative responsibility with Federal grants-in-aid and Federal supervision. Compare, if you will, the political pressures placed upon an organization such as the WPA which has been in the business of direct Federal administration, and those which have been placed on the Social Security Board. The latter agency has the great advantage of not having directly within its own hands the responsibility for administrative operations

and the selection and appointment of the great mass of personnel. It has the convenient "out" of insisting that administrative responsibility rests with the states and localities. Or compare the experience of the same leadership which directed the FERA and the WPA. Under the former program, with a grant-in-aid system, the political pressure and the political infiltration were considerably less than was the case when the same individuals were given responsibility for direct Federal administration.

It must be obvious by this time that, for me at least, the conclusions point toward the development of a grant-in-aid plan for the provision of general relief. Since I have argued that a similar pattern should be established for the administration of all forms of public assistance, the question may well be put as to what specific program is to be advocated at the present time. I believe that a category of general relief should be established within the framework of the Social Security Act. I believe that such relief should be available to all persons who are in need and who are not provided with work, or cared for under one of the three existing Federally aided categories of public assistance. I believe that the Federal Government should have the authority and responsibility to insure minimum standards which will be observed, both as to the adequacy of relief and the standards of administration and personnel, but that direct administrative responsibility should rest with the states, or with the localities, under state supervision.

A correlative question which naturally arises relates to one's attitude as to the continuance of the WPA as a direct Federally administered work program. Most of the arguments which I raise concerning state and local administration in public assistance apply also to a works program, particularly if such work is to be provided on a needs basis. It is tempting for the sake of consistency, as well as for the obvious advantages of coordination and integration on a state and local level, to urge that the WPA be put on the same basis and returned to the states or localities administratively under a Federal grant-in-aid plan. I, for one, however, am not prepared to argue for the immediate return of work relief to a Federal, state, and local shared plan.

I think that such a change would probably be unwise at this time for two principal reasons. In the first place, the existence of a mobile labor force which is instantly and immediately available under Federal direction may prove to be vitally useful in these emergent and critical times. The return of work relief to the states and localities would necessarily mean that we would lose some of the freedom and speed with which we could utilize this force for national purposes in the event that it is needed readily. I am not thinking about the probability of using the WPA as an army, but it is quite possible that we might desire to use such a force for labor activities related to civilian defense in the very near future. Secondly, I think that the timing would be poor if we returned work relief to a Federal-state system at the same time that we established a Federally aided category of general relief, for under these circumstances I fear that work relief would be used more sparingly as a means of providing assistance to those who are in need in light of present conditions and present economy pressures. The value of work as the basic method of caring for that part of the welfare problem which is caused by unemployment has not yet been sufficiently accepted as a national policy to take a chance on returning it to state and local administrative authorities at the same time that grants are being made available for general relief. I think we have been making progress in the direction of accepting the idea of work as the basic method of meeting this problem, and I think that our people will see it even more clearly as we come to recognize the tragic loss in man power and productive capacity which unemployment has caused during this period of depression. I think that awakening may come more quickly than some of us expect, and it seems quite possible to me that we may look forward, in the course of a comparatively short period of time, to the establishment of work relief on the same pattern as the various forms of public assistance which we have been discussing.

No one can look forward with any certainty these days to a program of specific public action for even next year, or the year after. But unless our way of life is changed considerably, in ways which we do not now foresee, it would seem to me that the path

of progress in public assistance organization lies in the direction of further development, extension, and improvement of the grant-in-aid system with the retention of direct administrative responsibility by the states, or by local units under state supervision. I believe that this is the pattern which we should set for ourselves and the objective toward which we should work.

THE DEFENSE PROGRAM AND RELIEF NEEDS

Philip D. Flanner

THE VOLUME OF RELIEF NEED in this country has never been measured by compiled statistics of the number of people receiving aid at any one time, or even over a period of time. At best, reports are valid as an index, for comparisons of one period with another or of one geographic area with another. Important reasons for this may be readily summarized. There are, for instance, throughout the country, differences in the degree of social awareness of need. In part, at least, these have been due to the fact that public assistance, unlike education and public health, has not been expected to reach out and bring within the scope of its functioning all those whose situation is within its scope in a given time or place. Need has had to seek aid; agencies have not canvassed need. There are differences throughout the country in the community willingness to deal with need. There are, further, differences in the resources which may be assembled by governmental units throughout the country to meet known need. Available specific information is only a rough index.

Current reports, used as an index, show a marked lessening in the volume of total need, as compared with that revealed by available information a year ago. New or renewed employment, through defense production, has been tremendous, accompanied by an expansion in the consumption of goods, generated by the great increase in mass purchasing power within the last year or year and a half. This re-employment has, fortunately, reached into the group of those receiving public aid, providing for untold numbers a means whereby they have removed themselves from the necessity for public assistance.

Our defense effort has not been spread with geographic

evenness nor has it touched each economic activity alike. By and large, re-employment has taken place in the industrial areas of the North and not in the South or in the Great Plains states, where we have reason to believe that most of the unmet need exists. It would seem, therefore, that to consider that the lessening of need in this country is measurable by the decrease in the number of those under care is fallacious, overly optimistic. Nevertheless, relief needs have been pronouncedly reduced by renewed employment.

The defense program has, of course, brought about a rebuilding of our military and naval forces, to the point that again these forces have become important in the social and economic life of the country. Elapsed time has not permitted a conclusive judgment as to their effect upon the total of relief needs throughout the land. Past experience and a relatively few specific cases indicate the possibility of both a positive and a negative effect. These are undoubtedly situations in which military service has tended to solve an existing or potential need. It is significant that voluntary enlistments have been relatively heavier in areas where the standards of public care are relatively low and where defense re-employment is not important. Twenty-one dollars a month is a great deal, compared with nothing. It may be a hard, unpalatable fact that need unadmitted by the Government is met in this fashion.

Migrancy and new concentrations of people have always generated need. This fact leads to a consideration of the composition of need. The physicist will say that sound exists only as there is someone to hear it. The social worker insists that need exists whether or no there is anyone to heed it. The importance of migrancy, growing out of defense, as a causative factor in the total of existing need is not known. It may be suspected that its significance submerged by those practices so prevalent twelve years ago—local jails, handouts, forced treks to the next town or county. Legislative and administrative sanctification of these methods in a community's dealing with the needy nonresident lends confirmation to this suspicion. There appears to be little

doubt that need arising from the movement of people has increased.

Defense has served to throw a stronger light upon that need whose primary, contributory, or continuing cause is physical disability. In the first place, it has uncovered disabilities previously suspected but not definitely ascertained. For instance, the results of the physical examination required of applicants for work with the construction personnel of a large ordnance plant caused the rejection of practically every other man who applied for a job. In another plant, four out of every ten examined were rejected because they were afflicted with a venereal disease. Of those who have been physically examined for Selective Service, hardly four out of ten have been accepted. Important among the types of disabilities thus revealed are dental, 20 percent of the rejections; ocular, 10 percent; cardiovascular conditions, 10 percent; combination of three or more conditions, 9 percent; and musculoskeletal disabilities, 8 percent.

These physical examinations for industrial employment and for military training were made without reference to the relief status of the persons examined. Some applicants, no doubt, were from families which were receiving public aid; most of them were not, in all probability. We may accept as possibly axiomatic the statement that the incidence of physical disabilities is greater among those of low income than in the population as a whole; certainly this is so with respect to the so-called chronic unemployables. The assumption is valid that disabilities in this group are appallingly high.

In the total of public need for which care in some degree is provided, the social security categories assume an even greater significance than before. Meeting statutory requirements bearing no direct relationship to need as such is even more important than before. The composition, therefore, of the entire group has been modified no little by defense efforts. There are proportionately fewer employables and of these, fewer have employment skills. Physical disabilities are present in a proportionately greater degree. So, also, there are greater numbers of those who fit arbitrarily into one or another of the social security cate-

gories. And because general relief is the stepchild of public assistance, preferential treatment is more sharply focused than before.

We come now to public, legislative, and administrative attitudes. Large numbers of people believe, or want to believe, that defense has dissolved need, that is, unemployment need. We will agree that defense has diminished unemployment need. We will deny that it has dissolved it. Reductions in legislative appropriations, made or pending, Federal, state, and local, have by their size evidenced an overoptimism; or they have reflected the fear that more adequate funds might be the straw which would break the back of the financial camel of organized effort through government. Federal participation by means of the Works Projects Administration will apparently share even less proportionately in the total unemployment need than it has in this fiscal year. Unemployment need has not dropped, nor will it for some time to come, the 50 percent which the WPA will have dropped under the proposed \$875,000,000 for next year. Funds for public aid, including work relief, are less, but their reduction appears out of proportion to the reduction in need. In reducing the appropriations the question as to whether need unmet in the past and still existing might not now be accepted as the Government's responsibility has not been considered. Furthermore, little heed has been given to the rising costs of subsistence items of living. Too little measure of provision is made for housing for the low-income groups from which needy families come into public aid and to which they return when leaving the rolls.

Not only because of money, but also because of the false assumptions based upon defense, programs of care are subtly changing. There appear to be revivals or expansions of those pleasant practices of declaring single persons to be ineligible for relief; or of declaring as ineligible for relief a family in which there is an employable person. I have spoken of the treatment of the migrants, by communities whose sought-for defense contracts have attracted workers from outside their confines. Indeed, if an enlarged pool of available labor had not been so created, there

would have been no possibility in many cases of the community in question fulfilling the Government contracts awarded to it.

In the Federal work relief program there appears to be a denial, in part, of an earlier insistence that the Government will not utilize work relief labor for public improvements within the normal functioning of government and which it would perforce undertake were there no work relief at all. This refers to defense projects of the WPA. Having been an administrative official of the WPA, I know only too well the difficulty involved in rendering a judgment in many situations in which normal functioning appears as a possible factor. It may be argued, however, that projects which urgently require completion, even to the point of increasing the allowable hours of work per month and bringing workers from other areas, are projects for which men should be employed without waiting for them to sink to the economic level of eligibility. Or, if they are already at that low level, their job opportunity ought to be dignified as employment in the normal stream of employment.

It is happily acknowledged that the WPA has demonstrated effectiveness in the force account method, and its management has developed well the ability to act at any time on a plan decided upon an hour previously. But defense seems to seek two dollars' worth for the expenditure of one—a practice deplored by social workers and by WPA officials as well who note that much local work relief has replaced men who were normally employed in maintenance work. Defense has, apparently, not considered that force account effectiveness and WPA management skill might be put to work with funds drawn from sources other than those appropriated for the alleviation of unemployment need.

However much we may challenge the soundness of the decision made by the WPA to enter into essential defense production, we should, I believe, acknowledge that it evidences an ability and willingness to adjust itself to a new situation. This does not appear to be generally true of state and local government agencies operating in the field of public assistance, including general relief. With notable exceptions, public assistance appears apathetic to new or changed community situations which have come about

because of defense. Certainly, removal of clients from the assistance rolls because they have secured jobs is happily noted. But a lack of interest is evidenced by a seeming unwillingness to consider that social problems, existing or potential, which have not resulted in an immediate appeal for help in the individual case are within the area of the agency's concern. Lack of housing is important only as it makes for difficulty in housing a client and not because it may result in clients for the future. Inadequate recreational facilities are dimly recognized as a remote cause of certain social problems, but not as the immediate concern of the agency.

The policy of deferment in Selective Service becomes important when and if the public assistance costs of a given case are affected by its application. Only here and there is a state or local welfare agency actively engaged, over and beyond its specific job, in diagnosing, thinking through, and planning for the many changed community situations resulting from defense activities. This curious condition of indifference may be attributed to forced concentration, with inadequate staff and insufficient funds, on assistance for the ascertained need. It may be due to an insidious growth of that bureaucratic spirit which builds a high fence around its own favored plot in the field of government, content within itself and reluctant to join with others that the whole might be better related, one part to another.

The field of child welfare seems to be less preoccupied than many fields, but, so far, the work does not seem to have been far extended, for in many areas where new concentrations of need have arisen, with inadequate public facilities, child welfare services are not yet actually functioning. Public health and housing are different. Agencies in these fields have entered into community diagnoses and planning, and they can point to accomplishments. The full competency of public assistance and child welfare agencies, however, and the leadership potential in that competency have not been placed at the disposal of all the communities that need them. This condition reflects a failure to recognize and to use the fact that defense, as it affects the needs of people, has made for sharp awareness throughout the land of two important causa-

tive factors, and, with respect to one of them, has resulted in corrective measures.

The usefulness of workers has been created by training and retraining in employable skills. This has been a coördinated, successful, though possibly not yet perfect, effort of many public and nonpublic instrumentalities. The Office of Education, vocational schools, the WPA, the NYA, and industry have accomplished this and will accomplish even more in the near future. As a corrective, this has great import to public welfare.

No less important is the care of remedial physical defects. In this field little has as yet been achieved, but built upon an increased understanding by the public is an opportunity for public assistance, with all the public and private resources which can be mustered. Sufficient evidence of this opportunity is visible in the action taken at the biennial assembly of the Council of State Governments last January. This action by the state legislators present revealed a weariness of doles providing bread and butter unaccompanied by efforts to put people into shape to take advantage of economic opportunities whenever or wherever they appeared. The action of the assembly was to include in its statement regarding relief a belief that correction of physical disabilities should be undertaken along with the training of untrained and potentially employable persons as a function of government as it deals with people in need. Since then, Selective Service, as well as shortages of man power in industry, has added its voice to argue the soundness of such measures. Social workers have known this all along, but the prospects of actually carrying out these correctives have never appeared so bright as now.

These prospects lend a modicum of encouragement to temper the worry about that future period, hoped for but dreaded, when the necessity for diverting so great a part of our social and economic strength into defense will have passed. We hope for peace, but we dread the renewal of unemployment and economic distress. We do not forget that government is the implement of today's economic activity. The recognition of a different kind of danger from that which now confronts us is essential to preparation for confronting and conquering it.

Defense, therefore, as it relates to the needs of people, has been varied and complex in its effect. It has been much more than a force for re-employment. It has modified the composition of the group in need. It has modified attitudes, understandings, and programs. It has raised the specter of what will follow. But it has not taught us to learn from the experience of others, for we have not yet put into effect the principle that the well-being of everyone in a self-governing nation is essential to a continuance of self-government. We do not yet understand that it is possible to be total without being totalitarian.

CASE WORK IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM

Geoffrey May

THE BREADTH AND INTENSITY of the defense program is something that we come to realize only gradually. In the beginning, defense seemed to be a military and industrial phenomenon related only remotely to the problems of social welfare. Some of the early force of defense activities did make its impress on the work of welfare agencies; but the real pressure of defense upon family and social relations is something which is only now becoming apparent. Until now the traditional patterns of social treatment have sufficed to meet the problems emerging from defense activities. But they may not suffice in a period of unlimited emergency. If we can anticipate what the defense effort will mean, we can devise methods of forestalling some of the social maladjustments that are inherent in it.

The broad social changes which began to intensify personal problems early in the defense program have taken three forms: First, nearly a million men have been transferred from normal civilian life to a new pattern of existence in the military forces, with far-reaching effects for them and for their families. Second, production of war materials has been intensified to meet the expanding needs of the defense program, with consequent movements of labor and disruption of established relationships. Third, the civilian economy must absorb the burden, through adjustments in production and consumption, of an army and navy which are economically not productive and of a defense machinery which creates no marketable value. To the average family, these changes are translated into the form of higher taxes and higher prices, with a net reduction in purchasing power, and necessary economic and social readjustments.

Defense officials have made a sincere effort to expand defense

production in such a way as to minimize the movements of population. They have foreseen, not only the personal problems inherent in such moves, but also the community problems that accompany a too rapid expansion of population. Facilities to accommodate new families rarely keep pace with the influx. Housing, health, education, and recreation are needs of the newcomers which tax the existing facilities to the point where the normal civic obligations of a community to its citizens cannot be carried out. Older residents, as well as new, suffer in consequence; the social disorganization of the boom town affects all alike. Even worse than this preliminary disorganization is the ultimate deflation which might follow the cessation of defense activities.

These problems are not the concern of the social worker only. They are the concern in the first instance of the social planner. The planners have sought to minimize the problems that are bound to arise by preliminary labor-market surveys in areas receiving defense contracts, in order to determine the availability of near-by labor reserves. They have encouraged subcontracting under defense contracts, so that smaller concerns geographically distributed can bring the benefits of defense production to all parts of the country. They have developed transportation facilities to encourage commuting within a wide radius, in order to obviate the need for new housing and new facilities. They have discouraged haphazard methods of recruiting labor and methods deliberately calculated to create a surplus of local workers.

In spite of these efforts to minimize the movements of the population resulting from defense activities and to bring about the necessary shifts in a rational and constructive way, a large-scale movement is taking place and evidently will continue. Defense officials admit frankly that defense contracts have gone largely to the established industries which were prepared by reason of their size, experience, and adequate financing to move rapidly into defense production. This has tended to concentrate defense activities in the older and more established industrial areas, has led to a centralization of population in communities which already were plagued with problems. Or the contrary may happen: these established concerns may create entirely new industrial establish-

ments, may transform farms into factory sites, creating community problems where no community facilities exist to meet them.

To the degree that defense operations affect the population in general, they only intensify the welfare problems that have long been with us. The problems to which the industrial situations give rise are likewise often the problems which the case worker has faced in the past, the age-old problems of migration and transiency. In the community from which the migration takes place the case worker makes his traditional effort to bring about a stabilization of economic and family relationships. First, the case worker collaborates with the employment service to secure the registration of all employable members of the family in the hope of discouraging migration except to definite employment. In the absence of employment because of inadequate training, the case worker can put members of the family into contact with the programs of the Office of Education, the National Youth Administration, the Work Projects Administration, the Office of Production Management, and other agencies working on behalf of vocational education. If a job is definitely offered in another community, the worker helps in securing transportation and advising the family about the impending trip or about their temporary separation from the job holder. So too is the case worker familiar from experience with the temporary problems of the family which is left behind and with the problems of the migrant member, which may be mitigated if the social agency in the new community is made aware of the situation in advance.

In the new community economic problems may face the migrant family, startling to them but long familiar to the social worker. The wages which are the inducement to the move may sound munificent back home, and may mean little in a boom town. In the new construction areas rents may seem fantastic. House rents frequently increase fivefold. Tents on the Missouri prairie may rent for \$16 a week. When workers receive fifty cents an hour or \$20 a week, the beds, like the factories, may have to work on three shifts. The excessive price of shelter must be compensated for in some way, either by sacrifice of other necessities or by submission to substandard housing conditions. The first

alternative may give rise to the need for supplementary relief. The second means the likelihood of delinquency and family discord born of the improper housing arrangements.

It is the children in the migrant families who feel most keenly the effects of overcrowding. They suffer, not only from inadequate housing, but also from the lack of recreational facilities and even from exclusion from the schools. Many defense communities, in a misguided effort to protect the children of their long-time residents, have imposed tuition requirements on the children of newcomers. In view of the economic situation in most of these families, a tuition requirement constitutes legalized truancy. The danger of demoralization in such cases is particularly acute in boom-town surroundings.

Young girls, too, are in need of special attention, particularly when they have migrated to defense communities away from their homes and families. There they find large concentrations of men in military service or in defense employment, with little opportunity for expression in their accustomed social relationships. Commercial interests may see the opportunity to capitalize on this numerical disparity between the sexes. Such girls need not only a protective service to prevent them from being drawn into delinquency and prostitution, but also the normal outlets of wholesome recreation for the legitimate expression of their social impulses.

In these situations, where its preventive activities have not sufficed, the Government is trying to afford some remedy. The Coordinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities has established a Division of Recreation, whose staff is making clear the needs for adequate facilities in defense areas and is stimulating such communities to meet the situation. To the degree that a recognition of the problem and a concerted effort and leadership are sufficient, the work of this new Division of Recreation is proving highly successful.

The Coördinator has also established a Division of Social Protection. The Federal workers will help to make the problems of delinquency known to the local law-enforcement officers in defense areas, particularly as they affect the health and morals of

the armed forces. More constructively, an effort is being made to help the communities assume their responsibility in relation to the women and girls who are involved, to the end that they may contribute to the more affirmative aspects of the defense program.

In many communities, however, advice and stimulation from Federal authorities do not suffice. What these areas need is money. In order to provide a normal life for their new members, defense communities must have schools, must have proper hospital, medical, and sanitary facilities, and must have reasonable outlets for recreation. In rapidly expanding areas these involve capital outlay. To help in the meeting of these needs, a bill is now pending in Congress which would authorize the expenditure of \$150,000,000 of Federal funds in providing community facilities in defense areas. This appropriation would not be used within military reservations themselves; it would be used in the communities surrounding cantonments and industrial developments in an effort to strengthen the defense activities of the civilian population.

Facilities alone will not be enough, if they are confined to buildings and services. Some provision is necessary for the cash assistance of persons who find themselves stranded in defense areas. In many states there is no general relief program. In many others, relief is not available to persons who do not have legal settlement in the community. In order to provide the mobility of labor that is essential to the defense effort, migration is inevitable. Migrants have personal needs. Some economic protection should be given to them so that they will not hesitate to seek or accept defense employment in strange communities and by their hesitation handicap our industrial expansion.

Some people have thought that a program of Federal aid for transients would provide the answer to this pressing problem. After months of investigation on a nationwide basis, the Tolan Committee of the House of Representatives came to the conclusion that a program of transient aid was not the answer. The answer, in the opinion of the committee and of thinking social workers in general, is a general relief program under the Social

Security Board, providing grants-in-aid to the states for all persons who are not covered under the present three public assistance titles. In order to meet the special needs of migrant workers, the Federal legislation could and should provide that the grant would be available to the states only on condition that no onerous residence requirements are imposed.

The methods of the social worker in relation to all these problems of the defense program are the familiar techniques of case work. The initial causes may differ, but the method of treatment is the same. They are written down in the books, whether the book is entitled *Social Diagnosis* and published twenty-five years ago, or is entitled *Social Case Work in National Defense*, published twenty-five days ago. It is much more important to discuss the situations that are not to be found in the books and which are going to occupy an increasing amount of time and effort of case workers in the months to come.

We have already had one small evidence of the type of activity that may expand in the near future. Draft boards have been asking social agencies to investigate the statements about dependency which registrants have made in connection with deferment under the Selective Service and Training Act. When the Selective Service Committee accepted the recommendation that social agencies should be utilized by local draft boards in such determinations, many of us considered that a long forward step had been taken. No longer were draft boards to rely solely on their personal information or community gossip. The resources already available in welfare agencies were to be utilized, both the records and the trained personnel. Here was a new opportunity for social agencies and social workers. To be sure, it involved only a determination of fact, not treatment, but important family and social relations depended upon these factual findings. The new relationship involved contacts with a cross section of the people of the community, not merely of an underprivileged group, out of which might grow a better public understanding of social work.

The results have been thoroughly disappointing. The Selective Service System has reports from local draft boards in fifteen states.

The number of cases investigated by local public welfare agencies in these states ranges from three to 463. On the basis of the total number of registrants who were classified by these draft boards, the percentage of classifications which were investigated by public welfare agencies ranged from a high of 1.4 percent to a low of .03 percent.

It may be possible that some of these communities employed social workers to determine the facts concerning dependency, even though the local public welfare agency was not being used officially. In other cases the local draft boards are either ignorant of the services that are available to them, are prejudiced against the use of social workers, or have found the service wanting when they have requested it. To be sure, it may be difficult for social agencies to undertake this new type of activity in view of the restricted funds available to them for administration. But it is a loss of real opportunity, both to the draft boards and to the social work profession, if trained case workers do not participate in this important aspect of our national defense. The Federal Government has made the opportunity possible; its development lies with the local agencies and the local workers.

If the defense emergency develops further in the direction it has taken so far, a much larger burden may suddenly be thrust upon the social work machinery in every locality—a larger burden and a greater opportunity. This too involves the question of dependency as related to military mobilization. If deferments for dependency become less frequent, what provision will be made for the families of men taken into the active service? During the last war there was a system of allotments and allowances, whereby soldiers and sailors made certain compulsory payments to members of their family out of their pay, which were supplemented by Federal allowances. In case of a more complete mobilization of the man power of the country, such a system would doubtless be established again, even as it exists in the countries which are now at war. In fact, adequate care of the families at home is essential to the morale of the men in camps.

This is not one of the traditional problems of social work, to be met by traditional techniques. The families of these men are

not a submarginal group; they constitute the warp of our whole economic and social fabric. Their needs cannot be met by relief on the standards that are associated with relief. A subjective determination by a social worker on the basis of local attitudes and local finance would never be acceptable to the general public. This is a national problem and must be met on a uniform, national basis.

A system of allowances to fit our present-day concepts would have to maintain the family as nearly as possible on its normal standard, as a means of preserving, not only morale, but our aggregate national purchasing power. This could be done in part by a basic flat allowance to wives and children of men taken into the service, regardless of their need. This would constitute a sort of adjusted pay for the soldier himself, which would be increased according to the number of persons normally dependent upon him.

No system of flat allowances would suffice to meet the exceptional cases. Allowances could not be granted to all persons who might, in individual instances, be dependent on a soldier; and in an appreciable minority of the families the amount of the flat allowance would not be sufficient to meet the individual problems of dependency. As in England and Canada, such allowances would have to be supplemented, then, to restore such dependents to their accustomed economic level. The easiest way of doing this is to determine how much support the dependent has lost through the fact that the wage earner has been taken into military service. The Government would then give an amount as near to this as is feasible.

Such a system of supplementary allowances would require individual determinations. Hopefully, such determinations would be made by social workers, experienced in making family determinations. But the methods to be employed by social workers would be vastly different from the methods normally employed in determining eligibility and amount of relief. If the system were to be adequately administered in harmony with the great weight of public opinion, social workers would have to adopt and perfect new methods of determining the amount of grant. The system

would not depend upon budget deficiency, supplementing the family's existing income up to a subsistence level. The size of the grant would depend upon the dependent person's accustomed standard, up to some maximum. The Government would provide the dependent with the support which he was wont to receive from the man now in service.

If this proposal is enacted into law, the question whether such a system of allowances can be administered effectively depends largely on the adaptability of our case work processes. We hope that they may prove resilient enough. If they do not, one of two things would happen: either the system would fail, causing widespread suffering, and seriously impeding our national morale and national defense; or methods would be devised to use some other group for administering it, which would build up a duplicate investigational machinery. Either alternative would be a serious blow to the profession of social work.

There will be a final test of social work and social workers if the defense machinery ever comes to its ultimate trial—if the "unlimited national emergency" becomes really unlimited. Modern warfare requires many new social services, unknown as yet in this country. They were unknown everywhere two years ago. The British did not anticipate the situations that have since arisen. They expected human casualties; they were prepared to meet the medical needs growing out of enemy action—were, in fact, overprepared. Great Britain was by no means ready to handle the social problems which arose simultaneously. The vast destruction of property was not foreseen. When half the population of a city is rendered homeless in a single night, the necessary administrative machinery must have been made ready long in advance—on a local, regional, and national basis—if enormous personal suffering is not to arise. The welfare machinery now available in this country is certainly not adequate to withstand such an impact.

As the program of civilian defense develops, many innovations will have to be established. Preparations will have to be made for sheltering enormous numbers of persons. Those who are unable to face the potentialities of serious wartime conditions will

have to be moved to areas remote from such potentialities. Schemes will have to be developed for the evacuation of large numbers of children, and of aged and infirm persons, from areas that may become targets for enemy attack. Those who remain behind will have to guard against the contingency that they themselves may become homeless. Bombproof shelters will have to be constructed and diverse types of service established in them. Rest centers will have to be provided and staffed to afford temporary shelter and food to those who suddenly find themselves without homes. Community feeding centers will have to be considered on a basis quite different from the traditional soup kitchen, not only because of the numbers of persons that may be involved, but also because the productive capacity and morale of the community will depend upon the care that is given.

These preparations for care in situations of extreme emergency involve all the most delicate family and social relationships. The initial lack of planning in the evacuation program in Great Britain constituted a costly and unsuccessful experiment from which we in America can profit. Many people ascribe this initial British failure to the ill-conceived staff that made the billeting arrangements for the *évacués*: the housing officials rather than the welfare officials were given the responsibility of finding them homes. It took well over a year until this mistake was recognized and the Shakespeare Committee recommended to the Minister of Health that social workers should participate extensively in the evacuation program.

As it was with evacuation, so it was also with air-raid shelters. The inhuman conditions that obtained in the London shelters when the "blitz" began last autumn gained world-wide notoriety. It took months before administrative changes were made and more months until the changes were translated into physical and social improvements. Conditions were not so bad in the few boroughs which could afford and understand the need of a director of shelters who was trained in social service. Where no trained staff was available, the Society of Friends helped greatly with intelligent volunteers. But an autumn and winter of suffering had

passed before people in general began to discuss the need for "welfare wardens."

America may feel relatively smug in contemplating the social services which wartime extremities may demand. We have a large body of trained social workers, which England lacked. The professional aspects of group work and case work are far more advanced here. But a profession does not function in a vacuum. The British had a machine ready built, but they were without the personnel properly trained to man it. We Americans haven't the machine to operate. Our principal social services are, in general, a quarter of a century behind the British.

The most important wartime social services are the programs of cash assistance. Not only have the British strengthened their long-range peacetime programs for the aged and the unemployed, but they have established three new and essential types of cash aid for wartime victims. The first of these extends to any person suffering from enemy action the same right to assistance that was formerly enjoyed by the unemployed person who had exhausted his unemployment insurance benefits. The second type of cash aid is an injury benefit, to which any adult is now eligible if he is suffering from enemy action. Third, persons in the lower and lower-middle income brackets may obtain cash compensation for their loss of personal property—clothing, furniture, workman's tools, shopkeeper's stock in trade.

These three programs are administered by the Assistance Board, a central Government agency. For years this same Assistance Board fought a vigorous battle against trained social workers; it has practically no trained workers, in the American sense, among its staff of 15,000. But these workers, untrained except by practical experience, have aroused the admiration of the country. They get to bombed towns when dawn is breaking after a "blitz." They improvise places to work, if their own offices are bombed out, and often operate with identifying arm bands in the debris-strewn streets. With the minimum of questioning, they hand out of their pockets substantial grants, averaging from eight to ten pounds per case. It may not be refined case work, but homeless people aren't sustained by case work. The rough-and-ready "tech-

niques" have been a potent factor in sustaining morale in many a "blitzed" area.

This praise for an untrained group is not a condemnation of training. Well-qualified case workers could probably do the job better. The important thing is that these untrained people were there to do the job when the job had to be done. There was a nationwide organization, with recognized procedures, ready to adapt itself to new tasks. We have no nationwide organization to administer general public aid. Our state welfare departments, working locally with Federal grants, are uneven in standards and in quality of performance. They are unaccustomed to dealing, in most states, with general relief. They would be unable to deal with a national problem on a national basis.

If the social worker is going to be able to meet the emergency when it comes, the first necessity is some constructive social planning. Social planning is easier when we remove the blinkers that confine our outlook to our traditional daily tasks. The objective is to integrate our professional views with our social and political expectations.

THE PROBLEMS OF OLDER CHILDREN IN PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT

James S. Plant

PERHAPS OUR MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION is as to how many of the personality problems of older children are to all intents and purposes new, as opposed to how many are essentially restatements of the problems of earlier years. The answer will not simplify the matter of coping with these various problems, but we will at least know where to attack them. There are eleven problems with which we have to deal, and I shall try to shape their definitions in terms of the point at which we must make our attack.

There are at least four new problems for older children growing out of the changes which are going on in our total cultural pattern.

It is not necessary to recount the amazing shift that there has been in the functions of the family. Over the last two generations the cooking, the sewing, the rearing of the children, etc., have been rapidly taken over by other parts of the social structure. The effect of this upon the family has been widely discussed. However, little has been written as to what this shift means to the whole knotty problem of the relationship of love and dependence. Matters are so fixed that love and dependence are inextricably interwoven in our babyhood. Nor, I suppose, is there any more difficult problem in life than that as we grow up to become older children we still need and want to hold on to a love of our parents at the time when we just as strongly need to renounce our dependence. As long as the family retained its functions, dependence certainly served as a marked reinforcement of the security or love tie. It is easy to feel that we love those who depend upon us. Moreover, as long as the family re-

tained its functions, it was easy for older children to look ahead to a not-too-far-off day when there would be a new love or security tie adequately buttressed by a strong dependency tie. It is well enough to point out that a pattern in which these two strong drives are clearly separated is a more honest and forthright pattern than that of one's earlier years. But it is not so easy for the older child to separate the two. That is, we might view with real satisfaction a world that is at last beginning to realize that the way to a man's heart is not through his stomach. But what is the way to a man's heart? If we suddenly set up barriers across these ancient, well-worn paths, how many keen-eyed venturers can find new trails? Cynically, we can point out that much that was thought to be love was only dependence. But if that sufficed for many millions, what is gained if it is merely grabbed away?

The whole question of relationship with the other sex, of marriage and family, is confused for older children because as dependence is being so rapidly taken out of family life they feel that the love tie is being cut away too, instead of realizing that it is left free to become stronger in its own right. We have a real obligation to clarify this point for the older children with whom we work.

The second present-day problem perhaps will turn out to be no problem at all. It has to be listed because up until recently it has bulked large in any discussion of young people in America. The statement is made that our young people have relatively little sense of responsibility. Since we were rapidly withdrawing any opportunities to express responsibility, such a result is not to be wondered at. If now, suddenly, in hurried anxiety we are turning to these older children for help, we must wait for the answer. However, it must be said, partly because it is important and partly because it has not been spoken of, that the development of a sense of responsibility depends to a great degree upon experiences in cause and effect. Much has been written about the "shortening of the arc of experience." That is, specialization of function has meant that each person has a relatively shortened view or contact with any sequence of production. Each thing that the child touches or experiences comes from nowhere, goes no-

where. The corollary of it, that the child has an entirely different set of experiences in cause and effect than we had in our childhood, is something that we think of less often. One guesses that in the future there will be developed new "arcs of experience"; that is, that our problem is one of adjusting to rapidity of change rather than to change itself. However, whether that be true or not, we would expect that the older children of today would have a decreased sense of their responsibility because we have increasingly regimented their lives and refused to give them responsibility, and because we have rapidly decreased such earlier experiences in cause and effect as would seem necessary for the establishment of a sense of responsibility.

A third problem of the present day comes out of man's embarkations on what has perhaps been his greatest venture. This we might call the democratization of the value-fixing function. We have a wide literature on the crumbling of our institutional structure but very little on the obverse of this picture, the individual's assumption of the determination of his own values. Up until fairly recently we have had our values fixed for us. If we went to school, got a job, married, supported the children, were supported by them, and died—all without serious transgression of the law—that was enough. But as man earlier asserted his control over the form of his government, so now he seeks to democratize the values upon which those forms were built. Removed from our daily task, we see this as a thrilling adventure, challenging the full spiritual stature of man, regardless of whether it ends in brilliant triumph or dismal failure. When we are actually on the job with these children we know that the process is full of confusion for them. What is it all about? What is worth while? Why do this or that (or indeed what of this or that to do)?—all these questions were answered for us in earlier days; for many of us they were answered in our own childhood. Growth is rarely pleasant. It strains at seams sewn with patient care; its better integrations crumple cherished toys; it asks every sort of embarrassing question. So perhaps for many generations there will be this at-sea-ness in the group under discussion.

Our own part is, in general, twofold. We must see the problem

for what it is. We must realize that a great deal of the present confusion as to values is a part of this process of democratization. Beyond this we have a responsibility to point out, not only to our clients, but to the family and school which have had them many years before they come to us, that each of us has to operate on the basis of a frame of reference, a core of values, an hypothesis, a faith—it makes very little difference what we call it. What that frame of reference should be for each person becomes, each year, less and less our responsibility; that each person recognize that he must have some frame of reference becomes, each year, more and more our responsibility.

✓ The fourth specific problem of our own times is mechanical in its origin. This is the rapid growth of forms of energy which are centrifugal in their sociological implications. Steam, we could term "centripetal." It cannot be transported economically. Electric and chemical forms of energy can be transported cheaply, and their sudden growth while we were still struggling with the problems brought us by the age of steam has meant a host of new difficulties. What, for instance, of electricity in the home, which means that each family member retires to his room to enjoy the radio, do his homework, or read, etc.? Foster home workers raise their eyebrows a bit if each child cannot have this privacy, but I wonder whether we were in any way ready for it. A large and increasing number of our older children have been growing up through many years of family life in which there has been family congregation for little more than at meals. If these centrifugal forces were by any chance simply to unwind the tangles of the problems of the centripetal pull of steam, that would be easy. My guess is that the problems become more difficult, partly because we go down the mountain on the other side and partly because we are beginning to do this when so many are just beginning to adjust themselves to the problems and methods of going up the mountain.

These then, in brief, are the four major problems of personality formation that are essentially problems of present generations. We turn now to seven problems which older children have probably always had. Four in this group are seemingly reformula-

tions of problems which younger children have, and three of them are problems which seem to appear for the first time at the onset of adolescence. These seven problems could have been discussed a century ago in quite the same way that they will be now.

There is perhaps no place in the development of the personality where the problem of ambivalence shows with more clarity than it does in the older child. His need to throw to the wind all that the adult world is and means; his need to build on the foundations of his life, to recognize their deep dependence upon adults—these two opposing drives struggle fiercely. His need, on the one hand, to cast aside the security, the belongingness that means dependence; his need, on the other hand, to build in marriage a new security and belongingness—these two drives, epitomized in relationship to adults, equally struggle.

Ambivalence is, of course, no new problem. This same older child struggled with it in his infancy. Now it is acute partly because it has far more serious social implications than it had in his earlier years and partly because the maturity of the older child means that he has to do something about it. We often forget, in our work with younger children, that they are pretty thoroughly conditioned to having somebody else "do something about it." This is not true of all younger children, and they can be desperately confused and unhappy over all sorts of situations. Yet to a large degree the element of responsibility is lacking in the younger child; he somehow knows that somebody else will do something about him, whether he likes it or not. For the older child there is not only this acute problem of ambivalence, but every fiber in him tells him that he is the one who must "do something about it." Perhaps there is no other age level for which the social worker must use a lighter touch, no other time when she needs so much to give the client the realization that his is the solution and that his is the way to that solution.

Second is the problem of recognition. Each person desires what we call "recognition." This is true of babies, of those who are just beyond the first blush of youth, and of the aged. However, the problem of recognition for the older child has some entirely new connotations. The earlier recognition was sought

from individuals within the family and persons identified with those individuals; whereas for the older child this recognition must come from the group. The little child says, "She is my mother, therefore she knows better; she is older, therefore she knows better." The older child says, "She is my mother, therefore she doesn't understand; she is older, therefore she doesn't know so well." Moreover, the older child adjusts his thinking, his dress, his goals to what "everybody is doing."

This sort of problem means that we must develop a group of workers who are essentially group workers but who are sensitized to the case work approach. We know little about the type of available person or the training that would be involved. I am convinced that we will never get very far in understanding the older child without this combined approach. We know a good deal about young children. It is here that we have made our best studies. Because of that we have pretty much mortgaged the rest of life to those early years. This may be a correct picture, but we should not be satisfied of that until an equally intensive study has been made of other components of the life stream. If we were to develop an equally intensive attack upon the period of the older child, we might find this later period just as determinative as the other. That is an extremely worth-while venture, but it cannot even be projected until we have developed such a corps of group workers as I have suggested.

The third problem in this area arises out of a shift in the basis of authority. The little child listens to people; the older child is no rebel, he just as slavishly follows a master, but he must do whatever he does because the group, the custom, the style demands it. Therefore we must direct our therapy to the group. Due to our allegiance to case work and our fear of group control we are going to find it difficult to admit that some European countries have developed techniques which, I am sure, are far better attuned to the needs of older children than is anything which we have developed. We can abhor and realize the danger of gangsterism, but at the same time we can recognize that these people have possibly understood group handling and the psychology of the older child far better than we have.

The fourth problem has to do with the relationship which any adult has with the older child. For the young child this is on the basis of leader-follower; with the adolescent it becomes a hand-in-hand relationship—"Let's find out." This slowly developing change is not easily recognized by parents or teachers, but perhaps for social workers and psychiatrists it is particularly difficult. This is because we think of ourselves as experts in living, experts in human relationships. It goes a bit against the grain that everyone is an expert in these matters. So if someone asks us how to budget, how to punish, how to keep from this or that delinquency, we can give the answer; but when someone asks, "Where is happiness?" "Where is recognition?" "What are the worth-while goals?" we can only say, "I wish I knew. Let's find out." There is no one moment as, for instance, the twelfth birthday, at which the relationship changes. There is something of each at the age of three, and something of each at twenty-three. Two serious problems arise from our failure to adjust ourselves to this hand-in-hand relationship. First, a great deal of the so-called adolescent rebellion is necessitated by this. This truculent antagonism to all adult admonition and direction represents the child's only method of coping with adult attempt at leadership. Second, for those in the field of social work or psychiatry who cannot afford to meet the child on the level of, "I wish I knew. Let's find out," there is the inviting retreat to a discussion of those hidden and complicated mechanisms which are beyond the patient's easy understanding. It is no denial of the great contributions which the psychoanalytic approach has made to say that often its devious interpretations and explanations do no more than serve to maintain the leader-follower relationship, to protect the social worker or psychiatrist from the embarrassment of, "I wish I knew. Let's find out."

There are three further problems of the older child concerning which we know very little. Perhaps it is precisely this ignorance that allows us to feel that they are relatively new for this period, that they are not just restatements of earlier problems.

The first is the problem of our adjustment to what may be called our various personalities. That I am one person at one

time and quite a different person at another; that sometimes one of me can be surprised or angered by what another "me" does; that so often even the language of one subpersonality is quite foreign to that of another "me"; these things are part of everyday experience. But these various "I's" are not just partial personalities; they are better thought of as subcultures. That is, if I am a father, a husband, a son, a machinist, a citizen, a Catholic, etc., we miss the entire point until we recognize that each of these subpersonalities is a member-role with all sorts of social determinants and obligations. If then one sees himself as a sort of glorified Ballantine's beer sign with these various subcultures overlapping, he must recognize that the total of each circle reaches out to the very limits of historical and present-day social pressures.

Concerning this important matter there is now the beginning of a literature. The sociologists are giving more help here than are the psychiatrists. Just when the problem begins we don't know. The very young child speaks of his being "a good boy" and a "bad boy," and the good boy announces that it was that different, other, bad boy who got into such and such trouble. However, this is less a matter of separate subpersonalities than a resourceful trick for escaping punishment. Even if the problem begins to show itself at ten or eleven years of age, it may still be said to be primarily a problem of the adolescent years. What one does about these various subcultures to which he so vividly belongs is probably fairly well decided before the middle twenties. By that time, apparently, one has settled upon some sort of pattern of relationship. This pattern may be that of an unquestioned dominance of one subculture (or subpersonality)—the fanatic. Or the pattern may be that of allowing no subpersonality to be dominant over the others—the inconsistent, the person whose decisions and acts are never bound by anything that he has done or said before. Or there may be any pattern between these.

This whole problem has often been termed that of the integration of the personality, but that is an inadequate term. It would be better to speak of the problem as that of "what one does about being a whole lot of different people." Much research in this area

is needed. For the present we can only point out to these older children that here must be one of their major preoccupations.

The second problem is that of a search for a loyalty. This could possibly be thought of as only a sublimation of the earlier dependence upon the parents. Yet in dealing practically with older adolescents the loyalty seems to have lost its personal and identification factors. This loyalty is now abstracted from personal implications; that is, it is loyalty to beauty or power or this aim or that movement. Our whole case work approach, along with our fear that any sort of faith was only a return to the security of the child-parent relationship, has blinded us to the loyalty needs of this group. Without making a plea for the reviving of any particular loyalty, I have no hesitancy in saying that older children are extremely idealistic and that if we cannot offer them something to which they can pledge full loyalty, they will (after a period of confusion) construct it for themselves, possibly much to our dismay. May I repeat that this appears to be loyalty to an abstraction, that it is not to you or to me or to George Washington, except as it is loyalty to some person because he stands for something or other.

Finally, there is the problem of the sex drives of this period. Of course, for the older child there is nothing that is particularly new about sex, but with practically all children the sexual drive and interests are what we might call of secondary importance up to the full development of the middle teens. In the earlier years sexy stories attract attention; questions as to the origin of babies disturb many parents; masturbation or the discussion of the sex relationship are symbols of growing up. In other words, in the child's earlier years sex is a dramatic and telling tool for accomplishing certain ends. There are occasional exceptions, in the sense of the child's being preoccupied with sex as a primary urge, nor would one ever deny that from earliest infancy the genital region is the one most richly supplied with sensory nerves. However, in our actual dealings with the younger group, sexual interests and queries are almost entirely secondary, in the sense that they are used successfully and dramatically to implement other drives.

With the advent of adolescence, however, sex as a physical phenomenon has a place by its own right and presses its claim for recognition on the basis of its own fulfillment. Those who have worked much with younger children tend to meet the issue by an ever increasing number of substitute ways of attaining success or recognition or whatnot. In this we are abetted by the fact that a great percentage of older children have developed from their earlier concept of sex as a language, the notion that they need not turn to a primary satisfaction of the sexual urge if they can satisfy these needs in more socially acceptable ways. On this we must build through the whole period the widest possible array of socially acceptable means of attaining adequacy, recognition, chance for response, etc. I see no other way of handling an extremely difficult problem. Once the child has turned, in late adolescence, to actual physical sex expression as a means of answering his or her social or personality needs, I do not believe that there is anything to offer as an adequate substitute. From the point of view of therapy the problem is again absolutely different from what it is for the earlier years.

I realize that I have stated problems much more than answers. However, it is only if we see the problems in some clarity and in some relationship to children and the culture in which they live that we can build any sort of workable frame of reference within which to build our various answers.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF GROUP EXPERIENCE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF OLDER CHILDREN

Grace L. Coyle

THE AIM OF THIS DISCUSSION is to make what contribution it can to the understanding of the normal growth and development of older children in the period between ten and eighteen. While as social workers we often deal with those who deviate from the normal in some way, our treatment of them must rest upon some conception of the norms to which we hope to return them and also upon some understanding of the usual aids to growth relied upon by the better adjusted members of the community. It is my contention that participation at this age in face-to-face, closely knit groups is so common in our society as to be in itself an aspect of normal development and that by such experience, spontaneously sought and created, children seek and often find the means for development which they need.

If one observes children in this period as an anthropologist might, one of the outstanding facts about their behavior is that they run in groups. Spontaneous informal groupings of gangs, cliques, crowds, swarm on every corner or vacant lot. They are great joiners of adult-sponsored organizations. They flock to settlement clubs, to high school organizations, to church groups. They drift down Main Street after school in shoals, like fish. They organize with sweaters, passwords, and initiations. Never before or after this period does a group of one's contemporaries have the significance in personal satisfactions and influence which seems to characterize the group life of older children.

The large, rather loosely organized open groups often sponsored by adults will gain a certain following. Special interest groups of various kinds will flourish under adult guidance. The beginnings of personal friendships with one or two congenial

spirits occur often in this age period and develop, in some cases, much of the stability and intimacy which will characterize adult relationships at their best. One of the most common and apparently one of the most significant relationships for children of this age is that with a closely knit group of from four to twelve friends. In some cases these become antisocial gangs; in others, exclusive crowds of the socially elite. In any case, they are characterized by a close bond of intimacy, a sense of belonging, a security which arises from acceptance, and a loyalty to the group as such. Such closely knit stable groups do not occur frequently with younger children, and they seem to break up, in many cases, toward the end of adolescence. They have their day with most children during early and middle adolescence. Their psychological and sociological significance is, I believe, only partially understood, and their use for educational purposes is only partially developed.

Much of the group life of older children goes on without the purview or control of adults. This, I believe, is inevitable and for the most part wholesome. Some of it is, and probably should be to a larger extent, affected by adult influence, through the provision of play facilities and the addition of adult leaders. In such cases the function of such adults presumably is to use this experience in such a way as to promote growth more fully or in more desirable directions than would be possible without them. This—the educational use of such group experience—is, as I conceive it, one of the aspects of group work. However, before we can see how adults can function helpfully in such groups we need to ask ourselves what lies behind this spontaneous and powerful drawing together of adolescents. The child is here creating his own world. Before we can enter it wisely we must try to understand its meaning for him.

I have selected four areas of need which are served by such experience and which can be more fruitfully served if we know how to take advantage of the opportunities offered us: the need to develop mutuality; the need to come to terms with authority; the need to re-evaluate values; and the need to relate oneself to larger wholes.

Perhaps the most basic need of human nature is the need to

be loved and to love. I have put it in that order because that is the order in which a child normally experiences it. We know that unless he has some experience with affection in his earlier years he is often too frustrated to develop real capacity for affection later. At best, however, his first reactions are ego-centered. He takes rather than gives, or gives only in order to win more. However, he will attain satisfactory mature experience only if he, in turn, is able to give as well as take with his equals and to give more than he takes to his children in turn. How is this capacity for mutuality in affection to be developed? His relation to his parents alone can never afford him the opportunity for such development. For one thing, he begins life as the recipient, and while this pattern is modified somewhat as he develops capacity, it tends to remain an unbalanced relation. He has his parents' affection, not primarily by virtue of his own accomplishments, but fortuitously, by being born to them. Moreover, the exchange between them is necessarily not actually in the same coin, and inherently can never be. (We see attempts to make it so, for example, in the son of the widowed mother who takes his father's place, but we recognize this as unwholesome.) During adolescence the child must be weaned emotionally from dependence on his parents if within the next ten or fifteen years he is to be capable of establishing his own home. Moreover, he should move toward mutuality, that is, toward affectional relationships involving both giving and receiving.

It is out of these needs that the closely knit groups of early adolescence arise. They provide the physical security of mutual assistance and support needed outside the shelter of the home, on the street and playground. More than that, however, they act as a kind of substitute family, in which membership means at least tolerance and protection and at best, appreciation and affection. This group experience often seems to serve as a vestibule running from the parental family to the new family he will eventually establish. One of its major contributions moreover, to the growing child is that his acceptance must be won by his contribution to the others. If he makes none he is cast out into a hostile and cruel isolation or thrown back into his less mature

dependence on his family. Acceptance on an equal footing, however, is achievable because in groups of the same age and kind an exchange of services is feasible. One child's collection of bottle tops or his ability to throw baskets is a recognizable coin wanted by others whose Indian arrowheads or whose speed on the field he too requires. True mutuality is learned first between those who have equivalent and complementary contributions to make to each other. As his capacity for affection grows with his maturing body and mind, he finds himself in a position with his contemporaries to experience both giving and taking.

It is interesting that such groups are spontaneously those of the same sex during this period. This holds over into the late teens long after physical puberty has developed. Of course, actual sex experience with the opposite sex occurs in some instances during these years, but it seems to be true that even among children where that is not uncommon the hold of separate boys' and girls' groups over their members will continue to be one of vital significance. It is impossible to tell how much social taboos, on the one hand, and social acceptance, on the other, are responsible for this. It is conceivable, however, that in a society which delays marriage ten to fifteen years after it becomes physically possible and which attempts to rest its family life on mutual affection and mutually shared responsibility, this long period of group life with one's own sex has a certain function, namely, that of providing a diffused, controlled, and acceptable development of affection and that of establishing the experience of mutuality on a simpler basis first in order to get it well rooted before it is attempted on the more complex level with the opposite sex. It is noticeable that such one-sex groups of intimates are often the means by which they make their first approach to the opposite sex and that the groups often break up when dating becomes prevalent. Among those who are not successful in achieving the heterosexual level, such groups sometimes continue in full strength into the twenties or even the forties. In many cases they hang on after marriage with occasional meetings which develop the nostalgic atmosphere of alumni gatherings. Where they serve their purpose best they seem to play some part in the weaning from

the parental family, the development of a slightly more mature type of affection, and some preparation for the next step on the road to the real mutuality of adult life.

A second need which one can see working itself out in these groups is the need to come to terms with authority. This is the period when the child's response to adult authority begins to shift from the acquiescence enforced on the young child to rebellion, occasional or continuous. If the child is to attain self-direction by the end of the second decade he must get started on it by beginning to assert himself.

It is essential at this point to make a distinction between domination and authority. Domination by a more powerful person or group will get submission but never consent. Real authority rests ultimately on the willing renunciation of certain personal advantages in the interest of common concerns that require collective action. The child is subject at first to domination, necessary for his own safety and eventual growth; but where such domination is exerted with affection he soon senses the common concern present for him as well as for the parent. In normal growth the way is thus prepared for the acceptance of authority. Moreover, unless the child experiences this combination of power with affection, he is likely not to be able to exercise it in turn.

As one observes the group life of children in this period one is struck by its turbulence and chaos, expressive of marked aggression as compared, for example, with what the same group will be like at twenty. This anarchy has certain common characteristics. It is not uncommon to have the first election result in every member's voting for himself, thus indicating both his own self-centeredness and his unwillingness to trust any contemporary with power over him. Regimes of officers often have to be short, and many governments are overthrown by the violent revolt of the subjects. Rules of great severity are often established but are seldom kept or are set up as punitive measures against certain unpopular members who it is known will infringe them. It is sometimes noticeable that boys who are having difficulty with their fathers will use a club president or, at times, a club leader as a substitute whom they can with impunity override and over-

throw. One of the favorite sports of many clubs, in social agencies as in school, is to dare the authorities to control them. Their own indigenous leaders are often first-class dictators who rule by physical dominance more than by common consent. All this may be regarded as usual, if not normal, behavior.

By the end of the adolescence, however, these same groups will have developed fairly well-kept constitutions, officers who control meetings with moderate degrees of order, curbs on dictatorships, rotation of office, responsible members who fulfill committee assignments, in short, self-government. Somewhere in the process authority becomes self-imposed, and one of the lessons of maturity is learned.

The steps by which this comes about in such groups are not clear, but it would seem that one of the essentials is the opportunity to experiment with chaos and learn its defects. Another is sufficient common interest in something they want to do together and enough mutual need to bring pressure for setting up controls and their imposition on the recalcitrant. Slowly the lessons of restraint are learned. Dictatorship sometimes continues, but more often the rising independence of other members acts to set curbs on pure domination. I believe too that rotation of office, which is characteristic of organized clubs as distinguished from gangs, plays an important part here. Adherence to a gang leader is personal, based on fealty and response; control by an elected club president is less personal and involves an acceptance of authority as such; a step in understanding that is essential to growth. It is significant that delinquent and criminal gangs seem to be based more largely on the personal fealty and fear-governed domination characteristic of younger children's groups. Organized governments with rotating officials make concrete the presence of authority as such, as a group achievement, not a personal perquisite. The experience of this type of authority is closely related to acceptance of the authority of the law and of democratic government. Where this lesson is learned out of the actual reduction of their own unruly impulses by the pressure of collective need and desire, children have wrought into their experience the meaning of authority and its acceptance.

A closely related need of this period is that growing out of the re-evaluation of accepted values. The wider contacts of older children which bring them into touch with the conflicting mores of other families or other nationalities and the urge to independence rising at one point after another result in what one of our eminent European sociologists has called "the need for radical evaluation." This is the period when not only the authority of parents or of other adults is challenged, but when the values established in childhood must be rethought and re-accepted in forms suitable to a developing generation. Parents are criticized at every turn, rebellion flourishes in the family, new customs and costumes, strange and unaccountable to adult eyes, sweep the adolescent population.

These group relations with contemporaries play a major part in the re-evaluation process. It is in and by these groups that the old gods are cast out and the new deities made in whose image they will form themselves. All of us who have dealt with adolescents know the strength of these new totems and taboos. There is no more conventional group in our society—because no more insecure—but the conventions are in part their own and represent their fresh and often revolutionary evaluation of what is desirable in their world. They are, of course, not completely new; they overlap and they recombine the elements passed on by their elders, but it is in this period that the mores transformed by the evaluation of their contemporaries are repotted in the soil of the rising generation.

If you wish to see this in the act, you have only to watch one of these closely knit groups of friends. The mutual pressures for what is done or not done, the common ambitions that form aspiration and effort, the stigma and recrimination against those who break taboo, are continuous. There come times, however, when the process breaks through into conscious choice by discussion and the weighing of evidence. This occurs, I believe, in what are known in many groups as "good and welfare" or "truth" sessions. (The term "good and welfare" is curiously appropriate for this.) Again, this is a spontaneous phenomenon which is apparently widespread in middle adolescence and continues on in

college youth, at least into later adolescence. It does not occur with young children and seldom arises with adults. Sometimes one or two members of the group are selected for a "going over." The frank and free discussion, especially of defects, is often ruthless and thorough. The mores of the group are emphatically stated and enforced, and there seems little reason to doubt that such occasions are among the most effective instruments of social control in existence. Beside them, their mothers' nagging or their fathers' admonitions are impotent. These occasions seem at times to be opportunities for the sadistic tormenting of weak members; they seem at others to afford to the victims certain masochistic pleasures which are eagerly sought. However they may be explained psychologically, I believe their sociological significance is considerable. This is the one-cell form of social life in which our ethics are, in part, being formed by each new generation. Here what has been taught in home, school, church, or street is tested, accepted or rejected, rewoven by the children into the pattern they are engaged in creating. When the social ingredients are unwholesome the results will be the strong antisocial patterns so dominant in delinquent groups. In other environments the results are more desirable and often represent very high—sometimes too high—levels of ethical aspiration. The process is equally significant in both cases in its power over the participants.

There is one other need which may be met by these groups. As the personality develops from the complete self-centeredness of the infant toward maturity an important part of that development consists of the expansion of the self outward to take in larger areas of experience. This is often indicated by the consciousness of who is "we." The first step is the identification with the family as the child steps outside the family circle. If the child is eventually to take his place in adult society, he will need to develop that identification with the community, local and national, at least. This is inevitably a gradual process, like the growth of a tree by the pushing outward of concentric circles. Individuals seem to vary in their capacity for social identification, and certainly many who step beyond the family stop short at neighborhood, class, race, or nationality lines.

These spontaneous friendship groups characteristic of this age period often represent a step in wider identification. They go beyond the family. They require sacrifice and control for common ends. They teach the capacity to follow common interests, to share in mutual concerns. They widen the sense of "we" to a point. They have, however, certain dangers. If they remain entirely personal they may harden into exclusive loyalties and develop hostilities to those outside. They often crystallize racial or class distinctions. They may serve to retard broadening identifications which should prepare for voting and other responsibilities of the adult citizen.

One of the characteristics of many such groups of children is their search for the larger object of which to feel a part. It makes them peculiarly susceptible to idealistic and social appeals. It is no accident that practically every religious denomination inducts its youth into the church at this age. In this country the response to the social platforms, patriotic or otherwise, of adult-sponsored youth agencies indicates this same need. The tremendous response to the totalitarian youth movements is proof of this same potentiality. The combination of group experience with contemporaries with idealistic social ends calling for sacrifice and identification, even submergence of the self, is a powerful instrument. In the right hands it can be a great power for the common welfare. We shall neglect its use at our peril.

I have purposely omitted any attempt to suggest in detail how group experience can be turned by skilled leaders to its fullest use. That is another subject. I have tried merely to point out the significance for normal growth of this tendency in our society to form closely knit groups of contemporaries during early and middle adolescence. I am not suggesting that the results of this natural phenomenon are always desirable. In fact, when they are distorted by personal maladjustment or bad environmental conditions, they are often highly dangerous. I am merely indicating that I believe it to be a significant factor which deserves the consideration of all those interested in such children. We must learn to understand its meaning both psychologically and sociologically. Only then can we see its place in the coming of age of adolescents in America.

CASE WORK WITH ADOLESCENTS IN CONFLICT WITH AUTHORITY

Hyman Lippman

THE RESULTS of years of education in the field of social work are beginning to tell in the field of delinquency. There is an increasing awareness of the need to understand and treat the delinquent, which has displaced to some extent, at least, the need to punish. The struggle is not over by any means, as long as there remain a majority who cannot accept the humanitarian approach to this enormous problem.

The adolescent period is characterized by efforts at emancipation. Instinctual urges strongly assert themselves; aggression that has been fairly successfully held down during the latency period comes back with renewed force, in an attempt to establish the individual apart from his family upon whom he has been dependent. The degree to which the adolescent will react with aggression will depend on constitutional factors, and on whether or not his aggression had been blocked when it tried to find expression during his developmental period. The way in which his parents, or any adults, have dealt with his aggression will also determine whether he will be able to indulge in competitive sports and have the courage to assert himself, or whether he will be timid or cowardly. There are large numbers of adolescents, with excellent physiques and endowed with native aggression, who have been so suppressed and intimidated in early life that they are denied the normal, healthy outlets for their pent-up aggression.

Delinquency is frequently the result when this aggression is mixed with hostility. The adolescent with a greater freedom from supervision finds many opportunities, formerly denied him, for expressing his hostile aggression and creating problems. The more privileged families make good any destruction of property or in-

juries inflicted by their aggressive adolescent, and the aggression is accepted as an evidence of exuberant youth. Provisions are made for sending him to a boarding school, if this is indicated, where a trained faculty patiently helps him to accept authority. The underprivileged delinquent adolescent does not have these advantages and may find himself in a police court or on probation. The treatment of the privileged boy is the correct one, and results in a minimum of resentment and need to retaliate. Eventually, case work will provide similar solutions to the aggression of the underprivileged adolescent. By doing so, it will recognize a major social need not being met at present in the children of the families we see in our social agencies.

Discussion of the factors in the home life, the general environment, or the culture that breed delinquency is not within the scope of this article. Clinical experience has demonstrated that, as a result of these unfortunate factors, the children of the underprivileged suffer in such a way that their aggression is never allowed to lie dormant. Because they are rejected and neglected, brought up by harsh and frequently delinquent parents, their feelings of resentment and hate are stirred up, and they become imbued with a rejection of society and its standards. It is this need to express aggression, to get even, that has to be bridled if we are to lessen delinquency.

All the skills known to case work are needed to deal adequately with this double problem of adolescence and aggression. The most effective way in which a case worker can deal with a delinquent is through a feeling relationship. One must wholly accept the principle that the delinquent is behaving in the correct manner for him, and in the only way possible, because of his make-up and the family and society into which he was born. The delinquent is quick to appreciate whether we are in sympathy with him or not. He has had to develop an uncanny ability to recognize who are his friends and who are not, for, unless he knew whom to trust, he could not have remained successfully delinquent.

The typical delinquent who has little conflict about his behavior is concerned almost entirely with obtaining pleasure and avoiding pain. He is unable to tolerate the tension that occurs

when he cannot get what he wants, and in this respect he is like animals, savages, and young children. The socialized child has accepted society's standards out of gratitude to those who love him, or through a fear that their love will be taken from him. The delinquent, in so many instances unwanted and unloved, does not feel grateful and has nothing to lose through continuing to give way to his pleasurable wishes. On the contrary, the insecurity that comes from rejection and his hate for those who dominate him encourage dissocial behavior. The case worker must be the kind parent whom the delinquent has been denied. The extent to which the worker is successful will depend on his ability to establish a relationship that will make it possible for the delinquent to tolerate denial and prohibition.

It is of primary importance, then, that the worker be fond of the delinquent. Aichhorn developed the ingenious method of interviewing the worker and the delinquent after they had been together in the institution for a few weeks, to determine the nature of the relationship established. If the worker was able to see good qualities in the boy in spite of continued annoyances; if he had noticed that the boy was kind and fair in spite of the fact that he lied and stole; if he tried to explain the boy's behavior on the basis of early unfortunate experiences, Aichhorn concluded that a positive relationship had been established with the delinquent. If, on the other hand, the worker emphasized the negative characteristics of the delinquent, found that he could not be trusted, that he was sneaky, and lied, and no attempt was made to explain this negative behavior, the relationship to the delinquent was said to be a negative one. The delinquent's evaluation of the worker was then obtained, and attempts were made to assign to the worker a delinquent whom he liked and who liked him. The feelings of the worker toward the boy, however, were considered more significant, since it might be expected that the delinquent would, in the beginning at least, reject all adults because of his earlier experiences with them. However, unless the worker has a positive relationship to the delinquent, it will be impossible to break down the resistances which arise with every attempt at treatment.

In order to do successful case work a diagnosis of the nature of the misconduct must be made. Without such a diagnosis, intelligent treatment is impossible, and the specific case work attempted may be harmful. Delinquents may be subdivided into six groups.

In the first group are those in whom the problem is essentially that of refusal to accept discipline, because of poor standards, indulgence, and neglect. The pleasure that they obtain through refusing to accept prohibitions warrants the risk of punishment. Their concern is essentially that of avoiding apprehension. The greater the extent to which this mechanism plays a part in the make-up of the delinquent, the greater is the need for institutional treatment; for, unless this disciplinary factor can be controlled, case work is unavailing. It is important to recognize an individual of this type early, and give him the advantage of institutional treatment when it can do the most good. If he is recognized soon enough, institutional treatment has the value of making it possible for the delinquent to accept foster home placement, or any other type of therapy when he has learned to accept discipline.

There is a large group of less completely undisciplined delinquents who have the capacity to accept social standards if the conditions under which they live are changed. Here, case work demands such steps as removal from home and placement of the delinquent where he can feel that he is being treated fairly. If he has a need for affection he may do best in a foster home. Most of the older boys taken away from home for the first time in adolescence do not care for a foster home which expects affection from them in return for affection given. They prefer a more impersonal setting, which may be provided by a large foster home with several children or by a small institution.

Attempts should be made to take care of the ego needs of this group of delinquents. Sometimes the recognition given them through fair play is all that is necessary; in other cases special help in their schoolwork to prevent repeated failures will give them a feeling of accomplishment. The purchase of new clothes, a bicycle, play equipment formerly denied them, may go a long

way in lessening the need for aggressive behavior. Close contacts with a case worker whom the boy can accept as a real friend may check his delinquent behavior, especially if the case worker through knowing the delinquent can satisfy some of his emotional needs in relation to his family and strivings. In most instances it will be necessary to attempt some form of case work treatment before institutionalizing any delinquent adolescent, since it is impossible to predict, except in extreme cases, how the individual may respond to removal from the conditions that promoted delinquency.

Anyone who is interested in the treatment of delinquents in institutions should read a recent book by Healy and Alper, entitled *Criminal Youth and the Borstal System*,¹ which describes the institutional care of the delinquent adolescent in England. It reflects an appreciation of all of the physical, social, educational, and emotional needs with a view toward rehabilitation. Case workers will be interested in the investigation and treatment of the family of the delinquent during the time that he is in the institution, with the idea of determining whether or not he should be returned to his home. Recent work done at the State School for Delinquent Girls in Minnesota has demonstrated the importance of dealing with the family during the time that the delinquent is away and when intensive treatment is indicated. At the present time in most of our social agency work this important phase is neglected.

The second group includes the so-called normal individual who has a good deal of the aggression of the first group. His aggressiveness is kept under control by his conscience or superego which makes him feel uncomfortable or unhappy when he has caused harm to others through his aggressive wishes. He is mentioned in this discussion because much of the conflict of adolescent versus authority is a part of normal behavior.

The neurotic delinquent, in the third group, has a peculiar combination of aggression and a strong feeling of guilt. For some reason the aggression has broken through in spite of a strong

¹ William Healy and Benedict S. Alper, *Criminal Youth and the Borstal System* (New York: the Commonwealth Fund, 1941).

conscience, or maybe even because of it. This subject is described in detail by Alexander and Staub in their book *The Criminal, the Judge and the Public*.² Psychoanalytic research has contributed extensively to the subject of delinquency through pointing out the role played by unconscious factors. Without a knowledge of these factors it is impossible to understand the total individual, since so much of his behavior is motivated by the unconscious. This research has demonstrated that criminal impulses are present in the normal individual, but they are kept in repression. They are present to a greater degree in the psychoneurotic individual, but here, also, they are kept in repression by a very strong superego and find expression in the form of neurotic symptoms. In the neurotic delinquent, for some reason, perhaps of a constitutional nature, the aggression is possible in spite of the neurotic make-up, and the delinquency is merely an expression of the neurotic conflict, which may find expression in many ways. One individual will be a runaway, and his behavior will represent an attempt to escape from the situation that produces the emotional conflict. Another may be a drug addict or an alcoholic. Some may attempt to carry through, in their aggression, an act which more closely approximates their criminal unconscious impulses. They may set fires, or they may steal compulsively, like the kleptomaniac. Since this delinquent behavior is only the substitute for more criminal unconscious wishes, it is understandable that blocking the delinquency itself will not solve the underlying problem. Usually nothing short of psychoanalytic treatment will solve this behavior in its extreme forms.

The problems of sexual pathology should be included in a study of neurotic delinquents. There have been recent acts of legislation which have attempted to protect society from the sexual offender, and the discussion has been surcharged with emotion and confusion. One of the characteristics of adolescents is a marked strengthening of the sexual drive. This can be fairly well controlled in the well-adjusted individual. The delinquent who has little feeling of guilt allows himself direct expression of

² Franz Alexander and Hugo Staub, *The Criminal, the Judge and the Public* (New York: Macmillan, 1931).

the sexual impulses. The neurotic law-abiding individual represses these impulses, often with unfortunate results. The neurotic delinquent may resort to exhibitionism, peeping, sexual play with younger children, or other forms of perversion. In the most extremely neurotic or psychotic adolescent the sexual outlet may be expressed through sadism, rape, and murder. It is because of these extreme offenses that there has been so much concern about the lesser ones. A good deal of education will be necessary with the police, the juvenile courts, and other law-enforcing agencies so that they will be able to recognize the serious offender. Considerable case work may be required with the less serious apprehended sexual offender who, because of a feeling of guilt or social disapproval, has been made to feel inferior and unworthy and even dangerous.

More psychiatric research is also needed in this important field of behavior, especially in the field of the delinquent adolescent girl. She is mentioned at this point because, although so much of what applies to the adolescent boy applies to her also, the delinquency problems she presents are chiefly of a sexual nature.

The case worker is interested in neurotic delinquency because it must be recognized if it is to be treated intelligently, and a program must be instituted to supply much-needed therapy for this group. Added to this is the fact that there is a great deal of emotional conflict and anxiety which plays a part in the delinquency of individuals who are not classified as serious neurotic delinquents. The case worker must learn to know the delinquent so well that he will not be able to maintain his superficial defenses, and will reveal in time his fundamental motivations and conflicts. A light touch is useless in case work treatment with these conflicted delinquent adolescents who have developed a thick shell of resistance against all adult intervention.

In the fourth group is the narcissistic delinquent, the adolescent who finds it difficult or impossible to give affection or consideration to others. In the more severe cases he finds it impossible, also, to accept affection from others. Perhaps this characteristic can be best considered as a defense mechanism to ward off a repetition of early unfortunate experiences. Early rejection by

the parents, or disillusionment in them, has made it necessary to remove an early affectionate tie, and the affection thus displaced is applied to the delinquent's own ego. Narcissism plays a part in the other groups of delinquents discussed, but there are a number in whom it is so outstanding that one is warranted in separating them from the others. It is an important problem in case work because of the difficulty in effecting a relationship with them without which, treatment cannot be accomplished. One meets them in institutions frequently, and, strangely enough, they are often affable, coöperative, and industrious workers who apparently have benefited from their stay. On release, however, they quickly return to their delinquent behavior because they have not been touched during the institutional treatment. Case work demands infinite patience with this group; a capacity to accept them in spite of frequent disappointments, betrayal of confidence, or failure to respond to kindness. Frequently, their continued delinquency represents a testing of the worker to make sure that it is safe for them to continue a beginning fondness for him.

Aichhorn has described his treatment with some of these narcissistic delinquents and has found that the only way he can get them to develop a relationship to him is on an ego basis. They will identify with him only if he can outsmart them and convince them that he is useful to them. Once such a relationship is established, he can wait for an affectionate tie that may follow.

It can be safely said that in spite of our knowledge of the factors causing delinquency, there are few case workers who realize the responsibility assumed in the treatment of a narcissistic, rejected, disillusioned, delinquent adolescent. They are given the opportunity of developing in the delinquent, perhaps for the first time in his life, a positive emotional tie. Or, they may be attempting to develop such a tie in an individual who once enjoyed it, but who had to give it up, with all the attendant disillusionment and suffering. The worker is too apt to think of himself as just another person in the delinquent's life who is trying to help him, rather than as an all-important key person. To reject such a

delinquent after an initial acceptance obtained with difficulty may take from the delinquent his last chance to become socialized.

The fifth group, which is also ill defined, contains those adolescents with character difficulties who do not present the delinquency of the true delinquent or of the neurotic delinquent. They have a good deal of aggression which is blocked. They express their dissatisfactions through quarrelsomeness, nagging, scolding, and complaining. They are bitter because so much of what they like to do has to be left undone, as a result of their inhibited aggression, and they are therefore markedly in conflict with authority. Many of them have been raised in homes where there has been unreasonable severity and domination, especially by the father. Their reaction against authority represents an underlying protest against their father. The results from case work treatment with this group are often not encouraging, because their characteristics are so deeply ingrained that nothing short of intensive psychotherapy will produce a change. The same may be said about the large number of unstable adolescents whose behavior is unpredictable because of its vacillating character. They have alternating phases of temper outbursts with uncontrollable rages, which may be followed by feelings of remorse and chagrin. They may be aggressive and delinquent and react to these displays with feelings of guilt. They may be sincere in their intentions to reform and may go along well for a period of time, but the change does not last long. Because of this rapidly shifting behavior it is impossible to plan a treatment program. It may be well in this connection to refer to the even more markedly unstable so-called psychopathic personality. For a while this diagnosis was excluded from our terminology because too many conditions were included in the category of psychopathic personality. Now we are limiting the diagnosis to the group of extremely unstable individuals who are impulsive, lack control, and fail to learn through experience.

The most extreme types of delinquency and aggression are seen in those individuals who constitute the last group. These are the ones who have an organic pathology of the central nervous system, or who are psychotic, or feeble-minded—the so-called de-

fective delinquents. The outstanding characteristic of the delinquency in such individuals is the difficulty in finding a satisfactory reason for the behavior. This applies even when an intensive psychiatric study is made. The extreme pathology produces disintegration to such an extent that impulsive, explosive reactions can occur with little foundation. Such pathology must be kept in mind whenever an intensive study of the individual or of his environment fails to reveal adequate explanations.

The above divisions are merely a working classification based on clinical observations. Other groupings could be made that would cover the subject just as well. One cannot draw fine lines of demarcation between the various subdivisions, because they blend into each other. Neurotic or emotional elements may be present in each grouping; a certain amount of lack of discipline may be present in each division; any one of the delinquents may be unstable or narcissistic.

The role played by overindulgence must be discussed in relation to delinquency. A young child who early learns that he can do as he pleases tends to retain his dissocial patterns of behavior. If, later on, he finds that his dissocial acts are always made good, there is no need for him to accept unpleasant reality. Sooner or later he and his parents find out that society will not continue with this overprotection, and the training which should have been given by the parents is taken over by the law. Undoubtedly, many delinquents have developed on just this basis. In the majority, however, who by the period of adolescence are out of hand because of overprotection, other factors have played important roles. In most instances a study of the family reveals that these children have been deeply rejected and have been overprotected by parents who were unable to deprive them, through a feeling of guilt. The delinquency in such instances, therefore, not only results from the indulgence, but represents a protest against the deep awareness of rejection. More often than not, the homes of these adolescents are characterized by friction, incompatibility, and neglect.

Diagnosis is thus very important. Sometimes a diagnosis can be made through observations in a child guidance clinic or in

any other psychiatric unit for children. In the more difficult cases closer observation is necessary, and this can be made in a hospital for that purpose or in a small institution. Every large city should be equipped with an institution staffed by a trained personnel, where difficult, aggressive adolescents may be housed as long as is necessary to establish a diagnosis.

In discussing these groupings little was said of case work with the parents or others responsible for the care of the delinquents. In cases of frank delinquent environment where neglect can be established, removal from the home is necessary. This should include efforts to help the parents in the treatment or removal of other children in the home who are very likely to become delinquent.

Almost invariably one finds neurosis or delinquency in the parents of the neurotic delinquent. If the provisions for psychiatric treatment for the adolescent neurotic delinquent are inadequate, they are infinitely more so for the adult neurotic. Communities are slow to realize the cost that they pay in the neurosis of their children, through neglecting the treatment of neurotic parents in dispensaries or adult clinics which should be set up for this purpose. In the meantime family agencies are attempting to deal with this problem. They have made a good beginning but they will have to add considerably to their psychiatric help to do this job effectively. Their additional help, however, will serve as a valuable adjunct, but it will not be able to replace adult psychiatric clinics.

The case worker who has developed skills for dealing with emotionally conflicted individuals will have to assume an important role in dealing with the problem of neurosis in delinquency. Direct treatment work with neurotic clients is essential in most instances. In many cases this will consist of intensive interviewing, the worker getting close consultation help from a psychiatrist. In some cases the main goal of treatment will be to develop a strong tie of a dependent nature in the client, who will in this way gain support and security. It is not difficult to choose between such dependency under the capable guidance of a case worker and the chaotic adjustment of the neurotic delinquent.

In other instances the case worker will assume a more passive role and will be the outlet for the neurotic's hostile attacks—an unpleasant task, but necessary in order to deflect the hostility from unfortunate victims in the neurotic's family who cannot react objectively, to the worker, who can.

The problem of preventing delinquency must engage the case worker's attention. It is difficult to be optimistic about doing effective work in prevention when so many vital recommendations repeatedly advised for many years have not been carried out. Certain improvements have been effected, and these are encouraging. Our case work with individual delinquents is becoming more intelligent every year. Our schools are becoming increasingly aware of their responsibility in having the school fit the needs of the child. Our juvenile police forces are coöperating; juvenile courts have accepted the need for individual treatment, and are beginning to resemble case working social agencies. Opinions differ as to the wisdom of such a change, although all are pleased that the court is more mindful of social and emotional factors. The institutions for delinquents are fighting for trained personnel to deal with emotional problems; sterilization laws have been passed, which will lessen the major problem of neglect and delinquency which results from feeble-mindedness. Sociological studies and treatment have lessened the menace of gang activities among juveniles, and have shown us how to redirect the energy of neglected adolescents into socially acceptable channels. Major social, economic, and cultural problems, so important in the field of prevention and treatment of delinquency, are changing very slowly. There are many who feel that until social and cultural problems can be solved, individual case work will represent a waste of effort. However, we may be very fortunate that these changes are slow, since we have lived to witness the failure of too rapid change in other countries.

We will always have to deal with aggression, and the disturbances which result from it will probably be closely related to what society has earned through abuses and neglect. The aggression may express itself through delinquency, rioting, or wars, or in many other ways. Freud has shown that the individual cannot

tolerate excessive aggression because of the tendency to turn it against himself when other outlets cannot be found. It remains for us to locate ways and means that will lessen the need of individuals to express aggression. The young infant who is loved and accepted does not tend to develop forms of hostile aggression. Emotional acceptance at any age has this same effect. If the physical and material needs of all members of society could be satisfied, much of the unrest and hostile aggression that now exists could be lessened, but it is difficult to accomplish this. It is even more difficult to lessen the hostility that comes from neurotic aggressive drives. Mental hygiene and psychiatry for many years have been attempting, through the knowledge gained from individual case work, to develop a program of prevention of neurotic aggression and suffering. Valuable contributions that threw light on this important problem were carried on in Europe and have had to be discontinued. Psychiatrists and psychoanalysts in England, particularly, had been doing intensive research in the field of aggression. Edward Glover, in 1933, published a small book entitled *War, Sadism and Pacifism*.³ In this comprehensive study of hostility he attempts to provide for a program of research in the prevention of neurotic hostile aggression, and he is convinced, as are so many others, that the sources of greatest difficulty are in the parent-child relationship. This research has been carried on in America for many years, largely through the impetus we have obtained from the European schools. We too are certain of the importance of the early parent-child attitudes so closely tied up with the culture that affects these attitudes.

Prevention of delinquency, though very important, does not take care of the problems that face us today with our delinquent adolescents. Case work with the individual will be necessary no matter what advances we make. In a personal interview with the director of one of the largest agencies dealing with social problems in Moscow in the summer of 1935, I was told that although the number of undisciplined, neglected, delinquent boys had lessened considerably, they still found it necessary to work in-

³ Edward Glover, *War, Sadism and Pacifism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1933).

tensively with those who did not lend themselves to a general program.

Two incidents will serve to summarize this discussion:

A Swiss graduate nurse was studying psychiatric problems in children at the Children's Hospital in Vienna. It was interesting to see her surrounded by the children in the psychiatric ward, who seemed to be spellbound by the stories she was telling them. I asked if she minded if I listened in on some of these stories, but she did not consent. She explained that when another adult is present, something happens to her, and she cannot tell stories in the same way. A few days later Professor Hamburger, in making his rounds, was attracted by the group and stood at the edge of the circle as a spectator. Before long it was apparent that something was happening to the group. The former rapt attention was no longer present. Some of the children began to play with each other, or push, or tease. One or two got up and left the circle.

Aichhorn employed as a worker in his institution for delinquent adolescents a young man who showed promise of being an unusual person. He assigned him to a group of boys, but was surprised to find, after a few weeks, that the boys were not being controlled and that the worker had no hold on them. He called the worker in and asked him to explain his difficulties. The young man told Aichhorn that he had hoped for some time to work in that institution and learn Aichhorn's methods of dealing with adolescents. He had tried to talk with the boys, shake hands with them, pat them on the back, and encourage them as Aichhorn did, but found that he was losing out. Aichhorn asked him how his present approach differed from his former treatment, and he explained that formerly he was more firm with the boys; if they did not comply with reasonable demands he occasionally cuffed them on the ear. It was apparent to Aichhorn that the worker was fond of boys, was understanding and sensitive to their needs, and so he told him to go ahead and cuff the boys whenever he felt that it was necessary. Within a short time the aggression of the boys in this group was checked, and the relationship between them and the worker was an excellent one.

It is apparent from these incidents that the adult, in order to

give of himself in a treatment relationship, must be himself. This warrants repetition because of its importance in a case work program. Not every case worker is suited for treatment work with an aggressive adolescent. Even among those who would like very much to do such work, many are unsuited. The case worker who has lived with delinquent adolescents when he was that age, or who has worked with them in scouting or camps, will have some advantages. At the same time, if he has been too traumatized through his own adolescent experiences and has not worked through his emotional conflicts in relation to aggression and hostility, he will not be able to do constructive work with adolescents who are in conflict.

The case worker must keep in mind that the aggressive adolescent is rebellious, and that we are more anxious to treat him than he is to be treated by us. From the point of view of his psychology, we are interfering with the only adjustment he has been able to make. He does not want to change it, even though he may have been punished severely, or have suffered from emotional conflict. The sexually delinquent adolescent girl may have found through her behavior a popularity which she has enjoyed for the first time in her life. There had been nothing in her early life to produce in her a feeling of guilt in connection with her sexual delinquency. Her new ego and libidinous pleasures will not be given up without considerable struggle. Because she, as well as other aggressive delinquents, is so resistive to change, it is understandable that many case workers conclude that the aggressive adolescent does not respond to therapy. Such a priori conclusions do not belong in the philosophy of the forward-looking case worker who is challenged by difficult social problems. Clinical experience has taught us that the most difficult adolescents may respond to therapy when least expected. Something has been located to break the resistance, and this has made the need to rebel no longer necessary. There will be time to decide that other measures are necessary, after case work has been tried.

There is no place for punishment in the treatment of the adolescent in conflict with authority. To punish him means that we do not understand him, and justifies continued rebellion.

THE FOSTER PARENT AND THE AGENCY IN THE ADOPTION PROCESS

Elizabeth Harral

THE PHRASE "ADOPTION PROCESS" has a particular connotation. The dictionary gives as one definition of the word "process," "a systematic series of operations in the development of something." The adoption process is, then, an over-all term which describes and gives direction to the series of operations which result in the production of an adoptive family. The agency whose job it is to select suitable homes and foster parents¹ for adoptable children defines the content of this series of operations in terms of what it sees as important and helpful to that end. An examination of the relationship between the applicant and the agency and the significance of that relationship in the adoption process is my purpose. How does that relationship get started? What are the steps by which it develops? What is the meaning of those steps for adoptive applicant and agency? What structure does the agency employ to help it to know the applicant? What use can the applicant make of that structure?

This article is based on my experience with an agency whose function is the placement of adoptive children. The achievement of that function, the placement of adoptable children in the homes most suitable for them, depends to a great extent on the advantageousness of the process through which we can know the applicants for children. It is the applicant himself who sets that process in motion as he turns to the agency.

At what point does he consult the agency? Obviously, there are as many answers as there are applicants. We are perhaps most familiar with the couple who have thought and talked and read about adoption for a fairly long time before reaching the

¹ "Foster parent" is used synonymously with "adoptive parent."

point of an active step. Like any other big decision, a good deal of self-scrutiny is involved. He has talked with his family and his intimate friends; as in any other big decision, he is interested in knowing the feeling of those most important to him. He has talked with his physician. He has done some mental fashioning of the child he wants before he comes to the agency. He is ready to bring all this to the agency and he expects to do some refashioning in the light of the reality he finds there. His coming may be evidence of a thoughtful summation of his feeling. It may have begun with a developing unlikelihood of his having his own children. He may have been aided in his decision by definite knowledge of his incapability of having a natural child. He has digested that knowledge and is ready to move forward in a new direction. Or he may still entertain some possibility of a natural child. We know that medical knowledge is limited and unsure where there is no pathological condition. The applicant who may still have his own child naturally comes more slowly to adoption; taking this step implies a less than average chance of having a natural family. One does not have to give up one phase completely before proceeding to another; one does need to have the greater part of one's feeling free to engage in the new.

We who talk with applicants who are having their first discussion of adoption know that by no means all of those who come are at a point of emotional readiness for an adoptive relationship. We are also familiar with the gesture in the direction of finding a child that is an expression of a relatively small part of the applicant's feeling. We know, too, of the husband who wants to work this out for his wife and of the wife who is sure that once a child is in the home her husband cannot help but love it. We know, too, of the couple who come to us grappling with the meaning of the loss of a child or a parent and whose natural thought is in the direction of something new, though the depth of their feeling belongs to the one whom they have not yet been able to let go.

Each person comes with a need of his own for which he sees the solution in adoption. Along with his seeking this solution, he

is also offering to give his all to a child. The pressure of his need and his desire to give sometimes contribute to a confusing situation in which perspective is hard to keep. The application worker needs to be strong indeed to remain rooted in her agency job, which is committed to the need of the child. A recent article by Dr. Jessie Taft entitled "Foster Home Care for Children"² brings a clarifying light to the problem which has baffled many of us in the child-placing field where agency as well as applicant has a need:

The placement agency is not organized to meet the need of prospective foster parents, but to place children constructively. . . . The home-finding branch of the agency must meet the need of the applicant, it is true, or the home would never work out; but that need must be such as to fit in with the fundamental purpose of the agency, and only the capacity to keep that purpose constantly in view will enable the homefinder to steer a path through potential confusion.

There is need for rethinking of our case work skills in the handling of the interview with the applicant whose needs do not fit in with the needs of our children.

The step toward the agency is an outward expression of a process that is taking place within the adoptive applicant. The adoption process begins long before the agency is asked to take any part, and the point in his thinking at which he decides to share his plans with an adoptive agency is an important one. A personal interview affords the most useful opportunity for the applicant and agency to exchange the information which is necessary to a beginning knowledge of the possibility of their working together. It is here that the applicant gets his first sense of the agency as it defines itself through its structure and policies and personnel.

The applicant comes to the agency as a potential source of fulfillment of his plan and at the interview he sees the application worker as the one in whom this power is vested. How does he feel about that? Assuming an interested and a sympathetic case

² *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1940.

worker who is relatively clear about her own job, we can agree that his general pattern of feeling toward the one whom he sees as holding the thing he wants, governs his feeling here. Certainly he is letting us know a good deal about him as he finds his way of handling this situation. As the agency worker is having her first opportunity of knowing him, so he is having an opportunity of evaluating the agency. Where do the agency children come from? What are the ages of the children for whom placement is being planned? What does the agency know about its children? What protection does it afford to adoptive families? How is this work supported? What can he learn about the efficiency and sensitivity with which this organization operates as it reveals itself to him through each of his contacts? What degree of confidence can he feel in this, the source of all his knowledge about his child? What does it ask of him in requirements and participation? The applicant has as real a responsibility in the evaluation of the agency as the agency has in the evaluation of him.

What is the significance of this interview for the child-placing agency? Social work literature has for some time evinced particular interest in the dynamics of the application interview in other areas of case work, such as the eligibility interview in the public assistance field, the intake interview in the family society, the initial interview in the child guidance clinic. It is only recently that we have begun to examine the significance of that first interview with the prospective adoptive parent in the child-placing agency. What have we learned from application interviewing in other settings that may be helpful to us in the interviewing of adoptive applicants? As in other areas of case work, the applicant may use this interview to test his own need in the light of the agency's potentialities. The fact that in this area the agency too has a need—a need for families with whom it can place the children under its care—has perhaps contributed to a tendency to casualness as we found it difficult to achieve a balance between our own need of usable adoptive homes and the applicants' need of our children. Perhaps we sought to solve our confusion by relying on the foster home investigation,

a step which we initiated and which, therefore, could arise only out of our need and by means of which we could scrutinize the family in terms of that need. We are familiar with the widespread search for adoptable babies. The fact of the almost unlimited choice among the applicants for babies may have contributed to a scanty use of this contact. Another factor is that with the search so widespread and the number of suitable children more limited, adopting applicants have often, with the encouragement of agencies, placed an imposing number of applications. With the spreading of possibilities both applicant and agency could be fairly casual.

In integrating the needs of the children under the care of the agency, the application worker is spokesman for the child. She does not use the appeal of those needs to entice the applicant, for the essential need of the child is to be wanted for what he is. It is the needs of the applicant meeting to some considerable degree the needs of the child that bids fair to form the basis of a solid adoptive relationship. The application worker represents the agency's need of homes in which its children can have opportunity to develop within their own potentialities and limitations. Her job is an evaluative one; for it is on the basis of her experience with the applicant that the agency may take the next step in offering a continuing relationship with the applicant.

What are some of the criteria on which the application worker may base her evaluation of the possibilities within this applicant that an adoptive child may use? Each agency, through the policies agreed upon by board and staff, will describe certain more or less clear-cut attributes of prospective adoptive parents. These offer a beginning knowledge of whether a particular applicant and a particular agency describe their needs in some common terms. Agencies will have policies on the geographical communities which they serve, on the religious affiliation of applicants for children. The agency may have formulated some policy about the ages of prospective adoptive parents with relation to the age groupings of their children. There may be a policy about accepting applications where a family has children of its own; there may be income qualifications. Policies are

important in the clarification of an agency's capacity to help in a particular situation, and as such they are important to applicant and worker.

The greater part of the content and meaning of this interview lies in the more subjective area of feeling and is dependent for interpretation on the working philosophy of the agency as represented in the application worker. It seems to me that these more dynamic elements within the application situation gather around two interrelated areas, that of the readiness of the applicant to live with an adoptive child and of his capacity to work with the agency. The one has to do with the depth of his relation to a plan he is launching himself; the other, his capacity to make his own this particular way of securing it. The evaluation of these dynamic elements rests with the application worker; she carries the responsibility for determining the point at which the agency initiates the next step in the adoption process, that of a visit to the home with its consequent deepening of the relationship between applicant and agency.

What do we mean by readiness for adoption? How do we recognize it? Certainly there is no single point that can be isolated and objectively described; rather it is a state of being that can change and grow and also recede. It is a state of being which belongs to the applicant. The worker cannot nourish it through her own confidence in the adoption process lest she find herself making a plan for a child on the basis of her own feeling rather than on that of the couple whose readiness for a new relationship is the foundation on which rests the child's whole adjustment. One may be sure that the experience of the applicant in penetrating with the worker some of the realities of adoption will affect his readiness, but he must make his own use of these realities. For instance, the worker does not suggest a series of interviews through which she may help him to work out his mixed feelings about embarking on such a plan, so that his apprehension may be less a burden to himself and the child. She is willing to talk with him further if, through the course of the first discussion and his own subsequent movement, he is interested in that. Her job is to find out where he is

in his feeling, knowing from her own experience the importance of the freedom of that feeling in the building of a new relationship.

We may assume that for many people the decision to adopt originates in the desire for a family; but that to have an adoptive family, because it is more deliberate and less natural, requires new thinking and new decision. The knowledge gained from the applicant of how he has arrived at the consideration of adoption, which, of course, involves discussion of the possibility of his having his own children and his feeling about the loss that is entailed, will give the worker some idea of the degree to which his feeling is free to engage in this new venture. His recounting the steps he has taken in his thinking, the time he has used to reach the point of talking with an agency, the knowledge of what has brought him at this particular time—all will offer an interesting insight to the worker. The discussion will offer to the applicant an opportunity to think through the significance of his own movement. The participation of husband and wife is fundamental to our recognition of this as a joint undertaking and, as such, one that requires both of them. Readiness of one is not enough; we cannot put on the child the burden of persuading the other.

The applicant's ability to talk about his plans with his family and with his intimate friends may further enable us to know how far he has committed himself to this plan. His thinking of what having an adoptive child may mean, his feeling about sharing with his child the adoptive status, are important manifestations of his orientation to adoption. His thoughtfulness about the origin of the children who are available for adoption; about the meaning of the child's experience before that child becomes his child; about the changes required in his own living and the living of his prospective adoptive child—all these help the agency to know him in relation to this plan. His need to conceive of the child in rigid terms, or his capacity to let the child determine some of the qualifications, helps in knowing the reality this plan has for him. The applicant who needs to pyramid his requirements may be telling us that, though some of his feeling

is sincerely turning in this direction, his fear of the undertaking is still too great to admit a child. At the other extreme is the applicant who can bring to the interview only vagueness about his plans and the child he is looking for, who assures the worker that just any child will suffice. He may be equally unready to assume the kind of day-to-day responsibility that living with a real child entails.

We cannot separate this recognition of readiness from the agency's philosophy of adoption placement. The agency is set up, not to help in the working out of existing relationships, but to be instrumental in the creation of new ones. Its experience in bringing adoptive children and families together has fashioned this philosophy. The agency may feel that the working out of a relationship between an adoptive child and his adoptive family asks something unique of each. Natural parents have a period in which to get ready for a child who is the product of both. The adoptive parent has no such experience on which to build a developing relationship. He has nothing to do with the creation of a life, but he has everything to do with the creation of a living relationship. The fact of the child's birth to another strikes at the uniqueness of this way of building a family. A capacity for sharing is at the root of his ability to adopt.

One cannot separate any knowledge of the applicant's readiness to adopt from the ability to work to that end with an agency. For to adopt through an agency is the very symbol of the sharing that is characteristic of the relationship between the adoptive parent and his child. To take a relatively unknown organization into so intimate a part of one's life is surely a good deal for a couple used to handling its own affairs. What can his way of relating himself to that suggest of how he may be able to handle his relation to his shared child? As he comes to the agency intent on his solution of his needs and aware of his desire to give a lifetime of feeling and responsibility, he finds the agency an entity of its own, an entity whose purpose it is to discover, in the ways that experience has taught, who, among those who come, may have needs that adoptive children can fill. As he now finds the agency to be the representative of the needs

of children for whom adoptive plans are to be made, so later he will find in his adoptive child a separate person with needs to be respected. It is important that he not involve himself in a lifetime plan without an opportunity for recognition of some of the elements involved. The experiencing of the contacts with the agency affords just that opportunity.

The agency's philosophy of adoption is patent, too, in the structure it sets up to help in knowing the applicants, in the emphasis it puts on various points in the process. Does the agency feel, for instance, that the decision to talk about adoption is one fraught with so much emotion that it must exercise no limitation of time and place for the expression of that emotion? Or can the agency give recognition at the very outset to the seriousness of the process the applicant is wanting to set in motion through its willingness to make a mutually convenient appointment to discuss these plans? May the capacity for recognition of the other person that is inherent in just such a step as this lay the cornerstone of the kind of working relationship that the applicant and agency and child can use? What of the varying intervals of time which elapse between the successive steps of the process? May the agency's use of time in the working out of the process offer to the applicant some opportunity for recognition that in his relationship with his child, too, time will be an essential? Some applicants, it is true, will respond to any measure which has within it the recognition of another, as rejection. Is that not important to know? I think it is not going too far to believe that the applicant who cannot find a way of accepting the first indications of this as a process which involves someone other than himself and into which he will need to put something besides impulse would be likely to have difficulty in working out a sustained living with an adoptive child.

The application interview offers the applying couple the first real sense of agency adoption and of what it asks of prospective adoptive parents. Up until this time the applicant has had full control of the processes within himself, which have come to a head in this step to the agency. This step implies a loss of full control. How does he handle that? Does he need to cling rigidly

to his concept of a child and obliterate any contribution the agency might make in its knowledge that children rarely come according to exact specifications? Does he need to control the time in which this may work out or can he let the agency, and therefore the child, have some part in this? Can he find some balance between giving over all the determination and control and keeping all within his own hands? In other words, can this really be a process of participation? These are yardsticks of what may later be significant in his relation to his adoptive child, for in his relation to the agency the applicant is expressing a real part of the self that will go into his relationship to his child.

The agency, too, needs to find in itself the capacity for yielding. As it recognizes the important factor of readiness in the applicant, and his willingness to coöperate on this plan, so he must find in the agency a willingness to share the process as it will later share and then give up the child. The agency's trust in its method of knowing applicants and children will be reflected in each step it takes toward the final relinquishment of the total responsibility it has taken. Agency and applicant and child share the same ultimate goal, a developing adoptive family. Within each step leading to that goal each has his area of choice and each his separate responsibilities. It is the capacity to work together, to share and participate in the process, that offers a basis for the confident embarking on a plan that involves a child.

The agency has no control over the point at which the applicant takes the agency into his plans. It does control the point at which it initiates the next logical step in the adoption process, the home study. Most agencies placing adoptive children have many more applicants than children. Practically, the agency needs to carry out its function with efficiency and economy. It is likely that the agency will not want, for practical as well as psychological reasons, to engage in a home study of each applying family. The selection of the particular applicants for that study goes back to the agency's knowledge of the applicant through the application interview. It seems to me that the home

study is symbolic of a deepening relationship between agency and applying couple and that the agency has a definite responsibility in the selection of the families with whom it sees purpose in deepening this relationship.

The home study, like the application interview, has a specific content and a further elaboration of the dynamics of readiness and working relationship. It is another step in the adoption process and as such is related to what has gone before. It is related also to all that may follow. We have found it useful to agency and to applicant that, in so far as possible, the worker who visits the home continue in the supervision of the child placed in that home. Through the home study the worker has an opportunity to know the applicant in his own setting and at a point where he is apt to feel and respond to the agency's interest and participation in his plans. As he had sought the agency, now the agency is seeking him and is furthering by its own activity the continuation of the adoption process. To cross the threshold of his home and to be the recipient of the kind of giving that is involved in talking of oneself in response to another's need is not a casual thing. The agency has said that it is willing and wants to be further involved in the applicant's pursuit and that it knows this will further involve the applicant. Though this in no way commits the agency in behalf of a child, it does, indeed, commit the agency to responsible recognition of the feelings that its own activity has set in motion.

A natural parent has a definite time in which to prepare for the advent of his child. The adoptive parent applicant often expresses concern at the indefiniteness of this process and the little that is tangible that he can do. It is inevitable that this be so, and the agency must retain the ultimate responsibility since its primary responsibility is rooted in the children under its care. To attempt to approximate through an artificial process a natural one would be as unreal as for an adoptive parent to pretend that his adoptive child is his natural child. But to take the whole control of this process seems to me to negate the would-be adoptive parent as a functioning human being who has as much interest in working this out well as the agency can possibly have.

It seems to me it is important in his future relationship to his child that he carry as much of this as it is possible for him to carry, with the recognition that his responsibilities and those of the agency are at this point different. He needs to feel this as his process and not as something done to him. He will feel this through recognition of the purpose of the home study as a way of knowing him as an individual, both in his own development and in his plans for the future. He will do this through a degree of identification with the process. He can help to make the visit to the physician profitable. He can help to make his friends accessible to the worker.

The use of references presents an interesting study of the changes in the process of home finding which parallel a similar development in most of case work. The child-placing field may have been slower than other fields of case work to recognize that knowledge from a collateral source does not take the place of knowledge from the applicant himself. It is with some reluctance that we have taken this responsibility, reluctantly perhaps because so much rests upon it, and we had not progressed far enough in our own development to feel confidence in our judgment. Whatever factors contributed, consciously or unconsciously, our tendency was to let the decision rest, to a considerable extent, on the verbalizations of friends and key people in the community. In recent years the development in the field of psychology has contributed a great deal to the understanding of human behavior. We have drawn heavily on this knowledge to enhance our skills in learning to know those who come to us and we have felt increasing confidence in our evaluating ability. As we did take the responsibility inherent in our job, we began to see new possibilities in the use of references in the adoption process. We do not ask them to take over our job, nor do we use them merely to bolster our decisions. We are finding now that references are important to us and to the child who may become a member of the community, and they are important to the family who come to us as applicants. They are important to us in knowing applicants, not in a vacuum, but in their relationships with their friends. These friends will be important

to a child. It is through our visits to them that he has his first introduction to the circle within which his future adoptive parents move. This is an introduction, not in person, but through the feeling they have of the kind of organization the worker represents. In one sense, to the friends as well as to the applying couple, the agency takes the place of the parents of the child; the confidence and respect all these people feel have a real part in the development of the acceptance of the child. Each visit, whether to applicant or friend or doctor, is a visit of interpretation. How often have we heard the applicant comment with satisfaction on the kind of relationship the worker established with his friends? The concept of an adoptive child as a shared child comes in here, too, since the family can share the process, not only with the agency, but also with their friends.

It is the relationship which has been established between the agency and the applicant on which succeeding steps of the adoption process are built. The agency has invested its best skills, and in suggesting an opportunity for a particular applicant and a particular child to know each other it is saying that it is ready to stand by and let the would-be parent and child use this opportunity. The family approaches this point with a degree of emotion and apprehension but also with a sustaining sense of what it and the agency have put into this and a recognition that this step has been taken on real knowledge and participation. The groundwork has been laid, the process has moved from the consideration of children to the consideration of a particular child. The agency is ready to share with the would-be adoptive parent its day-to-day knowledge of this particular child, the interpretative material of parentage, as well as the specialized knowledge of the doctor and the psychologist. The agency has confidence in the applicant and in the child and the possibilities they may find together. An important part of that confidence is the willingness for either adult or child to accept or refuse this opportunity without fear of consequence of future relationship. The agency has come to rest in the knowledge that it is not bringing together perfect children and perfect adoptive parents. The agency learns more of each participant

in the process through this experience; its future relationship with each is defined through this increased knowledge.

The agency continues in its relationship to child and family through an absorption period until the law permits and the family wishes a legalization of the relationship. The agency, with facilities at its disposal and its intimate knowledge of child and family, offers whatever service may be needed. The basis of this relationship to a new family has in it the element of recognition of its members as a unit and that our usefulness will be related to their need. The period of absorption may be fraught with problems unforeseen by any of those most intimately involved, but the agency's long experience in understanding some of the adjustments that this period requires of all may be of inestimable help. The parents' need to possess the child who has so recently become a part of their family may cause them to want to withdraw from the agency because it represents previous responsibility for this child. Or the family that is finding itself more involved than it anticipated can actively use the support of the agency for a time while it is gathering its own forces together. The agency has its own need to know how this new family is progressing, but beyond a certain point it is again the family who must lead the way and determine the degree of activity of the agency.

The adoption process has a continuity of development. As such it has a beginning and a middle and an end. It has its inception in the applicant whose thinking and feeling turn toward the possibility of adopting a child. He sets it in motion as he consults the agency about this possibility. It develops as the applicant and the agency work together on the mutually important steps. It has its end in the relationship between an adoptive parent and his child in which the agency has no part. In other words, it is a process which begins with the adoptive applicant; it is the applicant who includes the agency and through a developing relationship with the agency finds a basis for a beginning living with his child. The three are interrelated for a time. The step of legal adoption is initiated by the adoptive family and comes at a point when it feels ready to meet the

rest of its living without the support of the agency. The responsibility for recommending this rests on the worker who knows how this feeling has developed. Through a shared process an applicant has become an adoptive parent, a ward of the agency has become an adoptive child, and together they make an adoptive family.

THE SPECIALIZED CONSULTANT IN CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

Mildred Arnold

FIELD SUPERVISION in public welfare has been a popular subject in the last five years, but very little has been said about consultant services in any of the more specialized fields. We can assume, therefore, that this is a relatively new venture, a pioneer development in public welfare, and that many of the states are still feeling their way in building these services.

This discussion of the specialized consultant in child welfare services must, of necessity, be based on the services which have been developed in Indiana, the state in which I am having my current experience. Because the subject is so broad I have limited my brief discussion to five aspects of the topic. These are, first, why it seems desirable, in the present stage of development of the public welfare program, to provide for the services of the specialized consultant in child welfare; second, some of the contributions which these services can make, not only to child welfare, but to the total public welfare program as well; third, some of the factors to be considered in setting up these services in any state; fourth, something about the plan of organization for the services; and fifth, some of the special problems relating to these services.

In considering the "why" of consultant services in child welfare it is well to consider first some of the basic differences in the administration of this program as compared with some of the other public welfare programs, principally public assistance. It is well to point out that the great impetus given to the child welfare program in the last five years stemmed from the interest of the general public in the public assistance programs, mainly care for the aged, and to recognize that we would not, now, have our great progress in child welfare had it not been for

the rapid development in public assistance. In Indiana we would never have had an increase of 41 percent in expenditures for the care of children in institutions and in foster homes in four years, nor would we have had available large sums for sick and crippled children and for child welfare services, if it had not been for the fact that these items are included in a general county welfare budget which has taken on staggering proportions, the largest items of which the county councils are told they must appropriate.

There are, however, basic differences in the public assistance and child welfare programs which must be given some consideration when a state is setting up services to develop and strengthen the entire program. When I mention "public assistance" I am referring to aid to the aged, the blind, and dependent children. By "child welfare services" I mean the general program for the care of dependent, neglected, and handicapped children, with special emphasis on the preventive aspects of child care. The public assistance program is very large and must, inevitably, have many of the features of mass care. In Indiana the public assistance cases number 105,000 as compared to 12,500 child welfare cases. The public assistance program is subjected to heavy and steady pressures. Since in this program Federal and state reimbursements are made to counties on a case-by-case basis, eligibility requirements are more carefully defined in the law and must be definitely met. This results, often, in rather minute rules and regulations which the counties must follow in granting assistance. On the other hand, the child welfare program, to be worth anything, must be set up on a broad base. The law providing for these services should be broadly written; there should be practically no eligibility requirements and few rules and regulations. It is often difficult for the local staff, which may be for the most part untrained and inexperienced, to grasp these basic differences, and it is necessary for the state to provide services to assist the local staff members to understand these differences, to see why they are necessary, and then to help them better to orient themselves to the total job.

I have always felt that child welfare represents a specialized

field and my experience in public welfare, in the last five years, has not changed that opinion. Consultant services can offer expert counsel in this specialized field. Since the specialized consultant usually works in a setting where there is a general field staff, the question is sometimes asked, "Why is it necessary to provide for the services of a consultant in addition to those of the field representative?" The field representative is responsible for the whole welfare program. He too is subjected to tremendous pressures, often from unpredictable sources. He cannot be expected to give much time to any one program. Because of the varied problems represented in public welfare, he cannot be equipped to handle all of them with professional skill. As the field representative becomes familiar with the complexity of human problems he comes to appreciate the need of specialized skill in handling each problem. The specialized consultant can focus attention more on the process of individualization, that process which is so necessary in any case work program. And I, for one, believe firmly that the effectiveness of a public welfare program depends upon the application of case work principles.

Consultant services in child welfare have some distinct contributions to make, not only to that particular field, but to the general public welfare field as well. On the local level one of the first contributions which the consultant will make will be to raise the level of case work in the local units. While the consultant will be primarily responsible for implementing the development of the child welfare program, some of the things which are learned in understanding the problems of children can be applied in understanding the problems of adults. Cannot some of the thinking which goes into solving the problems of the child born out of wedlock, for instance, be applied to those of the minority group, the nonresident, or the deserted family? Thus the child welfare consultant, in his constant striving for a higher level of case work, should be able to make a distinct contribution to the entire public welfare field. In too many public welfare programs administrative machinery is used as a substitute for case work skill. Administrative machinery should be set up only as it brings better service to the clients; it should

always be a means to an end, never an end in itself. The consultant should be able to help bring this about.

The consultant should be able to make a contribution to interpretation and community planning if we believe that interpretation can best be accomplished by sound case work. Consultant services have the great responsibility for developing the capacities of local workers, and only as we can increase the skill of these local workers can we hope for a public welfare program that will grow and develop rather than lapse into complete mediocrity. In developing these skills, time and continuity are needed. Consultant services, on a continuous basis, can fill these needs. These services should bring life and vitality to local programs; they should bring stimulation to local workers. A county child welfare worker said to me recently, "The child welfare consultant is my life saver. She helps me follow through the different steps in my cases. She helps me in my record writing. She helps me evaluate my own thinking in certain situations. She is my greatest source of stimulation." The consultant brings to the local staff a deepened understanding of what the program can mean to handicapped people and a greater understanding of the causes of behavior. He brings to the local worker a perspective, which is so important but which is frequently obscured by close association with the job. One of our local child welfare workers recently told the consultant that she was beginning to realize that her problems in case work were based on her personal desire to achieve something for herself. She said that she recognized that this should not be carried over into her case work planning for a client. She mentioned that the consultant's constant question of "why" has helped her in thinking through the reasons for behavior.

There is a great need, in the whole public welfare program, for an opportunity to make use of the slower processes of education and demonstration to build up local programs on a sound base. Since consultant services will be able, for the most part, to make use of these slower processes, the services should make a distinct contribution to this field.

The consultant will bring back from the local offices much

that is of value to the state office. He will know the limitations and possibilities for the development of local programs and local staff. He will have an awareness of local needs and of gaps in the program. It was the consultants in Indiana, who were close to the problems of the child born out of wedlock and the adopted child, who helped to show clearly the need for new legislation which resulted in new laws being passed in both of these fields at a recent session of the legislature. The consultant will be helpful in policy making and can then test the effects of the policies on the local staff, on the client, and on the community. Consultants will be useful members on committees for setting standards for the various aspects of the program. The child welfare consultants in Indiana have served on committees to revise the child welfare handbook and the various forms used by the division; to set up procedures for clearing and referring adoption applications; and to develop standards for children's institutions, child-placing agencies, and maternity homes and hospitals.

Every agency should have definite goals toward which to work. Goals should be used for dynamic purposes, to encourage competence and progressive growth. Consultants will be helpful in establishing such goals.

The child welfare consultants should be able to make a distinct contribution to the aid to dependent children's program if the services are set up in such a way that the consultants are available for advice. In our particular program, since there are no consultants in public assistance, the child welfare consultants give advice on aid to dependent children when special problems are presented. Recently one of the special county workers stated that she felt this had been one of the greatest contributions of the consultant services and that it had done more toward breaking down barriers between the local public assistance workers and the child welfare workers than any other one thing.

Certain factors must be taken into consideration in developing the services of the specialized consultant. Since it is in staff development that the consultant will probably play his greatest part, the consultants must be people who are free to engage

in those slower processes of education, if we are to build our program on a really sound base. Since good administration is only a tool for better services to people, the consultant will be concerned with the administrative job as it affects those services. Care should be taken, however, that too heavy administrative responsibilities are not placed on the consultant, and he should be relieved, in so far as possible, from the pressure of day-by-day detail work.

The child welfare consultant will probably be called upon to face as many different types of situations and to work with persons of as varying backgrounds as anyone in the public welfare field. He must, therefore, be a flexible person, one who can adjust easily to community situations, and he must be able to see his task as one of bringing about action by others. For this reason he will not be able to experience the same feeling of accomplishment as that of other workers and he must often wait longer to see results. He must always be ready to see the other person get the credit for achievements. He must recognize the fact that all workers cannot meet one standard and he must be able to start with the worker on his present level. Consultants must have the ability to use the skills of other people and the resources of other agencies when special problems are presented. Our consultants make frequent use of nutritionists, sanitary engineers, psychologists, mental hygiene clinics, recreational leaders, and many others in implementing their own services.

While certain aspects of the consultant's job may carry some of the elements of authority, such as the licensing of institutions, he must be able to accept this role without becoming authoritative. The skilled consultant will soon learn that in most situations assertion of authority, even though authority exists, is unnecessary. Since much of the consultant's work is a teaching process, the use of authority can often be very harmful in the relationships which it is necessary for the consultant to build up if he is to work effectively with local units. For this reason it is often desirable, if authority is necessary, to have it exercised by the executive rather than the consultant. This may help to preserve the relationship which must exist between the agency

and the consultant. In Indiana, if authority must be used, in withholding a license or setting up standards which agencies must meet, it is exercised by the director of the division.

The consultant should be allowed some time to think. One of the greatest problems in the public welfare field today is that no one seems to have any time to do real thinking on problems. A director of one of our county departments told the consultant recently that both she and the county supervisor were easily excited and that they needed the consultant, who could think calmly in difficult situations. It is interesting to note that when the consultant attempted to do this very thing the director could not quite understand or appreciate the slower processes used in attempting to think through particular problems.

The consultant must be ready to meet any and every type of situation which he may find in the local units. He may go to one county where there is no recognition that the help he has to offer is needed; he may go to another county where the workers are too dependent upon him; and he may go to a county where he is not wanted. His success will depend largely upon his skill in developing sound relationships in different and trying situations.

In discussing the organization of consultant services in a state program I must call heavily upon my personal experience. The responsibility for the development of the public welfare program in Indiana rests with the district representatives, each of whom serves a district of approximately six counties. These district representatives act as liaison officers between the state department and the county departments of public welfare and represent the divisions in the state department which are supervising the various programs in the counties. The administrative functions rest with the district representative. These include office management, statistics and reports, accounting, finance, and case load distribution and personnel as they relate particularly to minimum requirements. The district representative must carry the over-all responsibility for the program. This includes an understanding of the agency's functions, supervision

of the administration of all the services of the agency, and an awareness of the needs and problems in the various fields.

If the services of the field representative are to be effective in developing a coördinated service in the community, he must have a background knowledge of the communities, their prides and prejudices, and their traditions. An interesting illustration of this was brought to my attention last fall in discussing the problems of one county. I was told that the board members in that particular county, though not politicians, were politically minded as individuals, that they were cantankerous and rude just before the election, but were considerate of each other and worked well together all the rest of the year. The director in that county said she had a much better understanding of the problem after reading an article which had pointed out that at heart all Hoosiers were politicians.

The field representative must know all agencies in the community; their relation to, and interest in, public welfare. Since the field representatives will always be working under certain pressures, they should be the first to appreciate the need for some services where there will be relief from pressure and greater freedom on the job and they should be the very ones to help protect these features in consultant services.

In setting up consultant services in child welfare one of three plans may be utilized. Consultants in specialized fields, such as foster home care, institutions, adoptions, and illegitimacy, may be made available. These consultants would give advice to the field staff or directly to the local units, and more than one consultant might go to a local unit according to the particular problem involved. The second plan is one whereby a child welfare consultant is responsible for providing services in the various fields of child welfare to a particular district. The third plan is a combination of these two.

We have chosen the second plan in Indiana. The services of child welfare consultants are available to the entire state. Each consultant has two districts and therefore works with two district representatives. The consultant not only works with the county departments of public welfare, mainly in the fields of case work

and staff development, but he also carries the responsibility for the licensing and supervision of the private child-caring institutions and child-placing agencies in his particular districts. Indiana is unique in that most of the children's institutions and child-placing agencies are used mainly for the children who are wards of the county departments and are, therefore, their direct responsibility. It was felt in the early development of the program that better coördination of the services of all the agencies could be brought about with less confusion if the consultant was responsible for helping to develop the child welfare program, not only of the county departments, but of the institutions and agencies as well. If such a plan is developed, however, three things should be kept in mind in setting up the services: First, care should be taken that all the consultants are equally well qualified, if possible, both in training and experience; so that there will not be an unevenness of service in various parts of the state. Second, there must be a well-thought-out plan of coöperation between the district representatives and the consultants. The need for frequent conferences between the district representative and the child welfare consultant is clearly indicated. Keeping each other up to date on the situations in the counties should be the responsibility of both. Third, there should be a plan for sound and adequate supervision of the district representatives and the child welfare consultants. On the adequacy of this supervision the success or failure of a coördinated field plan may rest. In Indiana the two district representatives and the one child welfare consultant who serves their particular districts are assigned to the same supervisor. Three-way conferences are held regularly. Before a new district representative or consultant goes to a district there is a stock-taking conference at which time the whole program in the county, particularly as it affects child welfare, is discussed. It is the district representative's responsibility to keep both the supervisor and the consultant aware of the general developments, the needs, and the problems in the child welfare field. In later conferences more specific problems are discussed; such as the development of individual visitors, the kind of help which they need, and

the progress which they are making; and the attitudes of the director and the board. The thinking of both the district representative and the consultant is pooled to present a better picture of the county. The supervisor, district representative, and consultant then give attention to planning further work. The responsibilities of the district representative and the consultant in the various areas of work are outlined. Since the consultant carries the main responsibility for the supervision of case work, detailed case discussions are avoided in these conferences. Individual cases may be discussed briefly to illustrate the level of development in the county, or if the district representative wishes to report on an emergency situation, he may be called in. The success of these conferences rests mainly in advance planning on the part of the supervisor, the district representative, and the consultant. The pressures of the job are so great that insufficient time is often allowed for advance planning with the result that the conference is less profitable to those participating. It is well for the district representative and the consultant to decide in advance the points which they wish to discuss with the supervisor and send her a memo of them. This gives the supervisor an opportunity to bring herself up to date. The supervisor should, likewise, notify the district representative and consultant in advance of the questions which she wishes to discuss with them.

It seems advisable, for the most part, for the child welfare consultants to carry the main responsibility for case discussion in the local units, with the field representatives assisting in cases of emergency. This case discussion will cover the child welfare cases and many of the aid to dependent children cases, particularly where the suitability of the home is questioned. The consultant will assist in the development and will supervise the foster care facilities and will help in the development of the medical program for child welfare cases. He will supervise the development of case records.

The plan for consultant service will differ in the various counties according to the stage of development of the program, the personnel with whom the consultant must work, and other factors.

In some counties it may be necessary for the consultant to work mainly through the director.

In one county the director had not been willing for the consultant to work with the county child welfare visitor. He gave as his reason the fact that the worker was responsible to him and that it might be rather difficult for him and for her if she followed a certain course of action in a case, on the advice of the consultant, and the plan was not pleasing to the director. He pointed out that he was responsible to the citizens of the community for what the department did and that he wanted to be able to explain each decision if necessary. When these same arguments were given to a new consultant going into the county, the consultant agreed that he should be able to do this but pointed out that it was the consultant's job, not only to help in decisions on case situations, but to teach the county visitor to be a better case worker. The director was able to accept this reasoning. A plan was developed whereby the consultant would have a conference with the director when he first went into the county; that the consultant would then spend whatever time was necessary with the visitor and would have another conference with the director, before leaving, to discuss any important decisions which had been made in regard to case situations. This same consultant might go into a neighboring county where the director would delegate the responsibility for the program to the case work supervisor and the consultant would work almost entirely with this supervisor, giving help on supervision itself; or he might go into a county where he would work mainly with the county visitor on case work technique and procedure. The consultant must be able to adjust and work well in these various settings.

The consultant's visits to the local units should be planned as far in advance as possible. It must be kept in mind that while his visit may be an event to the local staff it is, at the same time, an interruption. The consultant may find that more will be accomplished in his visits if he maps out certain things to be done before his next visit. If possible, it is advisable to plan short visits at regular intervals. Experience has shown that with their

heavy case loads workers cannot take out too long a period for conferences with the consultant. Moreover, since many of the local workers are untrained and inexperienced they can better absorb what is given them in a short period. Our consultants usually spend about one day at a time in the county departments.

The consultant's first visit to the county is important. It is well to have the field representative take the consultant to the county for the first time when a conference can be held with the county director to discuss the meaning of consultant service and what help, specifically, the director wishes to receive in developing the child welfare program.

It is sometimes quite difficult for new consultants to adjust to this wide area of service. They are often recruited from the private field where they have been concentrating on the more skilled case work services to a relatively few children, and it is difficult for them to adjust to the pressures of the public welfare job, the large case loads, and the necessity, sometimes, to stand back and see rather terrible things happening to certain children while they are developing the kind of relationship with the local units which will enable them, eventually, to be of help to all children. In the early development of our program we made some serious mistakes in attempting to secure certain standards of care for particular children before the counties were ready for them and thus a difficult relationship developed which took a long time to break down. There is always great difficulty in breaking down barriers built up through unpleasant experiences or because of some misunderstanding. In one Indiana county the director was unwilling to accept consultant services for a period of two years because of difficulties which had arisen over one case, in which the state department asked more of the county than it seemed able to give at the time. When a new consultant went to this county recently he was greeted by the director with the statement that she had become angry at an early consultant who had come to southern Indiana to tell all the backward counties what to do and that she had told that consultant to leave. This greeting did not daunt the new consultant. He told the director that he thought there was considera-

ble value in discussing cases with another person even though the second person might know no more about how to handle the case and that it often happened that two persons could find a solution to a problem where one had been unable to do so. As a result of this conversation a plan was worked out for the consultant to visit the county at regular intervals.

If the public welfare program is to be effective we must develop adequate leadership in the local units, and the activities of these local units must be closely related to all the other constructive forces in the community. In these two areas, it seems to me, our program is woefully lacking. The field representatives are often not given a wide enough area in which to work, either because they are working under too many pressures or, perhaps, because it is felt that they are not adequately trained for this wider field of service. Consultants often concentrate too much on the case work aspect of the job, and thus the wider fields of endeavor are neglected. If some way is not found to provide for the broader services to the local communities we can never hope to have a really enlightened public.

The lack of consultant services in the other areas of the public welfare field has caused a considerable problem. It has meant not only that consultant services in child welfare have had to carry a heavier burden, particularly in the matter of interpretation of the need for these services, but also that misunderstandings have been created at times. There is need for consultant services in the public assistance programs. Although we have heard much discussion concerning the development of the service aspects of public assistance I have seen little evidence of this being done on the local level, nor have I witnessed much specific help, on either the Federal or the state level, in developing this phase of the program. Because so little has been done on the service aspect of public assistance and because the child welfare program is primarily a service program, it is natural that consultant services should be developed in this area first. Since the services are lacking in other areas, however, we hear complaints that child welfare service is a *de luxe* program; that it is creating an aristocracy in public welfare. These criticisms should

subside when the service aspect of other programs receives greater recognition. In the field of consultant services child welfare is apparently pioneering. Perhaps one day our most severe critics will think of these services as pioneers for standards which they will then be enjoying in other programs; standards which have to do with modern case work practice, with qualified personnel, with limited case loads, with greater freedom for the exercise of initiative, with more acceptance of the individual and his needs, and with sound social planning for the handicapped people who are our responsibility.

BREAKING THE DELINQUENCY-CRIME CHAIN

I: ON THE ADULT LEVEL

James V. Bennett

IN DISCUSSING THE PART which penal and correctional institutions for adults play in breaking the delinquency-crime chain, let us, first, examine the implied assumption that delinquency and crime form a chain which begins with the mistakes of youth and progresses logically and inexorably through the juvenile institution to the reformatory, and then to the prison. Is there any such chain? Did every man in Alcatraz start by stealing apples and snatching pocketbooks? Do all men in prison come from broken homes and interstitial areas? Does it follow that once a boy falls into the toils, he will continue in crime?

One of the things which our modern classification system is doing for us is to make clear that some of the notions about crime and criminals which have persisted for many years and are largely the rationalizations of detached students just are not so. We know, for example, that there is a group of persons who, because of their acquired or inherent personalities, were from the start and will always be institutional cases and will be either in prison or in some similar institution. There is no breaking of the chain for this group. In this group are included very low-grade mental cases, those handicapped by such gross physical defects that they cannot possibly adjust, the incorrigible drug addicts, the hopelessly perverted sexual types, those with permanent personality difficulties, and those who are psychotic. They get into prison usually because no one in the community knows what to do about them and it is necessary to wait until they commit a crime. They stay awhile, go out and repeat the offense because of an inherent defect, and then get back into prison. We cannot break the chain for them.

Then there are the men and women who receive such long sentences for some crime they have committed that it is impossible ever to readjust them in the community. People disagree as to how long a man can remain in prison without becoming a permanent custodial problem, but everyone will agree that not much can be done with a homeless, destitute, sixty-year-old man who has spent fifteen or twenty years in prison.

Then there are such persons as the incorrigible, confirmed criminals for whom little or nothing can be done. Not all of these are kleptomaniacs or psychopaths. There are, I believe, men who are so constituted or who acquire a habit or mental pattern which is basically criminal. Fortunately, there are not many of this latter type. I cannot attempt to guess just how many such persons are thus constituted; but altogether the group of those who are permanent institutional cases because of physical or mental defects, those who receive life terms, and those who seem to be confirmed criminals totals perhaps 20 to 25 percent of the population in adult penal and correctional institutions.¹ There is little hope of breaking the chain for these misfits. Prison is the only place where they can be cared for.

Then there is a group of prisoners numbering between 30 and 40 percent of our admissions who enter prison usually, but not necessarily, as first offenders, but who make a reasonably good record while there and then disappear from correctional institutions. These include the accidental offender who commits but one crime in his life; the youthful criminal who develops naturally from a restless adolescence into a stable maturity; the man who has tried to live by his wits, has failed, and retires defeated; and the man who pulls himself together and goes out "to sin no more." As far as the prison program is concerned, these men are unaffected by it. Some are scared, some mature, and some are never tempted again. More in spite of imprisonment than because of it, they leave the penal or correctional institution never to return. Even the worst prisons turn out a certain

¹ According to the United States Census reports, court commitments in 1938 totaled 68,326 (not including two state prisons which failed to report). Of this total, 22,801 or 35.5 percent had definite or indeterminate sentences of ten years or over, including 2,235 with life sentences.

percentage of this type of case. Certainly there are prisons where, admittedly, no effort at rehabilitation is made, yet a substantial number of their ex-prisoners never get into trouble again. We do not break the chain for them; it breaks of its own weight, as it were. Each year from twenty to twenty-five thousand men, who do not need or would not profit by any sort of scientific rehabilitative program, leave our prisons never to return.

Finally, we come to the group who are really affected by the correctional system either for good or for ill. Toward them we have a tremendous responsibility. With such men, to follow one course means disaster; to pursue another means success. For these men the correctional system can make or break the chain. They comprise, I judge, from 35 to 40 percent of our prison population.

Please do not misunderstand me. The correctional system has a responsibility toward all prisoners. There is no man among them for whom we can abandon hope. There is none whom we can neglect. However, if we are to be realistic, we need to begin to define the problem that confronts us. What, then, can the modern penal and correctional institution do for these three groups of prisoners: the permanent institutional case, the accidental or temporary criminal, and the improvable offender?

Our first duty is to find out who are included in each of these three groups and then to keep them securely, decently, and economically. This is no mean task, and it is not an unworthy one. Moreover, it has an important bearing on any further consideration of what we can do of a more constructive nature for these prisoners.

The whole modern penal and correctional system is erecting its program on the foundation laid for it by adequate classification and case work. If the modern prison provided no more than a means for the controlled study and observation of the criminal, I believe it would justify its place in the professional program. In the development of case records and classification the prison is performing a service whose value is far-reaching. In the first place, it enables us to separate these groups into different types of institutions, or at least to permit them different

types of programs in the same institution. While the long-term, habitual criminal requires the maximum security of steel cell blocks and well-guarded walls, it is clear that most of the accidental or temporary criminals and many of the improvable type can safely be kept in institutions of more economical and normal design. The Federal Bureau of Prisons has recently completed the construction of new housing for 7,000 prisoners, which includes only 2,000 cells of maximum security type.

In passing let me also say that the housekeeping of these institutions is in itself an enormous task if done well. To provide reasonable rations properly prepared, clean and comfortable though frugal quarters, and routine medical care occupies the time and attention of a large part of any prison staff and absorbs the greater portion of its appropriations. In any consideration of a treatment program in penal and correctional institutions we must, therefore, start with the assumption that such a program must operate within very limited margins and be extremely thrifty in its application.

The classification program, of course, supplies the basis, not only for housing, but also for the individual treatment programs for each prisoner. Equally important but as yet little recognized is the value which such records have for making both society and the prisoner aware of the problem which his case presents. Such a record should not, of course, be limited to the case history which results from the admission interviews; it should represent a continuing observation of the prisoner and his reactions during the entire period of his incarceration. This too is a phase of the modern prison program which too often is neglected. We are apt to be too easily satisfied with a case history and a diagnosis and to pay too little attention to continuing and recording our observations as we become better acquainted with the prisoner.

Once having found out who and what our prisoner is and where he belongs, what can we do for him? For the permanent, institutional case at the one extreme and for the accidental or temporary criminal at the other, the maintenance of a reasonable program of clean living conditions, good food, medical care,

employment, education, recreation, religion, and family welfare work seems the prime essential. Such a program will enable the habitual criminal, who will spend most of his life within institution walls, to carry on as tolerable a life as possible while helping to support himself. And it will not make the accidental offender worse than he was when he entered. We must be sure that we do not make it impossible for a man to reform himself. Beyond this there is little which the institution can or should do for such cases.

Such a program can be as rich in opportunities for those who wish to take advantage of it as the facilities, the staff, and the appropriations of any prison can supply. It assumes good house-keeping; it eliminates politics. It should be based on a reasonable discipline consistent with the principles of a democratic government, which cherishes the rights of the individual even in prison. It should provide for as large a measure of inmate participation in the affairs of the institution as is practicable with sound administration. It does not, however, make any pretense at special preparation for a return to society, because the first group will not profit by such efforts and the second group does not need them.

With the third group of cases—those who can be improved or degraded—the problem becomes more difficult. Here, I believe, with the limited funds at our disposal, is the place where we should concentrate our attention. With these cases the difference between success and failure lies in whether we choose one pathway or another. The greatest care and thought must be given to the diagnosis and the treatment chosen. With these cases the problem becomes not merely one of exposing them to opportunities for good medical care; religious, academic, and vocational education; steady employment; healthy recreation; and possible family welfare work, but one of selecting certain of these opportunities for special emphasis as they bear particularly upon the criminal tendencies of each prisoner. We can shift them about from one institution to another; we can bring to bear upon them different types of personalities; we can clear up their correctable physical defects like hernias, ruptures, bad

teeth, etc. We can do many things if we are interested in our jobs and have reasonable facilities. In general, our experience in the Federal prison system would put these efforts in two categories: one involving social adjustment and the other, psychiatric or personality adjustment. In some cases both would be concerned. If the problem is one of educational need (academic or vocational), of learning job skills, of getting special medical attention, of family readjustment, the job is one for a trained case worker to tackle with the help of the particular specialist involved. If it is a matter of personality adjustment, the special need is for the help of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, or a psychiatric social worker. The essential thing is that in addition to the routine program of everyday living, such cases should have a special program of adjustment especially adapted to the particular needs of the individual.

Since these cases comprise not much over one third of the present commitments to adult penal or correctional institutions, it should be more feasible to tackle them with some hope of ultimate success than if we allow ourselves to be swamped by the overwhelming flood of commitments of all sorts. We must specialize, concentrate attention, and spend more time and money on these cases. It may be urged that such a program presupposes a cold and calculating determination to let part of the prison population shift for itself. I frankly admit that it is a policy dictated by the exigencies of limited budgets, limited personnel, and limited facilities, but withal I believe it is a sound one.

I frankly admit that I am concerned with the inability our best institutions have in meeting the requirements of a modern case work program. I sometimes wonder whether the modern correctional institution has not assumed too great a responsibility when it attempts to carry the burden for rehabilitating the prisoners committed to it. Among both the accidental or "temporary" criminals and the improvable prisoners are many for whom only access to community resources can possibly provide the essentials of rehabilitation. For these the prison never will have enough personnel, enough facilities, or enough money to complete the rehabilitative process. For these only a fraction

of what we call rehabilitation can possibly be accomplished within prison walls; the real job of rehabilitation must be performed in the community itself under normal conditions where access to all the many opportunities and facilities and personal elements essential to the process can be had for each individual.

The beginnings of this concept are emerging in such proposals as those contained in the Youth Correction Authority Act, the indeterminate sentence, specialized institutions, and in the development of a realistic parole system which is something more than pure leniency or a review of the sentence. Briefly, it sees the prison as the agency of protection, separation, and punishment. It looks upon the prison as a place of observation, case records, and diagnosis. It recognizes that for some a tolerable system of confinement is needed and for others, only the beginning of a training program for future follow-up in the community. For this last group the real job of rehabilitation belongs to some supplementary period (not yet clearly defined) under close supervision in the community or in a special group or colony with access to all normal community resources and activities. I do not think we should call it "parole"; that is the final step after the rehabilitative process is fairly complete. It is rather a kind of conditional release during which the prison authorities shall have full power to try out in some community or on some special project or in some institution any prisoner who has been determined fit for such a status. In some cases it would be a particular type of job; in others it might be a sort of foster home or residence project or mental institution. The essential point is that the prison authorities should have the funds and staff to work with the man after he leaves the institution. Then they can plan a continuing program for him, integrate their efforts and follow-up intelligently on the beginning made in prison.

So the problem of breaking the delinquency-crime chain on the adult level becomes one of recognizing the different groups with which we must deal and the whole correctional scheme as a process in which the prison is only one link. For 150 years we have been trying to find a rational basis for the penitentiary

system. Perhaps when we become realistic about the possibilities and the practical limitations of that system and the part which it can successfully play in the whole program, we shall be able to do our part more effectively.

II: THE INSTITUTION'S ROLE

William J. Ellis

THE INSTITUTION shares with preventive agencies and with non-institutional services for children the objective of breaking the delinquency-crime chain, the duty of combating the factor which if unchecked may form fixed antisocial habits.

Since the interest and responsibility are shared, the institution must be articulated with community agencies concerned with other aspects of juvenile delinquency. The institution does not function in a detached sphere. Its treatment is designed to give the child appropriate training and education and to prepare him to return to the community and find satisfaction in socially acceptable activities there. The chances of success or failure, however, are heavily influenced by (a) the community services applied prior to admission; (b) the reasons for institutionalizing the child; and (c) the attitudes and influences which accelerate or retard the child's reabsorption after release into the normal flow of community life.

The role of the institution in this process can be stated briefly.

1. It should furnish special training and treatment for children in serious social and behavior difficulties.
2. It should grasp the opportunity to serve as a center for research into the etiology of delinquent conduct and into the effectiveness of institutional and other treatment.
3. It should provide diagnostic services for children who need observation in a controlled environment who do not necessarily require prolonged institutional treatment.
4. It should provide training on an internship basis for prospective members of professions dealing with social problems.

The characteristics of a good institution are generally accepted. First in importance I would place the personnel of an institution; second, its program. Also important is the physical plant in which the personnel and program operate.

Everything that goes on in an institution depends upon the people who work there. The board of managers or the policy-making body determines the atmosphere of the institution. This group selects the executive officer. The board and the executives hold the responsibility for determining whether the institution supplies constructive discipline and training to its wards or whether it is an institution with traditions derived from nineteenth-century penal institutions. The progressive institution feels an obligation to know each child as thoroughly as possible. Consequently it includes in its staff at least one physician, a psychologist, and a psychiatrist, together with social workers, other persons having special qualifications for institutional services, and specialists in educating difficult children. New Jersey has organized its juvenile institutions to provide individual care for its institutional wards. Obviously, this service can be rendered only by staff members prepared by special training and aptitude. All workers must understand the institutional program and believe in it. They must appreciate the individual differences and difficulties among the children with whom they live and work. This can be furnished only where aptitude for the job is the criterion for employment and where there is satisfaction in the work, together with security of tenure. Partisan politics and patronage have no place in the choice of workers in juvenile institutions.

A good program stems naturally from good personnel. It consists first of careful diagnosis by the several specialists, and a pooling of their findings to formulate individualized treatment plans. The treatment itself should take in several fields. The tone or "climate" of the institution is part of the treatment. The institution should have a kindly, serene atmosphere in which the child's fears and uncertainties are quietly adjusted.

The children who come to juvenile institutions have usually had great trouble in school. Often their interests have never been

stimulated. The institution, therefore, must have a flexible school program in which each child is approached through his interests and aptitudes as an incentive toward widening his educational horizons.

Work is a part of training. For the older children, experience can be furnished in specific vocations. Even the younger children can benefit by having personal responsibility for certain tasks suited to their development. The child in a well-regulated household gains in maturity by helping to fulfill particular obligations; so does the child in an institution. The Assistant Commissioner of Education in New Jersey in charge of vocational education, Mr. John McCarthy, values training in responsible attitudes toward work as being equal in importance to the development of skill. The experience of juvenile institutions confirms this view.

Play is a part of training, using "play" in a broad sense. Group play is important in developing ability to live with others, but it is equally important in developing resources within the individual.

The physical plant is a valuable aid to the development of a diversified program and a stimulus to morale in personnel. It is obviously possible, however, to have good buildings and yet be woefully deficient in personnel and program.

How do our juvenile institutions measure up to their responsibilities and opportunities? I suggest the handbooks on juvenile institutions published by the Osborne Association for an answer to this question. For several years this impartial, ably staffed organization has been evaluating juvenile institutions in the United States. The results of these studies are being published whenever material on a group of institutions in a section of the country has been completed. At the present time there are three volumes appraising institutions in eleven states in the south central, north-west central, and Pacific coast regions. These handbooks point out assets and liabilities in a way which is constructively helpful to institutional administrators and useful to community agencies in evaluating the juvenile institutions serving their territory.

The findings of the Association's survey demonstrate that, like

every individual, each institution has a character of its own, made up of mingled strands of favorable and adverse traits. No institutions were found which were wholly good or wholly bad, although the reports are plain-spoken in pointing out both assets and liabilities. There is no escaping the fact, however, that taken by themselves the findings would constitute a convincing indictment of the majority of juvenile institutions thus far visited. Far too often the political spoils system controls personnel. Even where qualified executives and staff members are in office, the danger is ever imminent that the next administration will scrap all their work. Programs are too often sterile and repressive, with emphasis on custody and punishment. In far too many institutions plants are old, poorly maintained, and unsanitary and constitute fire hazards.

Several institutions were found in which able administrators were conducting excellent programs, comparatively free from political hazards and with the confidence of an informed public. At least one such institution was found in each region thus far studied. This means that interest in, and support for, institutions capable of carrying their proper share of the effort to break the delinquency-crime chain exists in every part of the country.

The reaction of officials and public to the adverse comments made in the handbooks is another reason for being hopeful. In every state, except one which vigorously defended a program which the Association termed misdirected and paternalistic, the Association's criticisms have led to some corrective action. The results of the survey have therefore been more than a mere gain in knowledge of what kinds of juvenile institutions there are. The survey has led to definite improvements in the care being given to delinquent and neglected children.

Concrete evidence is hard to find as to the extent to which the qualities of juvenile institutions are reflected in the later careers of their wards. However, I made a comparison of the rate of convictions of adult offenders in eight of the states visited by the Osborne Association's staff in their studies of juvenile institutions. Almost without exception, the states whose juvenile institutions were highly rated by the Osborne Associa-

tion have relatively fewer adult convictions than the states whose juvenile institutions the Association found to be substandard. The quality of juvenile institutions is only one factor in this result, of course, but I see no reason for minimizing its significance.

It is well to remember that the institutions themselves do not exclusively control their characteristics. Institutions are a product of their setting. Where institutions are inferior, it means that public and government interest in the institutions or understanding of their use are also at fault. State and local agencies interested in the prevention of delinquency need good institutions, though institutions are only a palliative if the community fails to do its part in prevention.

I repeat that institutions and community agencies must be integral parts of a carefully articulated program of prevention and treatment. Barriers to this result exist in the community as well as in the institutions. The attitude is common that juvenile institutions are penal in nature, and that commitment to them imposes a stigma which must be avoided at all costs. The reverse of this thought—that the institution is too attractive, that it encourages children to be idle and to learn new ways to violate the law—is frequently encountered. A less extreme view is that institutional treatment is drastic and should be used only as a last resort after all other methods have failed. The result of these attitudes is that institutional treatment is avoided until it is too late for institutions to have much chance of success. It is also true that the reaction toward the institution as a place of punishment may result in the premature commitment of children whose conduct may have been serious, judged by criminal law standards, but who are more likely to respond to community treatment such as probation.

Knowing when to use institutional treatment in individual cases is a responsibility which community agencies must bear if the institution is to be an effective servant of the community. This can best be accomplished when the institution is viewed, not as a place to which children confirmed in unwholesome ac-

tivities are sent away, but as one of the resources for the solution or alleviation of children's problems.

First among the three other functions which the progressive institution can fulfill is its use as a diagnostic center. There are two ways in which this can be done. One is to establish a special "observation school" or "guidance institute." The other is to utilize the facilities of the treatment institutions. In either case a service is provided by which children whose needs and potentialities are obscure can be observed in the controlled environment of an institution by specialists able to probe deeply into the life of a child and prepare recommendations for his later care. These studies supplement the clinical and social studies made by community agencies for the juvenile court.

Special interest has been exhibited in this development in recent years. At the University of Michigan a Child Guidance Institute has been very useful to community agencies. A somewhat similar laboratory for the analysis of the problems of childhood, at Columbus, Ohio, for more than two decades has helped Ohio better to understand its children.

In New Jersey juvenile court judges are empowered to refer children to the state homes for boys and girls for classification and study before a disposition is decided upon. They receive a careful appraisal from specialists who meet, discuss their findings, and arrive at a constructive recommendation. This is reviewed in the Central Office Division of Classification and Education and the recommendations and findings are then transmitted to the courts. (This same opportunity of utilizing other correctional institutions is accorded judges serving in the adult criminal courts. It has proved to be as valuable an aid in arriving at equitable sentencing in adult cases, as it has been in constructive social planning for delinquent children.)

The research function needs little elaboration beyond the reference previously made to it. Institutions recording detailed diagnoses and the results of treatment tend to become libraries of unused data about offenders and juvenile delinquents. This material is of enormous potential value in learning more about why persons get into difficulties, the reasons behind particular offense

patterns, and the way offenders react to treatment. The research division of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies has made several studies for communities wishing to identify their own delinquency areas. Only a beginning has been made in the practice of using the experience of the institutions for research purposes.

The possibility of using juvenile institutions as a place for serving internships in occupations having a welfare aspect is receiving more attention. Theological seminaries are advising candidates for the ministry to undertake such internships; some seminaries actually require experience in such institutions before graduation. New Jersey institutions usually have young men and women who are serving as internes in preparation for work in the fields of applied psychology and social group work. I believe that a term of service as an interne after a certain amount of field experience might be of great value for social workers generally. It would afford an understanding of the problems of dealing with social deviates, and it would also help them in their later careers to recognize when the need of institutional care exists among their clientele.

These three supplementary functions are of value only as the institutions offering them operate on a high level as to personnel and progress. If the institution itself is adequate for its responsibilities as a place for treating delinquent and problem children, these added functions will tend to develop closer mutual services and working relationships between the institution and all the other agencies interested in breaking the delinquency-crime chain.

I am convinced that the institution is a full partner in the chain of preventive and noninstitutional treatment agencies. It has the responsibility to discover the individual differences which cause delinquency, to relate treatment methods to individual situations, always striving to develop the strengths and to overcome the liabilities which diagnostic specialists discover in the child. This can only be done through intelligent, qualified personnel, and can be done best in an attractive, well-equipped setting. Through studies of juvenile institutions, such as that made by the Osborne Association, it has been demonstrated that there are far too many

inadequate institutions. We must not lose sight of the fact, though, that many institutions function efficiently on a high level in treating the social maladjustments of individual children.

Institutions do not operate in a vacuum. If their service is to function at its optimum level, community agencies must know when and how to use them. At the same time, the institution is not limited to the treatment of individual children, but it may properly serve as a diagnostic center, a research center, and a center for advanced training in noninstitutional professional occupations. Institutions, working together in a balanced and harmonious relationship with other services and agencies charged with the guidance and discipline of children, have an important responsibility for the future. Our task is to develop every possible resource to give children in need the most constructive, understanding care of which we are capable.

THE PROBLEMS OF MENTAL DISEASE IN AN AGING POPULATION

Winfred Overholser

IT SEEMS ALMOST SUPERFLUOUS to state that the population in the United States is actually growing older. Nevertheless, recognition of that fact is not yet general, and even the groups which have been studying various aspects of population problems through the years have only recently come to a complete realization of the extent to which the proportion of older persons has grown within recent years. Some rather startling facts have been recently developed. It has been estimated, for example, that whereas 4 percent of the population were over sixty-five years of age in 1900, in 1940 this group had grown to 6.8 percent, and it is conservatively figured that by 1980 approximately 14 percent will fall in this age group. Within only the past decade the median age of the population has increased from twenty-six and four-tenths to twenty-eight and nine-tenths years, and whereas the total increase in population in the same period was only 7.2 percent, that of persons in the age group of sixty-five or over had increased by 35 percent. It is estimated that there are at the present time 8,956,206 persons sixty-five years of age or over. These figures, however, should not be taken as meaning necessarily that the health of older persons is being improved, or, indeed, that their life is being appreciably extended. The advances that have been made have been largely at the other end of the life scale. Infant mortality has been strikingly reduced; deaths by accidents occurring in childhood and early maturity have likewise been decreased substantially in number, while infectious diseases like diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, and pneumonia, which formerly took a heavy toll among children and young adults, have either been almost entirely eliminated or have through ad-

vances in therapeutics lost their greatest terrors. Furthermore, immigration has almost ceased. The birth rate, too, at least until the last few years, has shown a rather steady decline. In other words, more persons than formerly are living to reach the age of sixty-five or over, while at the same time little seems to have been accomplished in attacking the degenerative diseases of later life, with the one brilliant exception of diabetes.

Before discussing the bearing of these population changes on the mental disease problem, a word of warning concerning mental disease statistics should be uttered. The only statistics of mental disease which have any meaning whatever are those relating to mental hospital admissions and populations. They indicate something as to the number of persons suffering from mental deviation of sufficient grade to call for commitment to a mental hospital. They do not indicate how many persons in the community are suffering from mental disease which should call for hospital care but who, for one reason or another, whether the reluctance of families, the difficulty of commitment laws, the lack of hospital facilities, or the low standards in the existing hospitals, remain in the community without the benefit of hospital care. Likewise, they give no hint of the number of persons suffering from mental disorder of relatively mild degree which, though disabling, may not properly call for hospital care. A review of the census statistics indicates that whereas some state hospital populations are as high as 544 or more per 100,000 of the general population, others are as low as 190, the average for 1938, as given by the United States Census, being 344.3. Discrepancies of this magnitude certainly cannot be entirely accounted for by differences in the incidence of mental disorder. All that they indicate is that there are differences in the extent to which mental patients are sent to hospitals.

Certain recent studies have been made upon the trend of state hospital admissions, and a most important recent work by Dr. Neil A. Dayton, entitled *New Facts on Mental Disorder*, presents a detailed study of mental hospital admissions in Massachusetts, where the pace of provision of new facilities has, in general, tended to keep up with the increased demands. During the period

studied by Dayton, 1917 to 1933, the mental hospitals of Massachusetts enjoyed the confidence of the public, the admission laws were relatively simple and did not undergo substantial change, and the population of the state remained relatively stable. For these reasons the facts presented by the study must be looked upon as significant. The most striking single fact brought out by Dayton is that mental disorder, far from being a disease of youth, is primarily one of old age, and that the rates of admission per hundred thousand of corresponding populations in the various age groups parallel very closely the annual death rates of Massachusetts for the same ages. Thus we find that in the fourth decade of life (thirty to thirty-nine), first admissions to mental hospitals are 4.6 times as numerous as in the second decade (ten to nineteen); that in the seventh decade (sixty to sixty-nine) they have increased to 7.2 times as many; and that in the ninth decade (eighty to eighty-nine) the rate is 19.9 greater than in the second. Dayton's studies of the trends from 1917 to 1933 indicate that mental disease ran ahead of the general population in its shift to the older age groups and that it will become still more a problem of old age as time goes on. A decline was noted in the rates for general paresis, dementia praecox, and senile psychosis, whereas increases were noted, especially for the manic-depressive and the alcoholic groups, with an increase of $34\frac{1}{2}$ percent in the admission rate for psychoses with cerebral arteriosclerosis. These rates were figured on the basis of the age groups in which 90 percent or more of the cases fell, compared with the corresponding age groups in the general population. In the period from 1912 to 1936, it is reported by Landis and Paige (*Modern Society and Mental Disease*) that first admissions for arteriosclerosis increased from 7.7 to 49 per 100,000 general population over forty years old, an increase of 536 percent. Thus we find that not only is the number of persons in the age group susceptible to the mental changes of later life growing, but that the rate of incidence, at least of psychoses due to cerebral arteriosclerosis, is showing an increase.

What are some of the facts which account for this increase? Is it a real increase or only an apparent one? Although the death

rates from arteriosclerosis and cerebral hemorrhage are not increasing, their reduction is not keeping pace with the reduction in other causes; in fact, deaths from cardiovascular causes now lead all others. The matter of terminology likewise is involved. Undoubtedly, a part of the decrease in cases reported as due to senile psychosis has been due to a trend toward diagnosis of those cases as cerebral arteriosclerosis. It is highly doubtful, however, whether the change in nomenclature is sufficient to account for the rapidly mounting rate of admissions for the arteriosclerotic type of mental disorder.

Studies of the brains of aging persons indicate that the mental symptoms manifested do not necessarily display any direct relationship to the extent of the structural damage to the brain. The type of personality of the individual and the variety of experiences to which he has been subjected unquestionably are important factors. We must, indeed, look considerably farther than the pathology of the central nervous system to discover why patients in the later years of life require hospital care, although unquestionably a general failing of the bodily functions is a factor in the development of late mental disorder.

The psychological hazards of growing older have been considerably underestimated by physicians and probably by welfare officials, industrialists, and others who deal with problems of the older person. Recent developments in the field of psychosomatic medicine have indicated clearly the close relationship between emotional conflict and various functional and, indeed, structural changes. This is notably true in conditions of the cardiovascular system. It is thus possible that the psychological hazards have a direct bearing on the development of hardening of the arteries and upon those mental changes which are directly traceable to cerebral-vascular accidents. Until very recently a tendency had been gaining momentum toward the early retirement from industrial life of persons who reach the age of forty-five or thereabouts, so that the age at which a person might feel himself superannuated has constantly been lowered. This not only has tended to result in an actual and well-founded element of anxiety concerning financial independence, but has likewise emphasized

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a feeling of frustration and of uselessness. The growing tendency of the population to become an urban one and to occupy apartments rather than single dwellings has caused constriction of quarters, a diminution in outlets for constructive hobbies, and too often such a close juxtaposition of the members of the family as to emphasize feelings of dependency. This growing urbanization has likewise been an important factor in the increasing demands for hospitalization of those older persons who, in a rural situation, could readily be taken care of at home but who cannot be cared for adequately by the family residing in a small apartment, especially if, as is often the case, the wife as well as the husband is employed and out of the home during the day. The comparative rates of admission from rural and urban communities would indicate, indeed, that this factor operates to a very large extent in all age groups. One should not overlook, too, the traditional difficulty of "crabbed age and youth" in living together. The younger generation is often thoughtless and intolerant of the eccentricities of the older member of the household. The idea often found among the elderly that they are being persecuted or robbed by their children is, unfortunately, not always a delusion.

In all discussions of the aging process it should be borne in mind that physiologic and psychologic age sometimes bear astonishingly little relationship to chronologic age. Some persons are old at thirty-five, whereas others are young at seventy. This is a fact which industry might well take into account in the development of wiser and more efficient policies of hiring and firing.

The mental hospital administrator, contemplating some of the facts which have been already presented, is faced with a serious situation. Dr. Lawrence F. Kolb, Assistant Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, stated in a recent address that whereas in 1937 there were 13,600 persons aged sixty-five and over admitted to state hospitals for the first time, 84 percent of them for diseases of the senium, by 1980 we may expect that over 42,000 persons in the same age group will be admitted, of whom at least 35,000 will be suffering from senile and mental disorders, that is, an increase of over 200 percent. Furthermore, the average length of stay in mental hospitals is increasing in this

group, a fact which adds to the damming-up process in hospitals; it is this process which is largely responsible for the rapid increase in state hospital populations. The question may well be raised, therefore, whether the present policy of admitting to mental hospitals patients suffering from this type of mental disorder should be continued or whether other methods should be found.

It may be said that there are some glimmers of hope in the line of treatment. In the case of involutional melancholia which, to be sure, constitutes only a small proportion of the cases of mental disorder occurring in later life, substantial results seem to be promised by the use of metrazol, electro-shock, and other forms of so-called "shock" treatment. Furthermore, we have found that in a considerable number of acute confusional episodes arising in persons in later years, startlingly good results are obtained by vitamin therapy. Apparently the vitamin reserve of the aging person approaches the danger point and is readily exhausted. We may safely expect to learn more of the importance of physiological factors in the psychoses of the senium. In general, however, the prognosis in cases of mental disorder occurring in later life is not particularly good. There is a tendency to chronicity, but active nursing care and close supervision by a physician are called for in only a relatively small proportion of the cases.

In a number of states the family care system—in existence for hundreds of years in Gheel, Belgium, and used for nearly sixty years in Massachusetts—has recently been developed. Under this system patients who are no longer in need of active hospital care but who either are not quite well enough to return home or have no home, are placed with private families who are paid a relatively small sum for their board and care. This system has worked out satisfactorily with many of the aged mental patients. A substantial proportion of mental patients who are not well enough to be boarded out could probably be cared for in special institutions, more in the nature of infirmaries than hospitals, which might be termed "domiciliary," where general supervision could be exercised with a modicum of nursing care. Perhaps one answer would be the further improvement of the present county and state infirmary systems. As a matter of fact, the aged do

better when with other aged than with persons much younger, and a great deal of satisfaction could be obtained by them from life under these circumstances. Some patients, of course, would be too disturbed, too restless, or too paranoid to be cared for except in a mental hospital; we can never expect to eliminate this group entirely from our mental institutions. Wherever these patients are cared for they should have adequate diets, with particular reference to vitamins, suitable clothing and living quarters, ample opportunity for occupational therapy, and guidance by understanding medical men.

Probably one of the most important developments in the prophylaxis of mental breakdown in later life will prove to be the establishment of old age pensions. Although the actual lack of financial security, with its attendant unhygienic living and diet, is a serious matter, it is quite likely that the fear of such insecurity is almost as potent a factor in mental breakdowns in later life. The assurance of the aging person that when it becomes necessary for him to give up work he will not be completely dependent on others, and will have at least a small income, can be expected to have a beneficial effect upon the incidence of mental disorder in later life. Further than this, the person who actually becomes mentally disabled may, if there is a small income, be cared for by the family at home, whereas, otherwise, economic pressure might force them to seek his admittance to a mental hospital. It must be said in frankness that there are times when a small income would serve as a helpful antidote toward the impatience which the younger generation is likely to feel with the querulent and forgetful aging parent. That industry must be expected to use wiser methods in the employment and retiring of workers with reference to chronologic age probably needs no emphasizing. The older person, even though his reaction time may not be so short as that of the young, and though he may not have the speed of workmanship, nevertheless develops wisdom, judgment, and certain other similar qualities which make him in many ways a very valuable employee. The fact is that in our American civilization age is undervalued. A more general recognition of the value to society of the older person would be a

powerful prop to the mental hygiene of the man or woman who realizes that he is reaching the period of the "sere and yellow leaf." As a long-range prophylactic measure we should look for a development of adult education as a means of developing interests other than those directly connected with one's job. All too often, by these lacks, the retired employee suddenly finds life hollow and meaningless, with the result that he gives up the struggle, loses his interest in living, and declines rapidly into senility and death. It is quite likely, in this connection, that our entire school curriculum needs revision. After all, much of the curriculum in use today was developed at a time when a man might be expected to live to the ripe old age of forty, whereas now he is much more likely to live to sixty or past. The implications of the lengthening life span call for the careful consideration of the educator.

No discussion of the problem of mental disorder in any age group would be complete without an emphasis upon the importance of research and yet more research. Our knowledge of mental disorders, whether they be called functional or organic, whether they occur in the youthful or the aged, still has many gaps, and much knowledge needs to be gained before we can take many steps looking toward a substantial reduction in the incidence of what is in many ways the greatest public health problem; for certainly any group of diseases which accounts for over one half of the hospital beds in the United States must be looked upon as a serious public health problem. It is not at all unlikely that most mental disorders incident to later years are primarily constitutional and only secondarily due to the degenerative changes taking place in the central nervous system. It is only within the past few years that the almost magical effects of nicotinic acid and of thiamin chloride upon some of the confusional states of later life have been discovered. It is quite likely that many more equally significant facts will be learned as research into the subject of mental disorder goes on.

No attempt has been made here to discuss the symptomatology of such conditions as melancholia and the arteriosclerotic and senile psychoses. The object has been, rather, to indicate the seri-

ousness of the problem of mental disorder in the later reaches of life, to indicate some of the factors, individual and social, at work, and to suggest possible trends and methods of attack for the future. The problem has been late in securing recognition and is one which almost staggers by its magnitude. It is, however, far from insoluble and is fortunate in receiving the attention of those who are seriously trying to render the citizenry of the United States both healthier and happier.

COÖRDINATING THE EFFORTS OF AGENCIES SERVING THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Stanley P. Davies

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MARKED in the past century by the separation of the physically handicapped from the general mass of suffering humanity and the development of specialized organizations and facilities for their care and treatment. The question now before us is whether it is not necessary to press on to the next stage and to integrate all of our highly specialized, differentiated, and heterogeneous programs for the handicapped around one central and unifying concept.

However great the usefulness of specialization, without such integration it can reach a point of diminishing returns. Specialization tends to grow inward rather than outward, to separate from within into smaller and more intensive specialties. As the well-known expression has it, the specialist is constantly learning more and more about less and less. The trouble with specialization per se is that the human being is not a piece of machinery that may be broken down into component parts. The human being is one and indivisible. With our fuller understanding of human personality we must recognize the absolute necessity of seeing whole the individual behind the problem if meaningful treatment is to be given.

People generally have been all too apt to speak of "the blind man" and "the lame man," as if that fully described and classified the individual and there was no more we needed to know about him in order to help him. That led to the tacit assumption that since certain people are blind they are all alike, and therefore susceptible of being treated alike. But the child who is blind, deaf, or crippled is first of all a child, with the normal instincts,

interests, and drives of children generally. That he happens to have a handicap is an important, but nevertheless subsidiary, fact.

The recent study made by the Mayor's Commission for Crippled Children in New York City showed how, largely as the result of overspecialization, hospital records and medical charts failed completely to present any picture of the patient as a person. In a large number of records the patient appeared only as a back, or an arm, or legs. A parent told fearfully of her child, who was found in front of the mirror several times talking to his crippled arm, exclaiming, "I'll kill you! I'll kill you!" This boy attended school, played with friends, and when not by himself seemed well adjusted. He was attending the out-patient clinic of a hospital, but there was no record of this underlying problem anywhere in his chart.

Is it not all too true that in this age of specialization our various scientific disciplines and professional practices have approached the individual piecemeal, as if he were of many parts, and in the process have failed to see him whole? We have been so engrossed in meeting the specific problems of living that we seem to have pretty completely overlooked the art of living.

Quite recently, in many specialized fields of human service, there has come an awakening to the fact that the real forgotten man has been the human being himself, one and indivisible, as he actually lives and acts in his life setting. There are hopeful signs that scientific disciplines and professional practices are beginning to realize the necessity, in the interests of their own larger usefulness, to reach out beyond narrow boundaries. As the frontiers of various fields are being gradually pushed forward, the individual, standing there at the center, is beginning to be sighted, and different lines of advance are at least becoming aware of converging upon the common meeting ground of the real, everyday human being. These awakenings merely affirm the essential unity of all knowledge when the search for truth, beginning at diverse points, is pursued far enough.

The unity that is the human being—here is the unifying concept that must guide coördination in the far-flung program for the handicapped. Let us say a crippled child from a family in

limited financial circumstances is first discovered by a community agency when he enters school. He is a crippled child, yes, and he is also a child with a certain personality, belonging to a family, brought up in a certain neighborhood, already strongly conditioned by the life experiences of his formative first six years. Because he is crippled he is not immune to other problems; indeed, the impact of the other problems may have been all the greater because of his handicap. Suppose he goes to public school; does it suffice to make an educational adjustment in the regular or special class that will permit him to pursue the school program? The answer is, no. Suppose he goes to the hospital; does it suffice to give him the indicated physical and surgical treatment? The answer again is, obviously, no.

What is called for, then, is an integrated physical, personal, and social diagnosis in order to determine the interplay of all factors as they have fused in the actual individual. Thus alone can we achieve the objective of removing, or, even better, of preventing, not only physical handicaps, but emotional and social handicaps as well, so that, within certain unavoidable limitations, the result may be a normal personality who has developed as fully as possible his potentialities for leading a normal life in normal society.

How is such an integrated service program in any community to be achieved? It obviously calls for a combination of disciplines and professional practices, and for something more than polite recognition and casual coöperation among them. The various disciplines need to come together, pool their findings, and pursue jointly a concerted plan. In the initial review and appraisal of a case at least three disciplines, it seems to me, should invariably participate: medicine, education, and social work.

The primary function of this initial review and appraisal would be to determine what kinds of skills and practices need to be drawn in for the understanding and treatment of the particular individual. Medicine would need to determine what medical, surgical, nursing, or physiotherapy specialties are indicated and what other conditions affecting health need attention. It must determine, too, whether the physical diagnosis and treatment should be carried out in the hospital, in the clinic, or at home;

when and how hospital and public health nursing treatment are indicated; and what other facilities need to be called in, such as mechanical aids, prosthetic appliances, etc. Education would need to determine how, in the various stages of treatment and rehabilitation, general educational development and prevocational and vocational training can best be pursued, looking toward eventual employment.

Social work, through the case work approach initially, would seek to know and understand the individual and his problems in terms of his family and social setting and the economic, emotional, cultural, spiritual, and other forces that have been operating upon him. I am referring to case work generically. Circumstances and needs will determine in each case whether this role is to be performed by the medical social worker of a hospital, the case worker of a private family or children's agency or of a public welfare agency, or by a case worker from the child guidance clinic or visiting teacher service of the public school, or by a combination of them. The case work review would reveal particular needs for social treatment, in each case, with which one or more of the many resources in the community, including group work, recreational facilities, etc., could be profitably called upon to assist. The joint review by the several disciplines would also indicate whether direct psychiatric consultation and treatment are indicated.

In addition to the broad picture which medicine, education, and social work could present in the understanding of the whole individual, this initial review and subsequent treatment program should be reinforced by those who have specialized knowledge about the particular handicap under consideration. Such a combination of general and specific disciplines is especially to be emphasized.

The need of coördination on the local level has been amply recognized in two recent studies in New York City. The Mayor's Commission for Crippled Children proposed that a coördinating service for crippled children be established in the Department of Health, and that an advisory council of recognized leaders in various services be appointed in order to insure community repre-

sentation and responsiveness. These steps are now well under way. The Committee for the Study of the Care and Education of Physically Handicapped Children of the New York City Board of Education stated this conclusion:

To modernize the program and to coördinate the various aspects of the work, it appears desirable to have the educational provisions for all groups of physically handicapped children placed under the administration of a single official who is qualified for this position and who is assigned to devote full time to it. It should be the responsibility of this official not only to coördinate services within the Department of Education, but also to secure appropriate coöperation from other city departments, particularly the Department of Health, the Department of Hospitals, and the Department of Public Welfare.

What we need to make sure of is that coördination is not just at the top. The setting up of advisory and coördinating councils of recognized leaders in the various agencies, public and private, will serve the intended purpose only when the discussion of common problems translates itself into an interrelated and integrated direct-service program.

The practical machinery for coördination of local direct service consists of the continuing joint case conference in which the various disciplines come together for the planning and execution of combined action in each particular case. Whether this case conference is held in the hospital, the public school, the public health nursing agency, or the social agency will depend largely on the nature of the handicap and the problems in the particular case. The common denominator is the handicapped person, and he is the same person with the same needs whether he happens to come first to the attention of the hospital, the school, or the community agency. Such a plan means unification but not uniformity. It does not discourage specialization and the further development of different professional skills and techniques; on the contrary, it encourages them by integrating them as parts of one program to serve one individual.

Coördination of service to the handicapped in terms of the whole individual thus clearly involves much more than coördination among agencies specializing in work for the handicapped.

When the problems of the individual with reference to family and community life are being dealt with at the same time that physical treatment and educational and vocational training are going forward, physical and social rehabilitation go hand in hand, and we shall be less likely, as now too frequently happens, to find the sad spectacle of social avenues closed after physical rehabilitation has been completed. It profits little for the individual to be physically restored, but socially stranded.

By increasing the sense of responsibility for, and participation in, work for the handicapped among community agencies generally, such a program would greatly stimulate the discovery, recognition, and registration of the handicapped. Prevention, which is our primary aim, must begin before the handicap occurs, and thus, in most instances, before the individual comes to the attention of a specialized agency for the handicapped. Prevention, therefore, must consist of widespread efforts on the part of a wide variety of agencies in the reduction of hazards, including preventive and immunizing medical treatment by public health authorities; safety devices in industry; economic assistance to overcome the evil effects of faulty nutrition, lack of adequate medical and dental care; and bad and dangerous housing. Prevention also assumes personal and social service which sustains individual and family morale. Thus prevention, as well as discovery, is facilitated by a widening of interest and participation in the problem of the handicapped.

Local coördination is fundamental. It is the point at which service is delivered. The measurement of the effectiveness of national and state agencies and programs is the degree to which they contribute to the rendering of that service. National agencies and state agencies have essentially an enabling function. They are leadership agencies. They give leadership in the development of thought and practice, in research, in counsel and referral for those seeking advice and treatment, in the creation of supporting public opinion, in personnel standards, in the establishment of needed new facilities, in the direct supervision and stimulation of local services, in securing and distributing private contributions and public appropriations, in obtaining needed legislation,

and in coördination. Some important exceptions should be noted, however, of Federal and state agencies which also provide direct service in the locality.

In existing public programs, Federal, state, and local, all of comparatively recent origin and still in the process of development, we see tangible evidences of effective coördination already existing. These programs bring together the facilities and resources of the three levels of government in common undertakings under Federal leadership. They are moving toward common standards of personnel and practice. It is interesting to note that the law itself requires coöperation by state rehabilitation agencies, employment services, and state workmen's compensation commissions, and that certain joint studies are going forward. In many states close working relationships have been established between the state crippled children's agency and the state agency for vocational rehabilitation.

Perhaps the most important single step toward coördination among official agencies is the Coördination Committee appointed in 1940 by the administrator of the Federal Security Agency, which is composed of representatives of the Administrator's office, the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, the United States Public Health Service, the National Youth Administration, and the Bureau of Public Assistance and Employment Service Division of the Social Security Board. It is aimed at developing better coördination at the point of service. I am indebted to Mr. K. Vernon Banta, supervisor of the Handicapped Placement Service of the Bureau of Employment Security, Social Security Board, for the following description of activities thus far undertaken:

In initiating the work, three coördination demonstration centers were selected:—namely, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, representing a large center; Decatur, Illinois, a medium-sized center; and Bartholomew County, Indiana, a rural county. Since the results of these demonstrations might be adapted to almost every situation in the Nation, an attempt was made to select locations and conditions that would represent a fairly typical picture. The steps which are being followed in setting up the program in the demonstration centers are essentially as follows:—

1. Appointment of a local steering committee, composed of repre-

sentatives of all community agencies (both public and private) whose work concerns the physically handicapped. This Committee acts as a local control group for carrying out the objectives of the program.

2. Review of the files of those agencies having records of physically handicapped persons in need of service.

3. Review of community resources to determine the kinds of facilities that are available for serving physically handicapped citizens.

4. Preparation of a handbook for use by coöperating agencies, giving full information concerning these agencies, together with the services rendered by them.

5. Selection of a number of cases of physically handicapped persons for joint review and action by the steering committee.

As Ewan Clague, director of the Bureau of Employment Security, points out in his article on employment services in the *Social Work Year Book*, the task of coördination is beset with difficulties. He states:

The involved procedural mechanics which may be an inevitable by-product of a large integrated program such as that of the Bureau of Employment Security and the Social Security Board as a whole complicate the problem of relationships, and in many instances almost eliminate direct contact between the states and the federal staff working on employment service problems and policies.

Among the problems of coördination are the variations in law, terminology, definition, and practice in the several states and the different types—at least four—of state administrative units. Physicians and surgeons who are legally qualified to practice in some states are barred in others. Definitions of crippled children and of other types of handicapped vary widely among the states. The respective functions of different professional groups need to be clarified. Administrators, Federal, state, and local, in different departments and activities are often not acquainted with each other.

Pioneering leadership in the work for the handicapped has been the outstanding contribution of the private agencies in the field. As organizations of humanitarian, forward-looking citizens working with and through staffs having specialized knowledge and skills they not only have prosecuted active programs of their

own, but have been mainly responsible for showing the way to public action, shaping the form of that action, and enlisting public and official support for the enactment of legislation and public appropriation.

The scope of a national plan of coördination is basically three-fold: (1) direction of service; (2) quality of service; (3) quantity of service. These are put down in what I believe is the order of their importance. Setting our goal is paramount; better no service than that which is moving in the wrong direction. Stated most simply, our direction is away from the segregation of the handicapped as a class apart, more or less outside the pale of society, and toward keeping the handicapped in the stream of normal life. While the early institutional program for the handicapped is the most obvious example of segregation, the trend toward overspecialization in many phases of the work has also had the effect of segregation. The outstanding recommendation of the recent report of the New York City Board of Education urges that the program for physically handicapped children in the school system should be revised to eliminate in large measure the segregation of such children in special classes, and that much more largely than at present handicapped children should participate in the normal activities of the classroom and mingle with normal children. It is a form of segregation, too, if we think of serving the handicapped only through agencies for the handicapped working in particular fields. While at present there is much stress laid upon coöperation and coördination in the work, it nearly all, as yet, is found within the limits of a specific disability, such as sight, hearing, speech, etc.

Next, and closely related, comes quality of service. Clearly, we must be satisfied that the service being rendered measures up to accepted standards before any real good can come from increasing the amount and coverage of service—an obvious point, but one too often overlooked. Promotion has a way of outrunning performance.

The final, never ending objective of coördinating effort must be to secure additional enabling provisions and appropriations, to the ultimate end that there shall be equality of opportunity

for all the handicapped in securing the maximum benefits of treatment, training, employment, personal development, and social living.

Is there a natural division of labor between public and private agencies working for the handicapped? It is unmistakably clear that the magnitude and complexity of the task are such as to call for the utmost resources and skills of public and private agencies working closely together. It is equally clear that only through the use of public funds contributed through taxation can we begin to meet the need. As a matter of public accountability, if for no other reason, public funds should be administered under law by public agencies. Therefore the major direct-service programs in this field will be publicly financed, publicly supervised, and, in large part, publicly operated. This generally stated fact by no means puts private agencies out of the direct-service picture; that would be a calamity. The ongoing contribution of private agencies—hospitals, nursing and social agencies, sheltered workshops, national and state organizations—will continue to be qualitatively great, although in terms of direct service quantitatively small.

The significant and, to my way of thinking, indispensable contribution of private agencies will be in their role as citizens' organizations to aid and abet the full and effective discharge of public responsibility. This includes initiative in research toward new knowledge and methods; experimentation and demonstration to try out and prove new ideas and methods; the upholding and further development of standards in actual practice; improved training facilities; continuing study and evaluation of the performance of both public and private programs; readiness to take action when performance lags; leadership in planning and coördination; and, most important of all, education of the public to create the informed and aroused public opinion from which alone can come the force that will bring public action.

Just as direct service is not exclusively the function of the public agency, so leadership in research, teaching, standards, and public education is by no means the exclusive function of the private agency. Quite generally, the development of our present

public programs in the field of the handicapped is to be traced to the efforts of voluntary groups, and just as surely the strength of public programs continues to lie in the reinforcement given them by such informed citizens' agencies.

All this has a direct bearing on the practical ways and means of coördination. The best results of coördinated effort I have seen have come from groups in which public officials and citizen members and staff experts of private agencies in the same field have worked together on an equal footing. These groups have first sought to agree on objectives, and that usually has proved not to be too difficult. Then there has been a division of labor. Citizen leaders and staff members of private agencies have been able to go before the legislature and the public commending the work and personnel of the public agencies, urging further support and additional appropriations and authority for proposed new advances in the program in a way that public officials have not felt free to do. The effectiveness of such coöperative effort has so demonstrated itself in concrete instances that I cannot contemplate coördination which does not at every level, local, state, and national, include the leaders in public and private work.

All the private agencies work with and through territorial, state, and local groups interested in the type of disabled which they are organized to serve. Some have coördinating committees with other national agencies assisting clients in the same general field of service. They coöperate with the Federal and state vocational rehabilitation service. One agency prepared a list of twenty-four coöperative activities with other national agencies. The National Health Council and National Social Work Council recently have been instrumental in suggesting more coöperative undertakings among national agencies affiliated in health and welfare service, including many agencies concerned with the physically handicapped.

Coördination in any field and on any level cannot be forced. It must grow out of mutual participation and democratic action. But it can be encouraged and developed by well-directed and well-organized effort, and this is a first charge upon the leaders in the field. To be specific, it seems to me that there is clear and

urgent need of a national coördinating body in this field that is truly representative and inclusive in character and is a real working organization, not a loosely assembled round-table conference. It should represent: (1) public and private agencies; (2) the more important fields of work and types of program; (3) the major professions working in the field. Such representation would comprise a sizable body of delegates to form a national council. The present organization structure of the National Council for the Physically Handicapped might well be adapted to this purpose. The national council should meet at least semiannually to determine general policies, procedures, and objectives as a whole. Because the most effective way of putting coördination into actual practice is through small working groups, an executive committee limited to perhaps twelve members should annually be designated by the national council. The executive committee should meet frequently. There should be at least one full-time staff person to serve as executive director.

The first task of a national council and its executive committee would be a review and appraisal of the present program in relation to total needs. It is to be hoped that this review would not require another expensive, time-consuming survey, but rather that it might be made, initially at least, by assembling and organizing existing information. A directory of agencies, a bibliography, and a standardization of definitions and terminology might well be a part of the undertaking. Out of this review should come a statement of objectives directed toward unmet needs. The more immediate program would include objectives that logically come first in further program development and show some promise of being attainable in the near future. Other objectives should be listed in subsequent order of priority.

The national coördinating body should assume the responsibility of keeping in close touch with legislative developments in order to forestall premature or misdirected measures, as well as to organize the support of desirable ones and to carry on a continuous education of national and state legislators and back of them, of public opinion. It should keep a watch over all trends in the field so that action may be guided toward accepted goals.

Other suggested tasks for such a national coördinating council include: the integration of vocational guidance with adequate placement service; a study of the effect of present laws and administrative conditions upon the efficiency of public employment agencies; consideration of how to draw into common action employers, industrial physicians, personnel officials, and safety engineers; coöperation with the National Safety Council, the National Health Council, the National Citizens' Committee, and the Inter-Agency Committee of the recent White House Conference, and all other country-wide agencies concerned with prevention of handicaps.

National coördination must build upon and in turn stimulate and strengthen a progressive series of smaller coördinations of natural working groups in various fields and geographical areas. Thus we have a wheel of coördination, in which each part is interdependent. At the circumference, holding all parts of the wheel together in proper relationship, is the final, completed circle of coördination in the form of a representative national council. The various forms of coördination within the whole are the spokes which sustain the all-embracing circumference of national coördination at the rim of the wheel, and at the same time move inward to converge at the hub where the innermost circle of local professional coördination actually serves the real and the whole human being.

This freedom for which our country is preparing to fight has no meaning as an abstraction. It has reality only as it gives release to the individual, to his capacities and his spirit. A democracy must bring such freedom, not to some of the people, but to all of the people. We plead for a greater sense of citizen and social responsibility in lifting from the handicapped the fetters which bind them so that they too may more fully share the blessings of this freedom.

HEALTH SERVICE CENTERS IN DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL AREAS

Kingsley Roberts

IT WOULD BE OBVIOUSLY BAD PLANNING to send a well-trained pilot aloft to fight Messerschmitts and dive bombers in a plane of the type flown by the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk. To my mind it is just as bad planning to think of meeting the needs and the demands for health service and medical care in defense industrial areas without the use of the most modern implements at our disposal.

One of these implements is intelligent democratic planning for the optimum use of new as well as time-tested methods. Military medical officers plan the health care of the uniformed forces; industrial physicians plan the care of the life of the worker while he is in the shop. Why should there be no planning for the care of the worker and his family when he is not within the four walls of his place of employment?

Modern adequate medical care administration demands that more time and effort be spent in lessening the incidence and severity of disease and more attention given to what are known as the preclinical fields. Although it is not of startling amplitude as yet, there is a decided swing of the attention of the forward-looking members of the profession into these fields. This shift of emphasis must be encouraged. But it cannot be if we think of health service and medical care in terms of equipment and procedures which are no more modern than those with which we were familiar in 1918.

Our urgent need to meet the requirements of the all-out defense program means that every man-day that can possibly be saved for production must be saved. We are sadly behind as it is because daily we are losing productive man-days through illness

which could be prevented. If the cost of this profligate waste were only a matter of dollars and cents my concern would not be as great. Industry could assimilate that cost, but a nation cannot fight with a plane, tank, or gun which it does not have. There are 400,000,000 man-days lost to industry each year in this country. Only 10 percent or 40,000,000 man-days are due to industrial illness, leaving the appalling total of 360,000,000 man-days lost through nonindustrial illness, part of which can be prevented. If the present rate of loss continues, it will be the equivalent of 1,000 factories each employing 1,000 workers shut down for the entire year. These are the factories which are now manufacturing the planes, guns, and tanks that we so sadly need. These factories must be kept in production through planned health care and medical services to the workers.

I regret that faulty memory prevents my giving the credit where it is due to the columnist who, in reference to strikes in defense industries, said, "Let us not be caught with our plants down." Now strikes cause two hours per man-year of lost time while illness causes eight days per man-year. I want to lift the admonition *in toto* over into the health field and say "let us not be caught with our plants down" due to illness which is preventable.

The health service center is somewhat different from a hospital. Essentially, it is a centrally located part of a building or buildings which houses the working space and equipment necessary for the early diagnosis and treatment of illness once it develops and also those educational and other implements of positive health promotion which seek to minimize the incidence of disease and to lessen its severity. In the West and South such space would be called a clinic, but in the East this term is avoided because it connotes charity. A diagnostic laboratory and space for the treatment of ambulatory patients are essential. Sufficient room is available for periodic health examinations and for public health and public health nursing activities as well as for the activities of other educational and hygiene agencies. Beds are provided for the cases which require hospital service, but these are not taken as the criterion for the determination of the usefulness of the institution.

Under ideal conditions a center is staffed by a coördinated set of physicians, dentists, nurses, etc., who are not only trained in the latest therapeutic procedures, but, in addition, are attuned to the need for carrying positive procedures to maintain health into the community. That such an attitude is not more widespread amongst professional personnel at present is to be regretted. The answer may well be that up to now sufficient inducement has not been offered nor have adequate methods been developed. The staff has the usual auxiliary personnel, such as technicians in the laboratory, X-ray, and other fields, plus specially trained people who go into the homes, carrying the health program to the place where the worker spends more of his time than he does in the shop. The administration of the center is divided between the health conservation staff and the health restoration staff. Occasionally the personnel of these two staffs is the same, and they share the same equipment and auxiliary personnel.

What are some of the practical steps which can be taken to lessen the incidence and severity of illness among workers in defense industry?

1. Get competent doctors and sick patients together as soon as possible. Remove the financial barrier between the patient who has been taught to recognize the early symptoms of illness and the physician who is mentally and physically equipped to recognize the illness. This can most readily be done by the use of the prepayment system.
2. Use qualifying physical examinations and periodic follow-ups in conjunction with a system of health counselors or public health nurses which brings the health service and medical care system directly into the homes and lives of the people concerned.
3. Educate the people in the dangers and sequelae of venereal diseases and teach them how to get early treatment if prevention is not possible.
4. Utilize the accepted methods of public health procedures as well as the immunizational techniques which have been proven of value and augment them with rational experimentation with some of the newer weapons which seem to have some effect in

reducing the incidence and severity of the common cold, pneumonia, and influenza.

Along with these practical and readily available methods we must utilize every known educational technique. We must teach our workers and their families how to get and properly prepare the right amounts and kinds of foods which will supply them with sufficient vitamins as well as with dietary balance. We must teach them that a physician is a person who wants to keep them well. To do this we must make it financially attractive to the doctor to practice under this system. Here again prepayment comes in. We must teach the worker and his family that it is worth while to do the several inconvenient things which are necessary to follow out this program.

Of those who will benefit the most from this program, the worker and his family stand well out in front. It seeks not only to care for him when he is taken unavoidably ill, but to preserve his most important asset, his power to earn. Every day saved from illness is a productive day, and, what is more, a day less of pain and suffering. We have included the workers' families in the program because we cannot see any logic in leaving them out, although it is admitted that they complicate the picture. Women and children are harder to care for than able-bodied males, but a sick wife or child is a deleterious influence on the worker, and experience has shown that workers want their families included in health programs.

The employer benefits because reduced illness means more production and less need to replace workers or to provide partial employment during periods of rehabilitation. Management is slowly learning that consideration of the health needs of the worker leads to improved employee relations as well as increased production, since the human side of production is equally important with the mechanical.

Members of the medical profession benefit because their aggregate income is increased, their working conditions are improved, and they are provided with an income for doing something which they were hitherto expected to do for nothing, namely, practicing preventive medicine.

There is a unique problem presented by the need for medical care in defense industry and in military training, namely, the rehabilitation of the individual, necessary to the system, who is incapacitated by a remediable physical defect. The statistics of this problem are staggering but relatively unimportant. The fact that there are any people who need medical care before they can be accepted for military training or productive employment in defense industry is enough to challenge our ingenuity. Facilities must be set up to rehabilitate, by whatever means are necessary, those men and women who cannot be medically self-supporting until they gain employment, which they cannot secure now because of physical defects. Here would seem to be a splendid opportunity to put state or Federal funds, or a combination of the two, to work, either as grants or loans to such handicapped citizens or by establishing facilities for their rehabilitation through some existing professional mechanism.

Defense industries are centering around towns and cities where very little expansion of existing facilities and augmentation of existing personnel will provide adequate facilities for the institution of the system of health service centers advocated. Where there are voluntary and, in some instances, proprietary hospitals in a community, certain changes which are not beyond the bounds of reason but which do require some revision of the thoughts of their present staffs and administrators are all that are necessary. The important thing is to be sure that where new facilities must be set up, they are constructed along lines which provide for the physical changes necessary to accomplish the desired results. For instance, most voluntary hospitals do not have space for the establishment of doctors' offices for the care of ambulatory patients. To provide for such space when drawing up the blueprints for a new institution is comparatively inexpensive, while the alterations necessary to provide them may be prohibitively high. Where such alterations are necessary, it is suggested that some system be worked out whereby loans are made to the institution for this purpose.

Wherever possible, existing facilities and personnel should be utilized to the greatest extent, supplemented, where necessary, by

the indicated additions. Experience shows that the chief impediment to the transition from the passive attitude of those who think of medical care in terms of therapy to the active concept that health service is something which can go into the community and take positive steps to keep people well is a mental rather than a physical one. In most instances there are on the ground sufficient hospital beds, doctors, dentists, and nurses to do the job. The problem is to mobilize them for concerted action.

Ten percent of the illness expected in these defense industrial areas will be due to industrial disease, and it is presupposed that adequate compensation laws will cover the expense of caring for such illness. What about the other 90 percent? How is it to be paid for? Are the same facilities to be used in the care of both types of illness? To answer the second question first: because industrial medicine must primarily protect the interests of the employer and since nonindustrial medicine must primarily protect the interests of the employee, the use of the same equipment and personnel, although highly desirable for economy, is possible only when these two interests are mutual.

The answer to the first question is not simple; it entails consideration of the ability of different income categories to pay: (1) There are those who can be medically self-supporting and meet their sickness expense on the fee-for-service basis. However, they will not pay for health conservation and preventive medicine on this same plan. They are not well educated enough in its value. (2) There are those who can be medically self-supporting on a spread-risk-share-cost system if they have preventive medicine practiced on them to lessen the incidence and severity of disease amongst them. They need no outside assistance except the budget system. (3) There are those who must be assisted, either by the employer or by tax-raised funds, even if they have a budget system. For these and for the protection of the interests of the employer and of the tax-raised funds, health conservation and preventive medicine are prime necessities.

Throughout all these categories, especially the latter two, runs the call for the use of prepayment: in the upper and upper middle categories, prepayment by the worker alone; in the lower middle

and lower categories, prepayment by the worker and some combination of the employer and tax-raised funds. This is merely being realistic, not advancing sociological arguments, for it is evident that some incomes are so low that the worker cannot be medically self-supporting.

Organized medicine has seen the need for prepayment systems to meet sickness expense. The New Jersey State Medical Society has seen the wisdom of prepayment for illness expense and the inclusion of periodic health examinations and visits of the well patient to the physician. This is commendable progress. As a matter of demonstrable fact, the interests of organized medicine, the employee, the employer, the insurance companies, and the community at large, all lie along the same path, namely, the application of the spread-risk-share-cost system to the payment for sickness expense in a program in which the incidence and severity of disease are kept at a minimum by a rationally planned and executed health conservation and preventive medical program. The sad aspect of the situation is that we have so little data upon which we can draw for guidance.

Experience has shown that the most equitable type of management for positive health plans is one participated in by all concerned. The patient or the subscriber must be made to feel that in a great degree the system is his. Under these conditions he works for and with it and does not take the "policy-holder carrier" attitude which has menaced so many "insurance" plans. The physicians must know that they control the professional policies involved and that their financial interests are being guarded. Where the employer contributes to the maintenance of these institutions, he is certainly entitled to participation in management. It seems to me that the primary function of government is the setting of minimum standards for quality and quantity of services. If these standards are not met, contributions from tax-raised funds should be withheld. But I hesitate to recommend a centralized controlling bureau. I believe local administration is preferable.

There is evidence to show that the presence of a prepayment plan, no matter what type, will reduce absenteeism. There is evi-

dence to show that the use of the health service center combined with a prepayment plan can enhance the budget system for payment. We know that rational attempts to reduce the incidence and severity of illness result in less demand for treatment and less absenteeism. Now is the time to combine the best features of those various systems and thereby strengthen the effectiveness of our industrial army in order that our military forces and those of our friends may have the weapons with which to fight. To do this we must use the modern weapons for health that are at hand.

How can these health service centers be achieved? By a concerted demand on the part of both labor and management and with the active assistance of intelligent physicians. Planned action must replace the haphazard ineffectiveness of the "let George do it" attitude. Now is the time for leaders of industry and labor to put their feet under the council table and work out ways and means to solve a mutual problem. Now is not the time to go riding in a medical horse and buggy.

BETTER HOUSING AS A HEALTH RESOURCE

John C. Leukhardt

THE SUBJECT OF BETTER HOUSING as a health resource can lead into many ramifications, but I shall confine my discussion to three major points, which will bring out something of the extent to which housing may be and is being considered as a public health resource: (1) some correlations in National Health Survey data which have been found to exist between illness and disability and certain housing conditions; (2) potentialities in the current housing programs for health and social development to bring about benefits beyond those that should accrue from better physical housing alone; and (3) recent evidence that health officials are keenly aware of the opportunities that exist in the housing field for the advancement of their basic objectives and are taking active steps through which improvement in housing conditions may be encouraged.

Certain analyses of National Health Survey data have recently been completed at the National Institute of Health. This survey was begun in 1935 as a project of the Works Progress Administration sponsored by the United States Public Health Service.¹ It is the most comprehensive of its kind ever undertaken in the United States and has provided data on the illness and disability of 2,500,000 persons in representative sections of the country. At the same time, certain housing data were secured, and analyses of these two sets of data in relation to each other have revealed the following summary facts: that the amount of illness and disability as determined by this survey increases definitely as the degree of crowding increases; that this is especially noticeable in connection with the "contact" diseases such as pneumonia and tuberculosis;

¹ George St. J. Perrott, Clark Tibbitts, and Rollo H. Britten, *The National Health Survey: Scope and Method of a Nation-wide Canvass of Sickness in Relation to Its Social and Economic Setting* (Public Health Report, LIV [1939], 1663). Reprint No. 2098.

that the correlation holds true between lack of sanitary facilities and communicable digestive diseases; and that home accidents increase heavily as the rental rate or value of the home decreases.

These correlations, of course, do not permit jumping to an immediate conclusion that bad housing alone is the cause of all the excessive illness and disability cited, and care must be taken not to draw undue inferences from them. It is entirely probable, for instance, that ill health has driven some of these people into less desirable housing through restriction of earning power. However, keeping such qualifications in mind, we can say, from present statistical evidence, that substandard housing conditions unquestionably are one factor in the chain of elements responsible for lowered health levels and, as such, are a definite threat to the health resources of our country.

Let us consider these findings in a little greater detail. While the data obtained during the National Health Survey afforded no all-inclusive index of the condition of the house structure, the rental (or the value of the owned home) reflects in reasonably accurate degree the state of repair of the houses included in the survey. On the premise that a person is just as much disabled through an accident as he is by disease, the data were examined to determine the correlation between rental (or value of the owned home) and the home-accident rate. The frequency of disabling home accidents was found to increase sharply as the rental of dwellings decreased.

Fatalities from home accidents in some years have exceeded those from motor vehicles, and the findings of the National Health Survey have re-emphasized the necessity to minimize as far as possible the effect of the factors which contribute to a high home-accident rate. As reported in the survey, the annual frequency of accidents in the urban home which disabled for one week or more was 4.65 per thousand persons.² By far the larger proportion of the accidents

² Rollo H. Britten, J. E. Brown, and Isidore Altman, "Certain Characteristics of Urban Housing and Their Relation to Illness and Accidents: Summary of Findings of the National Health Survey," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, April, 1940.

Rollo H. Britten, and Isidore Altman, *Illness and Accidents among Persons Living under Different Housing Conditions: Data Based on the National Health Survey*. (Public Health Report, LVI [1941], 609). Reprint No. 2253.

was due to falls, and the rate, which remained relatively stationary in the monthly rental range of from \$25 to \$35, went up in a generally constant degree as the rentals fell below \$25. It is fairly safe to conclude that some factor of dilapidation or state of bad repair of the dwelling begins to operate to increase the rate of accident in the dwellings below the \$25 level. Thus bad structural conditions, apart from any influence they may exert on the illness level of the population, must be considered as a health hazard from the point of view of accident causation alone.

Houses that are inadequately equipped with sanitary facilities also constitute a health hazard that must be combated more vigorously than it is at present. The National Health Survey showed, for instance, that the incidence of a group of digestive diseases, normally associated with lack of sanitation, was 70 percent higher for persons in households without private inside flush toilets than it was for persons living in households having such facilities. This criterion, of course, is only one index of generally unsatisfactory sanitary conditions, and it is probable that when a house lacks a private inside flush toilet other deficiencies in sanitary facilities will exist also. While these other deficiencies enter into the excess of disease that has been shown, they are all part of the equipment substandardness that is characteristic of many American homes which, in the aggregate, exert an adverse health influence. The findings of the survey on this score alone are sufficiently significant to point up the public health responsibility involved.

Overcrowding constitutes a physical and a psychological hazard to health. The analysis went intensively into the correlations between occupancy rates and rates of illnesses. Because it was obvious that certain illnesses reported in the survey would have no possible relationship to poor housing conditions, these were excluded in the analysis. Other diseases, however—pneumonia, influenza, tuberculosis, rheumatism, and the communicable diseases of childhood—for which there has long been a presumption that they stem from some relationship with housing conditions, were studied.

There were striking increases in the pneumonia and in the tuberculosis rates with increased crowding, and increases were

noted for influenza and rheumatism. In the incidence of tuberculosis, pneumonia, and influenza, which spread through contact infection, the debilitation and breakdown of human resistance brought about in part by exposure in ill-heated, ill-ventilated, and damp habitations are regarded as conducive factors. Crowding, which operates to facilitate the spread of infection, speeds this process and must be considered a major factor in the communication of the diseases from one person to another.

In the incidence of the communicable diseases of childhood—chickenpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, etc.—the National Health Survey revealed relatively higher rates in the more crowded groups for several of these diseases, particularly diphtheria and mumps.³ Without exception, in each of these diseases studied, the ratios of the rates for younger children (under five) as compared with older children (between five and nine) increase as the degree of crowding increases. It is generally recognized that a younger age incidence means a greater risk of serious complications and of mortality.

These findings of the National Health Survey are strong evidence that in the complex of factors that are responsible for high morbidity and mortality rates, bad housing and bad housing conditions have a definite place. Such evidence has been available from many studies in the past and the National Health Survey studies have simply borne out previous findings, using data, however, that are much more comprehensive than have hitherto been available. Yet in spite of these indications, there has been and still is a widespread assumption that until there can be completely proved the exact effect that poor housing exerts on health levels, it is unwarranted to hypothesize that housing and health are significantly related. This assumption is as false as the opposite assumption that the complete elimination of substandard housing would immediately solve the major part of our health problems. What actually may be assumed with safety is that, in some real degree, housing and health are related and that more positive steps need to be taken to improve housing conditions as part of our public health responsibility.

³ *Ibid.*

The second point concerns the potentialities in current housing programs for health and social development of benefits beyond those which should accrue from better physical housing alone. In this connection should be discussed some of the developments, which have social or health significance, that are tending to group themselves around housing projects of the Public Works Administration, the Farm Security Administration, and the United States Housing Authority type.

In New York City and in other cities, housing projects are providing strategic locations around which public health programs are being advanced. Health centers or substations, established in many of the projects, serve a segment of the population, not only in the project, but also in contiguous areas. The group of the population for which these housing projects are being built is the same group who are most in need of preventive health work. Health departments independently seeking the most valid location for establishing centers of this sort would find themselves selecting just such locations as are decided upon for the housing projects.

Thus, in New York, the Williamsburg District Health Center is located adjacent to the Williamsburg housing project. In Harlem a substation of the Central Harlem District Health Center has been located in the Harlem River Houses, and in many other cities centers of various sizes and affording various degrees of services are being established in or near the housing projects. In Newark, New Jersey, for instance, health centers maintained by the Newark City Health Department are to be established in each of the six new projects in the several sections that have been decided upon for housing project locations. These centers will provide typical public health services in maternal and child health care, tuberculosis and venereal disease control, dental work, and health education.

In Cleveland there has recently been a great deal of emphasis on the care and training of the preschool-age child. When the Lakeview Terrace PWA Housing Division project was built, the Cleveland Child Health Association became interested in the possibilities of establishing a nursery school in the project to be used as a demonstration and teaching center which would serve to raise

the standards of such schools throughout the city. The school, since established, has shown the potentialities in this type of preventive health and child development work, especially where it is possible to deal with a large, compact population group. In addition to the direct health benefits to the child himself, schools of this sort are serving to educate parents in effective practices in child health care and education. Throughout the country nursery schools have been established in many of the public housing projects.

The National Health Conference, held in Washington in 1938, clearly indicated the extent of the need for more adequate medical care, and new efforts to meet this need are developing along many lines. New plans have been advanced, and some of these have been initiated in connection with the rehabilitation and housing programs of the Federal Government. The FSA, for example, in coöperation with county medical societies, has assisted in the establishment of medical care programs in many of the Administration's projects, and in some cases tenants have organized their own group arrangements for medical treatment.

Perhaps the most interesting instance of tenant group medical care is at Greendale, Wisconsin, where two different plans have been tried out. One plan, sponsored by the Milwaukee County Medical Society, is built around a base of 200 initial subscribers who are residents of Greendale. The plan provides free choice of physician from among the members of the medical society who have agreed to participate. The subscriber pays the first twenty-four dollars of any medical bills incurred during the year and subsequent bills are paid from an insurance fund. This fund is maintained by the payment of monthly dues in the amounts of fifty cents for individuals, seventy-five cents for couples, and one dollar for families.

The other plan, conducted by a group of salaried physicians known as the Milwaukee Medical Center, provides general practitioner care by the medical center's resident physician at Greendale and specialist and diagnostic services by the clinic group in Milwaukee. A flat rate of one dollar per month for individuals, two dollars for couples, and three dollars for families is charged. This unit also has over two hundred subscribers and was established on

invitation of the community after a study of the community's medical care problems by a tenant medical committee. A similar unit has been established on the initiative of the tenants at Parklawn, the PWA Housing Division project in Milwaukee.

These facts and developments indicate the cornerstone nature of housing in any program of physical and social rehabilitation, which are the end objectives of the health departments and of the social welfare groups. The extent to which health agencies are recognizing the potentialities of good housing as a health resource may perhaps best be indicated by a brief review of the developments that have taken place during the past year in public health fields. At the annual conference of the state and territorial health officers with the United States Public Health Service in April, 1940, the Surgeon General called attention to the need for more active consideration of the public health aspects of housing in these words:

It is becoming increasingly apparent that health officers must turn their attention to stronger assistance in the solution of another age-old and basic health problem—the problem of inadequate housing. Programs now being carried on under recent housing legislation have made a real beginning in the amelioration of conditions of substandard housing. The health departments have a tremendous stake in these programs both from the standpoint of physical as well as mental health benefits that may be expected to derive from improvement in housing conditions.

At a special conference, convened in September, 1940, to consider problems arising out of national defense, the state and territorial health officers discussed at considerable length the problem of inadequate housing in extra military and defense industrial areas. In connection with certain recommendations made at this conference, the United States Public Health Service has completed reconnaissance surveys to determine health and medical care needs in these areas. Part of the data secured relates to housing conditions and needs. In this connection, also, a tentative sanitation code has been prepared and released in preliminary form. One section of the code deals with standards relating to habitable buildings.

In April, 1940, discussion at a round-table meeting of the Mil-

bank Memorial Fund Eighteenth Annual Conference, held in conjunction with the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, contributed greatly to clarification of the public health administrator's opportunities and responsibilities with regard to housing conditions. Following a panel discussion at the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association in October, 1940, on "How Far Should Housing Concern the Health Officer?" a housing committee was created in the health officers' section to explore the ways in which remedial action related to slums and demolition of substandard dwellings can become a normal function of the health officer. Similarly, a housing committee was created by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing early in 1940 to keep the organization informed about housing developments throughout the country with particular reference to health implications.

At the state level there have been two significant developments: first, the appointment of a housing engineer in the Connecticut State Health Department whose function, in general, will be to study housing conditions in the communities of the state and to work with local officials on housing matters. The second is the passage of a resolution by the Texas Public Health Association recommending the creation of a housing unit in the State Health Department with the suggestion that this unit work toward establishing a long-range policy and program for dealing comprehensively with the public health aspects of housing. The resolution also recommended organization of coöperative programs with housing agencies in the various localities of the state.

Special reference must be made to the present defense emergency and the housing and health problems that have come in its wake. The developing concentration of new population in areas of defense activity is creating new housing shortages and sanitary problems, as well as intensifying the social welfare problems of these areas. These problems will become more and more a serious concern of the health officer and the social welfare official as the defense program accelerates, and the developments cited above reflect something of the steps that are being taken to meet them. Apart from these emergencies, the day-to-day normal needs for decent housing must not be lost sight of. These needs are so great

that the problem is really beyond the capacities of any one agency to solve. It must be met in the future, if it is to be met at all effectively, through a coördinated attack by the housing, health, and welfare agencies operating to supplement each other's basic approach in working toward a healthful, decent, and adequate level of housing for the country as a whole.

MEDICAL CARE EXPERIENCE OF THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IN CALIFORNIA

Karl L. Schaupp

IN 1937 THE FLOW of migrant farm workers from the middle Southern states to California became a flood which reached the estimated total of two hundred and fifty thousand in the following winter. The supply of workers far exceeded the demand, and hundreds of families, all of whom had come with small reserves, were soon destitute. They had left their former homes because drought, soil erosion by dust storms, and the mechanization of farming had left them without the necessities of life. They turned westward because it was reported that work was available and because some of these people had for years been accustomed to follow certain crop harvests. It was the mass movement that was unusual—a mass so large that it completely flooded the labor market.

In California and Arizona they found that housing facilities were nonexistent for those who were unemployed and very limited in a great many employer camps. The workers naturally tried to make shift with whatever could be utilized in an effort to provide shelter. Camps or jungles grew up along creeks and irrigation canals or by the roadside. Shelters were made of scraps of wood, metal, paper cartons, old canvas, or any other material that would hold together. The more fortunate had tents, few of which, however, were in good condition. These units became the homes of a people in whom the family ties are unusually strong; a people whose standards of living had been sinking lower for a number of generations; a people who, for whatever cause, had been uprooted from the land and carried westward to wander like gypsies. Work was seasonal and when found was short in duration at any one place. A new and strange manner of living had to be developed, and with this came further changes in standards.

The economic condition of the farm workers often made it impossible for them to get sufficient food, and that which was obtained was improperly balanced from the dietary standpoint. It consisted mainly of fat pork and starches and was almost entirely lacking in fresh vegetables. This condition brought about malnutrition, which caused a low resistance and a predisposition toward disease. This was especially true among the children, where vitamin deficiency conditions were common.

Sanitary facilities were often entirely lacking. There were no provisions for laundry, for bathing, or for garbage disposal. Water was used from ditches which had been contaminated by garbage or human excreta. It is only natural that such conditions caused the spread of dysenteries, typhoid fever, and other gastrointestinal diseases, not only among the workers, but also among the permanent residents of the communities in which the migrants found themselves. The close personal contacts of crowded camps and the necessity for migration spread the ordinary contagious diseases over wide areas. From one case of smallpox in Casa Grande, Arizona, a series of cases developed along the entire route of travel to Indio, California, before it could be arrested.

During the warm dry season respiratory conditions, such as colds and bronchitis were not severe, but when the rains of the winter of 1937-38 arrived (and they came with a vengeance) the problem became serious. The poorly clad inhabitants of the pitiful hovels were caught completely unprepared and were in many cases flooded out of what little shelter they had enjoyed, with the result that pneumonia and other serious complications became more prevalent.

This, briefly, was the medical problem that was thrown into the lap of the officers of the Farm Security Administration in Arizona and California. State aid was not available because of the residence requirements. Local voluntary agencies were unable to cope with the problem. Steps had already been taken by the FSA to provide temporary housing units in camps where all the sanitary requirements necessary to health were installed. Food and clothing were also provided, but there was no provision for organized medical care.

The administration of medical care had been haphazard. The ordinary minor illnesses were largely untreated, but when major problems, such as typhoid fever, smallpox, or other serious infections or contagious diseases, arose, care was provided through county boards of health or by private physicians. Care for childbirth and acute surgical emergencies was inadequately supplied through county hospitals and by public-spirited physicians who received little or no compensation for their work. The problem of the provision of medical care became definitely national when it became evident that local and state authorities were unable to cope with the situation.

In January of 1938 representatives of the FSA approached the California Medical Association with the problem and asked for the aid of the Association in developing an orderly and adequate plan for medical care for the migratory worker. The members of the council of the California Medical Association appreciated the opportunity to coöperate and appointed representatives who at once began to act with the regional officers of the FSA. A conference of the secretaries and presidents of the county medical societies was called from those counties in which it was hoped to begin the development of plans. The conference lasted an entire day, and during that time the problem was thoroughly discussed and a general plan was outlined, with the result that the members pledged their utmost coöperation.

Following the approval of the California Medical Association the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association was organized as a corporation under California law. The board of directors consisted first of three physicians (two representing the California Medical Association and one the State Board of Public Health) and of four members of the FSA. Recently the membership of the board has been changed so that at present there is one dentist representing the California Dental Association; three physicians representing the California State Board of Health, the California Medical Association, and the Arizona Medical Association respectively; and five members of the FSA. Funds for administration and for the provision of medical care are obtained by grants from the FSA.

The lay members of the board have carried the responsibility of the details of administration and accounting. In medical matters they have always looked to the professional members for advice and guidance and have always accepted their judgment. The board in general is composed of a group of men with a common social interest who work together without political influence or interference in an effort to give adequate medical care to a group of our citizens who have become a new and permanent part of our social order.

Membership certificates are issued to migrant families who have been in the state less than one year. An investigation is made to determine that the applicants actually have an agricultural background and are unable to pay for medical care. Upon presentation of a membership card the patient is immediately given medical attention, but if it is found that further care is necessary authorization must be obtained. Authorization must also be obtained for hospitalization or for an operation, except in acute emergencies.

All doctors of medicine who hold an unrevoked license and who are eligible to membership in their county societies may participate in the plan if they so desire. The patient has a free choice of physician and may change if he has become dissatisfied. At the outset all patients were seen for the first time by private physicians, but now a plan which was first developed by the doctors of Phoenix, Arizona, has become universal. Clinics have been established in all government camps and in all centers where large groups of migrant workers are located. These clinics have trained nurses in attendance who serve under the direction of physicians who examine the patients and prescribe for them. These physicians are paid for the time spent in the clinic and they rotate with others according to agreements worked out by the doctors themselves through the county medical societies.

The main purpose of the clinic is that of a health center. Minor complaints of ambulatory patients are taken care of efficiently and with dispatch. Patients with major problems are sent either to the offices of physicians or directly to private hospitals, where they are prescribed for by the physicians of their own choice. Private hospitals only are used unless the county hospital is the only one avail-

able in the district or in case of communicable diseases. In the latter case the care is provided by the county at no expense to the Association. Ordinary simple drugs are provided by the Association through the clinics unless a prescription is necessary. Under these circumstances they are supplied by the local drugstores at reduced rates.

Payment for services rendered is made directly to the physician, hospital, or pharmacy which has supplied them. The physicians in the clinics are paid on an hourly basis while those rendering care in the patient's home, in the physician's office, or in hospitals are paid on an accepted fee schedule. The fee schedule is a low one and is not intended to be a full payment of usual charges. The difference between the two represents the physicians' contribution to society, but in no case does it fail to pay at least the cost of the services rendered. Hospitals are paid on a ward-bed basis according to an agreement with each hospital. Additional payment is made for all laboratory and X-ray examinations according to the fee schedule. Limited dental services are rendered by the dentists on a fee basis arranged with the representatives of the dental associations. The major portion of this work is the eradication of infections.

This plan has been in operation for the past three years, and we have now reached a point where we can begin to judge the results. Excellent care has been provided to a group of people who previously had very little or no attention except in great emergencies. The clinics have been easily accessible and have made it possible to see large groups of patients in a short time. They have made it possible to practice preventive medicine by early detection of conditions which might have become serious and have made it possible to immunize large groups of individuals against typhoid, smallpox, and other communicable diseases.

When surgical conditions exist and an operation becomes necessary no time is lost in trying to break down red tape in order to gain access to the county hospital. Migratory workers are admitted to the best hospitals with all the dispatch that is expected by other private patients, and surgery is made available just as promptly.

Physicians who formerly rendered care to the more severe cases

only and were handicapped by the inability of the patient to pay for X-ray and laboratory work or for hospitalization and who therefore rendered a poorer type of medical care, now have available all the aids necessary for good practice. The result of this has been that the quality of medical practice has become much higher among this group than it was among other low-income groups in the same community.

Preschool children who were undernourished because of inability to obtain proper food or because of bad dietary habits have been collected in nursery schools in government camps where they are taught simple personal hygiene, are supervised in their play, and are given one well-balanced meal each day at noon. Here there has been a remarkable change in the health and appearance of the children. With the development of this phase of the program the listless children become animated and happy and compare favorably with any other group of children of the same age.

Another big advance has been in the care of the parturient patient. Before the establishment of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, mothers were commonly delivered in camps by the wayside, sometimes even without any shelter. Now they can have the care of a physician and are almost always delivered in hospitals. In 1940 there were 2,561 parturient women in the migrant group attended by physicians and 2,550 were delivered in hospitals. The benefit of this service is so great that it is almost impossible for anyone who has not been familiar with the circumstances to appreciate it.

Conditions of pregnancy and childbirth are the most important in the Association, constituting 24 percent of the work. Diseases of the digestive system come next with 22 percent; respiratory diseases, 16.5 percent; genitourinary diseases, 9.6 percent; accidents, 7.6 percent; and all others, 19.7 percent.

The total expenditure for medical care from March 28, 1938, to March 31, 1941, was \$3,164,292.47. Of this amount \$1,094,558.57 was paid to physicians; \$939,104.55, to hospitals; \$140,977.75, for drugs; and \$72,464.55, to dentists.

In certain districts the hospital facilities were lacking or so limited that patients often had to be transported sixty to seventy miles

when it was necessary to perform an operation. Old hotels and rooming houses over saloons had to be used to shelter patients suffering from typhoid, pneumonia, and other serious conditions. Poor as these hospitals were, they were somewhat better than the homes from which the patients had come. One so-called hospital had one small room which was used as a minor surgery. Abscesses were opened in this room, and it was also used as a delivery room and as a well-baby nursery. In an adjoining room were four babies suffering from bacillary dysentery, and across the hall was a room with eight pneumonia patients of all ages. One nurse took care of all these patients.

Since about 25 percent of the patients needed hospitalization it became necessary to provide adequate means for their care. This was eventually done by the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association by building a convalescent center which would house fifty-five patients. Provision was made for delivery of maternity patients, for minor surgery, and for the care of patients with conditions which, if given a few days of early hospitalization, would be of shorter duration. The building of one of these units has already been a factor in raising the standards of medical practice in that community and has started a movement in the state to demand minimum standards for certain local hospitals.

The Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association is unique in that it has been the only organization of its kind in the United States. Here there has been a complete coöperation between a Federal agency and medical associations. There has been a mutual desire to fulfill a social need and there has been freedom from distrust and suspicion on the part of both groups. The result has been a loyal support of the program by the average physician, and there is a total absence of the cry of "socialization of medicine."

The results to date point the way to the eventual solution of the problem of medical care of low-income groups because they prove that medical care can be provided from tax-supported sources without disturbing the old "patient and physician relationship" and they prove that where there is mutual trust and understanding what seem to be major problems become minor and can be overcome without difficulty.

The physicians of California and Arizona like this plan. It is evident that the Federal Government likes it, because this type of service is being extended. The migrant farm worker likes it because it has put within his reach a service that has never before in his life been available, and it brings him good health and hope for the future.

THE NEED FOR LEGAL CONCEPTS IN THE FORMULATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

A. Delafield Smith

MEN HAVE EVER BEEN SEEKING a greater measure of control over their own destinies. Gaining in intelligence, they have sought to achieve their own predetermined objectives. They have attempted to predict the courses of nature and to remove, as they were able, the postulate of a capricious universe. Their adjustment to the forces of nature has been both negative and positive: negative because they had to avoid its destructive attacks upon their enterprises; positive because they sought to employ natural forces in the achievement of their chosen aims. In this respect their investigations have finally introduced some measure of predictability.

The achievement of objectives through the operation of forceful power and guiding intelligence characterizes life. To this end human beings have had to do more than enlist the coöperation of inanimate nature. They have had to avoid the raids of other life upon their undertakings and to establish mutuality of purpose among themselves. To the extent that men have been able to avoid the prejudicial acts of others and, in addition, hold others to their pledges of coöperation, men have achieved their aims. Essentially this is the relation between physical and human law.

To the extent, then, of our knowledge or understanding of the basic purposes of life, we can trace the development of law. One of life's basic aims is its own continuity or projection into the future. The family is the essential medium for this purpose. The family is the foundation of law as it is of government. To achieve its purposes nature has provided certain relentless compulsions which actuate the members of a family. These compulsions appear both as inhibitory constraints and as positive drives. By analogy,

in the very structure of the atom we find similar forces which both stabilize and energize the physical universe.

The lesson for us is obvious. Many persons think of law only in terms of its constraints upon human action. Law has been authoritatively defined as a delimitation of the spheres of human interest.¹ This definition, though sound, does not sufficiently emphasize the positive. Law, as a negation of caprice or of capricious action, is of practical importance as the essential condition to the achievement of coöperative action and the attainment of social objectives. It is the basis upon which the help of others may be enlisted. When people do what they have agreed to do and when they refrain from doing that which is destructive to another's course of action they satisfy the two great criteria of the civil law — the fulfillment of contracts and the avoidance of tortious conduct. This establishes conditions essential to enterprise.

Treating law as the essential condition of coöperative action at once introduces us to the subject of human relationships, basic to all social science. As a means of achievement, relationship is important in proportion to its permanence and durability. It thus assumes characteristics of status and of reciprocity. Reciprocity is a basic characteristic of enduring relationships.

As these elemental forces constrain and dictate conduct, they tend to eliminate caprice. The child's development requires this elimination of caprice in the responses and coöperation of its mother. The action of the child, described by psychologists as random activity, gradually becomes ordered, habituated, and rationalized. The child becomes responsive, coöperative, even predictable.

Family functioning thus tends to confirm both of the two basic theories as to the origin of law — its development, first from habit and custom, second by establishment of a positive or authoritarian law. We find the second of these exemplified in the directive guidance of the head of a family. That guidance to be effective must be rational. A child who is the victim of caprice in the exercise of parental controls is delayed and prejudiced in its development. Its basic nature rebels against subservience to a regime to which ad-

¹ See Korkunov, *General Theory of Law* (New York: Macmillan, 1922).

justment is impossible because of its inconsistency and unpredictability. Only rational controls furnish the escape to independent achievement. To the extent that reason dictates the guidance of the child, it develops the power to externalize, to adjust its conduct to objective law, and to give and obtain for itself pledges of active coöperation. The child thus develops faith and confidence.

Reference again to the family teaches us that all individuals are born into relationships. They acquire status at birth. Other relationships are acquired on a voluntary basis. Thus individuals become partners or, as lawyers say, joint venturers. These partnerships increase in scope and become institutions. Relationships become organized.

In all normal relationships reciprocal rights and obligations are more often implied than expressed. Inherent in relationships are many implied constraints, both negative and positive, which affect behavior. These constraints are attached to — in other words, they are incidental to — relationship. That is what lawyers mean by the incidents of relationship. For example, when one individual agrees to marry another, each acquires at once a particular status or relationship to the other. This relationship implies mutual promises to refrain from conduct injurious to the relationship and requires conduct in furtherance of its aims.² The law seeks to enforce such promises as best it can. It seeks to enforce every incident of relationship significant to the parties, though unexpressed by them and though incapable of exact definition.

As their incidents increase, relationships develop a material and, it may be, a spiritual content by which they are implemented. I must illustrate. Relationships are characterized by the degree of their intimacy. Through our relationships we acquire inward knowledge of one another. That mutual knowledge is a developing content of relationship, sacred to its purpose. Professionally and administratively we are profoundly conscious of our relationships with our clients. These relationships are reciprocal. They involve intimacy and mutual confidence. They are capable of unconscionable use and exploitation.

² See *Frost v. Knight*, L. R. 7. Exch. 111, for a discussion of the legal incidents of the status of betrothment.

It is on this basis, for example, that we premise constraint in the use of information obtained in development of a relationship to purposes within the scope of the implications of that confidence. Social agencies are constrained to observe this trust. The agency's duty in this respect is the client's reciprocal right. The law protects confidence at the behest of the client.³ Law thus furnishes the foundations of security and of faith, upon which all action is predicated.

This reference to confidential information is merely illustrative. Coöperative enterprise demands the fulfillment of every undertaking by which men agree that the physical and material implementation of their relationships will be employed for the attainment of its ends. The law may compel the consecration of knowledge, techniques, tools, and wealth to the furtherance of associated enterprise. We call this the law of trusts or the equitable jurisdiction.

The development of legal sanctions for the enforcement of trust obligations is characteristic of highly developed legal systems. Originally, sanctions were not available to compensate individuals for losses due to the overreaching or fraudulent conduct of others, or to compel the recipient of property to fulfill a condition requiring him to use it for the benefit of another. It is important for us to remember that the enforcement of trust obligations was developed early in English law by certain of the king's administrative agencies. These agencies controlled access to the ancient courts. The chancellors, who were the officials of such an agency, were churchmen. As ecclesiastics they were trained in the enforcement of trust obligations through the imposition of spiritual sanctions. It was natural for them to utilize their temporal powers for a similar purpose and thus to develop what are known as the principles of equity.⁴ Contemporaneous society was not unconscious of what was going on. There is an ancient rhyme:

These three give place in court of conscience,
Fraud, accident, and breach of confidence.

In these terms I view the significance of recent developments.

³ *McGowan v. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.*, 253 N. Y. 551 (Appeal dismissed, 259 N. Y. 454, 182 N. E. 81).

⁴ F. W. Maitland, *Equity* (Brunyate revision; Cambridge, 1936), p. 7.

Briefly, our organizational prowess, our achievements in organizing human relationships resulting from our respect for law and reflected in large-scale social and industrial institutionalization, has either given birth to, or at least given significance to, many new incidents, reflecting the more complex pattern of relationships essential to modern enterprise.

The obligation of workers to maintain their health, their devotion to the common purpose, their individual contribution to its morale, demanded reciprocally that a trust be imposed on the material content of the organization in terms of its wealth and the products of its research and labor to insure the basic security of its membership. The essential reason is that modern methods required more wholehearted and effective participation of the individual, physically, mentally, and spiritually. Effective organization and efficiency demand precise adjustments, tightly fitting cohesive application of component parts. Put in human terms, this means that much more is demanded of the individual in terms of the greater responsibility that anyone assumes when he works with many others. The effects of individual breakdown anywhere along the assembly line and the significance of institutional loyalty become far more impressive in terms of the greater interdependence of its membership.

As always happens, these new elements came into being unobtrusively. Industrial retirement funds sprang up here and there. Employee health services and compensatory funds for injury appeared in progressive institutions. Congressional hearings in 1935 elicited the fact that 600 corporations with over two million employees had pension plans of various types. Half of this number were backed by \$700,000,000 of reserves charged with an express trust for carrying out these plans.⁵ A bulletin of the American College of Surgeons well expresses the motivation.⁶

So at length there arose the general conviction of a new pattern based on the actual significance of these many new attributes of modern organization. The demand for social justice can be phrased

⁵ Cf. testimony of Mr. H. Walter Forster before the Committee on Finance, hearings on S. 1130, January 22 and February 20, 1935, at p. 659 *et seq.*

⁶ *Bulletin of the American College of Surgeons*, XXV, No. 5, 671-72.

in terms of a demand for legal recognition, implementation, and public administration of these new incidents of institutional relationships. These laws establish trust funds, and so provide the material content and implementation of the underlying trust obligations of which I have spoken. In workmen's compensation, in unemployment compensation, in old age insurance, and even in our supplementary public assistance programs the funds involved have been expressly so designated. The clients are the beneficiaries of these trusts.

A trust must be administered according to judicial principles. These administrative agencies have, therefore, become great legal and adjudicatory institutions. They provide sanction and arbitration of the now legally recognized incidents of industrial, social, and economic relationships. A demand that these trusts be administered according to established principles of justice and equity has arisen. The claims of trust beneficiaries are not privileges. Definitely they are rights. Historically, such beneficial rights, when they gain social recognition, have been surrounded with every conceivable judicial safeguard.

The field of operation of these respective agencies is highly specialized in contradistinction to the broad jurisdiction of the conventional courts. Such specialized agencies can be entrusted to develop flexible methods of securing uniform and coördinated treatment among the many beneficiaries of their particular programs and may be able to adjust criteria and policy to the dynamic social and industrial situations in which these rights arose. However, a grave danger stems from this very specialization of function. The law is naturally fearful of specialization. As Mr. Justice Holmes pointed out, our ability to project ourselves into the future is limited by the capacities of our imagination. The latter capacities are, in turn, limited by our experience.⁷ That is one of the factors lost sight of by those who are critical of the law's insistence upon the right to invoke analogies from external sources. A special program may try to plot its course by dead reckoning. Actually, it needs orientation from the farthest reaches of social

⁷ Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Learning and Science," *Collected Legal Papers* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1920).

experience. The pages of any legal case digest lead us from one phase of human experience to another. Is it not possible to extract a principle from its environment and by a process of legal chemistry derive the pure product for more general use? Mathematicians insist that this is so. They have techniques for this very purpose. So, I believe, has the law.

Let it be remembered, moreover, that the basic purpose of this new legislation was to create adequate sanction for these rights, to secure certainty and regularity in their operation, and to substitute for caprice some predictability of action. A rule of law, uniform and general in its operation, must be substituted for an essentially irregular, sporadic, and capricious development.

The very novelty of the present situation stresses the need for science. The unfamiliarity of the field, the amount of discretion involved, the relativity of the concepts, the lack of fixed and determinate criteria, the very scale upon which the determinations must be made, and the fiduciary character of the rights involved — all demand the aid of those familiar with legal analysis. The business of projecting accepted principles of adjudication into new areas of statutory right evokes the very essence of the legal technique. To provide continuity between the old and the new and a frame of reference for the resolution of such novel situations is the characteristic function of the law.

Much criticism of the law has attacked the very techniques by which it performs this essential function. It is criticized for reinterpreting old concepts and old definitions. It picks out the essence of the original definition and stresses, for example, its functional elements. Thus a hydroplane may under certain circumstances constitute a vessel and a fifteen-story apartment house may today satisfy the requirements of a private residence in an old covenant. The law thus tempers the shock of social change and upheaval. Much-criticized legal fictions may represent conduits whereby one can trace new incidents of relationship back to their creative environment. This perspective is necessary. You cannot administer law designed to correct ancient abuses without knowledge of their operation.

An epoch-making judicial pronouncement is much like a funda-

mental theme reproduced on a costly musical instrument. The notes first struck merge into the tonal progression until at the end the whole theme wells up as a unified appeal to your appreciation of its significance. Just so the whole history of some phase of our basic human relationship may be traced in a single decision. The continuity of its historic growth is demonstrated. Bringing together the significant epochs of its development elicits a startling appreciation of its past purposefulness and its present social significance.

Let us note some phases of the law's contribution. The courts have rather effective methods of lessening the probability of capricious action. They achieve coördination through their regard for precedent, their system of appellate jurisdiction, and their insistence on rationalization. All these methods are available to the agency. But the administrative agency has developed other methods of securing rational and systematic action in view of the greater quantitative scope of its adjudications. In addition to consultative servicing and administrative *expertise*, it achieves coördination through its rule-making function.

Purely for its illustrative value I refer to a clause in welfare statutes which authorizes the assistance process to be used for the purpose of maintaining minimum standards of living. Such is the essential significance of the so-called "suitability of home" provision. The application of this principle was upheld in a recent case in New York.⁸

Apart from the major effects of the program itself, the objectives of such a clause cannot be achieved by its casual invocation in particular cases. The individual's own sense of the objectivity of law will create a feeling of discrimination when such a clause is invoked against his claim and prevent the development of a dynamic relationship. Procedure pursuant to a well-conceived rule prepares the mind of the individual, puts needed emphasis on policy, and, above all, furnishes a basis for securing predictability of action.

There is a wealth of precedent here. Recent cases exemplify this principle in the requirements of objective standards in the personnel examination process. The criteria must be properly

⁸ *Wilkie v. O'Connor*, 261 App. Div. 373, 25 N. Y. (2d) 617 (4th Dept., 1941).

chosen in terms of their inherent amenability to objective delineation. Courts say:

A civil service test or examination which conforms to measures or standards which are sufficiently objective to be capable of being challenged and reviewed by other examiners of equal ability and experience is "competitive" within Civil Service Law.⁹

The law demands this objectification of standard. It tends to inhibit the formulation of one-sided concepts. The agency may consider subjectively in formulating its policy the good of society and the good of the individual. Law insists that a check upon that conception exists in terms of the fact that the agency is conditioning a right which has an objective existence. The application of policy then becomes subject to all the tests which equality of legal treatment requires. Stable relationships and security exist only under a reign of law. This rule of law the agency may promote. It participates in its formulation. Here, however, you have the individual and here the agency. The relationship between them is expressible in terms of law. I thus point out the external basis for the observance of constraint. Law demands recognition that the interests of others furnish a basic test of policy. Acceptance of the fact that it is operating in a milieu of objective and rational law is essential to the agency's prestige.

It is essential in a democracy. The conception of a social program under government auspices as patriarchal beneficence emphasizes the individual's relations with the State. It overlooks the real purpose to strengthen the intricate structure of human liaisons and associations, familial, social, and institutional. These give stability to the social order and constitute the processes of its growth and development. The state agency is an instrumentality in the midst of this social structure as a servicing agency. Its policies should be controlled by these external factors of which it is a part. Denial of these principles would require us to rely in administration on divine skills. No one on this earth can control its destinies. No one can be trusted to make his own law.

What the law demands, it helps to achieve. The law will not sit

⁹ *Fink v. Finegan et al.*, 270 N. Y. 356, 1 N. E. (2d) 462.

on the sidelines during the battle and attend as a nurse upon the victims. The law does not undertake to state initially all the potential factors involved. It undertakes, rather, to evaluate the sufficiency of given factors. It will conjure up circumstances in which those factors occur but in which other significant facts and circumstances also occur. The law will cause you to question the adequacy of your own criteria. It will compare cases with you and demonstrate discrimination and caprice. For this purpose it draws upon a wealth of experience. The law should play its part in policy formulation, not merely in passing judgment upon it.

The basic contribution of law is illustrated by the science of rational classification. The basic rule of jurisprudence states that inequality of treatment must find its justification in differentiation of circumstances. The popular habit of comparing cases has a scientific basis. Classification is a characteristic of the process of determining the participatory rights of single individuals. It demands a consistent ruling pattern. The segments of this pattern represent the rationalized criteria of decision. The game has its rules. There is leeway to accept various shades of individual circumstances within the range of the basic pattern but not to add or subtract segments of the basic pattern or rearrange them while the game is in progress. For example, a person over sixty-five satisfies the criterion of age in the social security program. Any further conditioning of the right in terms of age is possible only when you are permitted recourse to some other differentiating circumstance, both rational and authorized. The Social Security Act speaks of individuals. Both men and women satisfy that criterion. To differentiate groups of different sex you need some other permissible criterion.

Our organic law proclaims the irrationality of certain bases of classification. It says that substantive rights should not be made to depend upon religious beliefs or racial characteristics. It invokes the principles of equal protection and due process. It is common practice, for example, to take into account religious preferences in placing children with foster parents. When, however, such relationships have been established on a relatively permanent basis, a status has been created with incidents significant to the parties. Religious preferences are immunized against pressures to which

the individual is always subject when conditions are imposed upon his exercise of rights and responsibilities. Such relationships may not be severed on religious grounds.

The elimination of caprice depends in the last analysis upon accuracy of reasoning tested and checked by every analogous experience in human society. For this purpose the law demands frames of reference with a perspective as broad as the eye of the mind. In their formulation the law furnishes the most comprehensive digests and critical analyses of specific experience that will anywhere be found.

THE PROBLEMS OF AN ADMINISTRATOR WORKING WITH A MERIT SYSTEM

Howard L. Russell

A PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATOR working with a merit system should be possessed of the three cardinal virtues described by St. Paul. He should have faith in the system; he should have hope as to the merit; and he should have charity for the results.

Merit systems have their organizational framework in the law. The law frequently represents the product of many minds, generally exclusive of the administrator's. People who dislike the spoils system; people interested in the quality of public administration; and taxpayers who expect dividends from their tax investments are the type of people generally found supporting a proposed civil service bill. Once a civil service law is enacted, they consider the battle won. They forget that civil service laws have sometimes been used to inject politics into situations where politics never existed before, or to substitute personal politics for party politics. They forget that a law is no better than the people who administer it. They forget that a merit system is a means to an end and not the end itself.

Because people forget these things, the administrator is sometimes left to worry alone over the problem of how he is to use civil service to help him do a better job. The same legal prohibitions that free the administrator from political interference in the selection of personnel and the same legal protections which surround merit system employees may create a rigid system which presents endless practical difficulties for the administrator.

Public welfare administration has developed, generally, under three kinds of personnel selection, either singly or in combination. The first method is based primarily on patronage, and the most

the administrator can hope for is freedom to pick the ablest personnel from among those meeting sponsorship requirements. Under this method there have always been compromises with the principle of merit, and there is always the administrative problem of the employee whose loyalty is divided between his job and his sponsor.

The second method is that whereby selection of personnel is left entirely to the administrator. Here there is the tremendous advantage of flexibility and speed in selecting personnel. This method is made to order for the individualistic administrator who demands the opportunity to express his own ideas and imprint his own personality on every phase of the program.

This second method fails, however, to provide any real degree of tenure for personnel because it can be easily terminated. It generally lasts no longer than the administrator himself. It is susceptible to personal politics. Moreover, the difficulties multiply if the program happens to involve a number of different appointing authorities. Finally, it is extremely hard to interpret a voluntary merit plan to the public and to convince people it is and will remain "on the level."

The third method of personnel selection is formal civil service, which entails a basic law providing for the selection of employees from certified lists and the establishment of a separate agency which will recruit, examine, and grade all applicants in order to provide the certified lists.

Many administrators have had experience with all three methods, and in moving from patronage to a voluntary merit system and finally to formal civil service would find this progression logical, each step definitely an advance over the last, and the final method holding more promise than any other. The administrator who is introduced to an existing civil service system, or who is responsible for inaugurating one, may be puzzled by the difficulty of defining the separate and joint areas of responsibility of the administrative agency and the civil service board. If we accept the premise that civil service is designed to enable an administrator to appoint the most competent people available, should decisions regarding job classifications and rates of pay be left to

the administrator, to the civil service board, or to their joint action? Most administrators would say that they need freedom to define positions as experience dictates, that they must decide the organizational pattern of the program, and that, since they are responsible for the expenditures of appropriated funds, they should have the right to set the compensation for all positions. The civil service board, on the other hand, can point out that new positions cannot be created without being related to existing positions, that limitations of testing methods have a bearing on the title and description of a job, and that compensation for any position ought to be related to what is being paid persons performing comparable duties. This community of interest immediately suggests that the decisions might be the joint responsibility of the administrative agency and the civil service board. Good demonstrations have been made of the exercise of such joint responsibility, but there are also instances of the domination of one or the other and of stalemates which damage the coöperative relationship.

Since the civil service board, whether state-wide or departmental, exists to serve the administrative agency and not to rule it, it follows that the weight of decisions of classification and compensation should fall on the agency, with the civil service board exercising a veto power calculated to keep these decisions within the bounds of sound civil service practice.

In the field of recruiting, examining, grading, and certifying, it is clear that the administrator is concerned with the results rather than with the processes. He does not ask that examinations produce candidates fully prepared to do a particular job at once, but he does expect that those who are certified will have the capacity to learn the job. Generally, he is willing to leave the methods of accomplishing this result to the merit system technicians, reserving, however, the right to comment freely on the quality of the persons brought to his program. This attitude does not exclude those coöperative efforts with the civil service board which are directed to the improvement of examination material and concerned with the validation of examinations already given. Few experts would assert that examination techniques have been so perfected that consultation with the agency would be a waste of

time. The validation of examinations by correlating grades with subsequent performance on the job requires virtually a pioneer effort with the fullest coöperation between the civil service board and the administrative agency.

Among the serious problems confronting the administrator are those limitations which frequently appear in civil service statutes and, less frequently, in regulations of the civil service boards. Legislators can rarely resist the temptation to apply geographical residence restrictions in order to reserve available positions for the home precinct. In a state program such restrictions invariably produce a few instances where it may be impossible to recruit any truly qualified applicants for examination, with the result that standards are lowered and the administrator is obliged to accept a poorer quality of administrative performance. Other statutory restrictions may be even more in direct conflict with the basic merit system principle. For example, the commonly accepted practice of giving preference to veterans or other favored groups may be carried to such an extreme, through the degree of preference or mandatory appointment without reference to position on the lists, that the merit principle does not become effective until all in the favored group have been placed.

Statutory provisions stressing particular qualifications for positions may easily violate the merit principle, while a prohibition of any qualifications at all may force a civil service board to give thousands of unnecessary examinations, adding terrifically to the cost of civil service and making it impossible to give the administrative agency either economical or prompt service. In one state whose law prohibits the use of any qualifications for examinations, a general announcement produces from seventy-five to eighty thousand applicants, of whom less than half will pass the first part of the examination. This large group of failures could probably be eliminated automatically by the simplest of qualifications. The absence of qualifications raises the hopes of thousands of unqualified applicants, and is apt to result in an adverse public reaction which might have been avoided. The increased cost makes the entire merit system vulnerable to attack on the score of wasteful expenditure of public funds. In addition, the job of handling

85,000 applications, giving the examinations, rating education and experience, giving oral interviews, and producing final scores requires time as well as money. Since certified lists cannot be produced until the entire job is finished, a year may elapse between application and certification—a year during which the administrator is filling in with provisional appointments and in which his program marks time because of his inability to build a regularly appointed staff. Moreover, statutory provisions for open competitive examinations, on the one hand, or arrangements for “blanketing in” of incumbents, on the other, may be drawn with an utter disregard of their effect on the program to be administered.

Finally, the statutes may provide for an arbitrary division of functions between the civil service board and the administrative agency, with each body finding itself with responsibilities properly belonging to the other. Even without the encouragement of statutory support, there is sometimes a tendency on the part of civil service boards to arrogate to themselves responsibilities in the field of personnel management that should be retained by the administrator. The recent expansion of merit systems in public welfare with statutes hastily drawn, and organizations for administering civil service hastily thrown together, has undoubtedly added to the confusion. Many an administrator has allowed certain phases of personnel management to pass to the civil service board only to find that the problems are still with him, but that he is lacking in authority to handle them. Service ratings; staff development, including both in-service training and educational leave; working conditions, including health programs, recreation, vacation, and sick leaves; salary raises—all represent matters of personnel management in which the administrator is primarily concerned but responsibility for which is frequently assigned to the civil service board or assumed by the merit system supervisor.

It is widely recognized that the civil service board should be organized separately from the agency it serves. It seems evident that such an agency cannot be a separate agency and at the same time have a hand in the internal operations of the administrative agency. Thus it cannot assume the functions of personnel man-

agement which are related solely to the administration of a public welfare program.

The attention that has recently been given to merit systems for welfare organizations and to the regulation of promotions, demotions, and dismissals has undoubtedly pushed into the background some of the prosaic problems of personnel management. The administrator of a welfare program is faced not only with these well-known personnel problems, but with many new problems created by the establishment of a formal merit system. One of the new problems is the development and use of service ratings. In spite of the common knowledge of the fallibility of service ratings in general, new civil service laws and regulations are loaded with requirements that service ratings be used for everything under the sun from determining the order of furloughs, transfers, demotions, promotions, salary raises, and dismissals to the hour at which employees are to go to lunch.

In their present stage of development, service ratings can hardly carry the burden that has been placed upon them. If they are to be used as a basis for granting salary raises, for instance, the administrator may suddenly discover that every employee is rated in the group that is entitled to a raise. If the administrator sticks to the supposedly sound rule that every employee should be rated by his immediate supervisor, he is apt to be confronted with the problem of rating the raters. Even where an objective standard of job performance is being used, the problem of adjustment between the easy raters and the strict raters may remain.

If service ratings are to be the basis for furloughing employees, is a scale designed to measure performance on the job to be used to the entire exclusion of seniority? If it takes six months to work out a fairly good rating scale and job standard for one group of employees, can the administrator afford to devote the necessary time to produce standards and scales for jobs of which there is only one of a kind in his organization? Satisfactory answers to these and many other questions depend on the ability to work out dependable service rating scales and methods for using them. In the past year I have, in my own department, seen service ratings developed that are satisfactory to a degree not dreamed possible

when we started. Progress is also being made on the problem of their use.

We found two things to be basic to this development: first, the participation of experienced staff members in the process of creating the service rating plan; second, the development of a definite standard of performance for each job to be rated. Staff participation helps to insure sound results, removes, to some extent, the fear of the evaluation process, and lays the foundation for subsequent proper interpretation of the plan both to rating officers and to the staff generally.

The standard of performance starts with an analysis of the job in terms of its significant elements. This standard becomes the measuring rod against which the individual employee's work is rated. In addition, it automatically serves an essential purpose in in-service training, indicating both the job to be taught and the content of the teaching. The purpose of service ratings is to protect and to promote the basic idea of merit. Ratings, soundly conceived and objectively made, should make certain that merit comes to the front and that incompetency is discovered. Blind adherence to imperfect rating scales produces inequities that breed discontent, and result in loss of valuable personnel.

Another specific problem confronting the administrator lies in his increased responsibilities in connection with demotions and dismissals. Gone are the free and easy days when dismissals could be made on the basis of snap judgments and emotional decisions. The administrator can enthusiastically welcome the guarantee of tenure which merit systems have brought to competent employees. The responsibility for the elimination of incompetents, however, lies directly on his shoulders. First of all, he must deal with probational employees who are about to acquire permanent civil service status. Sometimes it is easier to dismiss a probational employee than a permanent employee, since the latter may have the right of appeal and the former may not. Quite apart from this distinction, it is clear that the right to dismiss or retain an employee at the end of a probational period becomes an extension of the original selection process.

Too often the passage of a probational employee to permanent

status becomes a routine procedure or is a matter of default by the administrator or his executive staff. Unless the employee is sensationally incompetent, he slides easily into what is sometimes described as a "job for life." Thus, unconsciously, the administrator undermines the very principle of merit which he holds of major importance in maintaining his program. The importance of the evaluation of probational employees after the breaking-in period cannot be overestimated. If it is well done, the administrator will have less trouble in dealing with the broader problem of demotion or dismissal of incompetent employees who have permanent civil service status.

The protection provided competent employees under civil service implies an effective appeal procedure based on a fair hearing plus the right of a reviewing board to reinstate a discharged employee if justice so dictates. The zeal to make an appeal procedure effective has many times been carried to ridiculous extremes. A common tendency is to pattern the fair hearing on court procedure, with rules of evidence, batteries of lawyers, and a maximum of legal hocus-pocus. It takes only a few hearings of this type completely to discourage dismissals except in cases close to murder or arson in their seriousness. Anyone who can possibly be put up with is assured of tenure. The result is the protection of incompetency and the undoing of all the careful work of certification and selection. Failure to dismiss incompetent personnel starts a cancerous growth of incompetency among all employees. The problem created by overdeveloped appeal procedures grows apace, eventually to undermine the entire merit principle. If simplicity in conducting appeals is the goal, reliance must be placed on easily demonstrable standards of performance for the job and a clear explanation of the failure of the employee to meet those standards.

This cataloguing of problems serves no useful purpose unless it emphasizes the fact that "merit" is not achieved by laws and regulations alone. Today, public welfare administrators are enjoying the fruits of a merit system that only a few years ago seemed a desirable but unattainable haven. No problem inherent in the system can be described that matches the handicaps of the patronage system which automatically placed every welfare administrator

wanting to do a good job directly "behind the eight ball" before he even started.

No administrator thinks of civil service as an end in itself, but rather as a device to help him give better service. He welcomes civil service if it can help him avoid the handicaps of patronage and sponsorship. He welcomes civil service if it brings a measure of security to his competent staff. He adheres to the principle of merit because it is a solid rock upon which to build an organization that can effectively move toward the objectives of his program.

It would be a foolish administrator who would expect to enjoy the benefits of a merit system at no cost in time or effort. On the contrary, his energies must be devoted unsparingly to the improvement of both law and regulation in respect to those restrictions that affect the principle of merit. He must coöperate with the civil service board by making his needs clear and by reporting accurately the results of methods of testing and grading. Finally, he must recognize that civil service does not give him a ready-made product, but rather a supply of high-grade material which must be processed by a careful use of the probational period, provision of adequate job training, development of service ratings, and all other phases of personnel management which are part and parcel of a merit system.

NEEDED CHANGES IN FEDERAL AND STATE UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION LEGISLATION

Ewan Clague

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM is beyond any shadow of a doubt the most significant factor affecting the social and economic life of this country. This national effort has already penetrated so thoroughly the fabric of our economy that, no matter what the course of events, far-reaching economic adjustments are going to be necessary. The ironic paradox of peace is that demobilization of men and cessation of defense production threaten to create mass unemployment. Whether or not this threat becomes an actuality depends in part on fortune. Pent-up demand for consumers' goods, deferred maintenance of industrial equipment, and reviving international trade may ease us through that difficult period. On the other hand, every major war from the Thirty Years' War to the first World War has been followed by a major economic depression. This somber fact makes it apparent that it would be the better part of wisdom to plan for unemployment even while every effort is made to avoid a postwar slump. Unemployment compensation can be made a major sector of such a plan if certain basic changes are made.

The employment service, which constitutes a branch of employment security coördinate with unemployment compensation, is already a vital part of the national defense program. It is engaged in forecasting labor needs in specific areas, surveying the capacity of local areas to bear the multitude of adjustments required by mushroom industrial expansion, ascertaining what skills are scarce, and coöperating with other agencies in training and retraining our workers. Moreover, active participation in the defense program has

prepared the employment service to meet even more extensive duties, such as guiding the movement of workers, which may be made necessary as defense production accelerates.

I mention the present and future economic implications of the defense program, and the part which one branch of the employment security program is playing, in order to bring into focus what I believe to be the major factor conditioning the changes needed in state and Federal legislation for unemployment compensation. It is evident that this form of social insurance, a social institution which can function effectively only if it is geared to the realities of the labor market, must evolve in response to present changes in the labor market, and in response to the possibility of mass unemployment of the future. Although certain deficiencies evident in the unemployment compensation program before the inauguration of the defense program still exist, I should like to emphasize what seem to me to be the major adjustments which must be made in state and Federal unemployment compensation legislation as a result of the defense program. Most of these adjustments would have been desirable even in the absence of the defense program, but they become urgently necessary in our present circumstances.

The Federal-state unemployment compensation system rests on the following legal framework:

1. A uniform Federal tax of 3 percent on pay rolls is imposed, but employers are permitted to credit against this tax the pay-roll taxes paid to state unemployment compensation agencies. Since employers can credit only up to a maximum of 2.7 percent of their pay rolls, this is the usual tax imposed by state unemployment compensation laws.
2. Out of the 3 percent tax imposed, the Federal Government actually collects only 0.3 percent. The proceeds of this tax are, in effect, the source of funds for the administration of state unemployment compensation agencies.
3. Benefit payments in each state are financed out of the pay-roll taxes collected by that state alone. The proceeds of the state tax form a reserve which must be held in trust by the Federal treasury.

Each state may withdraw money from this fund for benefit payments only, and cannot withdraw more than it has deposited.

4. Only limited standards designed to obtain efficient administration and to provide protection for labor standards were written into the Federal act.

After the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935 and, indeed, while the terms of the act were being debated, the question of the respective roles of the Federal and state governments was widely debated. In connection with this question it will be noted that:

1. No standards of any kind were established in the Federal act with respect to benefits, their amount or duration, or the eligibility of workers. The theory is that the uniform Federal tax provides an equalization of cost which prevents competition among the states with respect to unemployment compensation. It was thought when the Social Security Act was passed that the scale of benefits would be adjusted, state by state, to the amount of money available for benefit payments, thus creating a floor to benefits.

2. The solvency of state unemployment funds is protected only through the provision that taxes should be collected for a period of two years prior to the beginning of benefit payments. Beyond this there are no safeguards, except the implication that states will readjust their taxes or their benefits, or both, so as to remain solvent in the long run.

Within this legal framework a multitude of varieties and sub-varieties of benefit and contribution provisions have developed under state unemployment compensation laws. In so far as the benefit formulas are concerned, the failure of the systems to furnish benefits extending over the claimants' periods of short-time unemployment is outstanding. A recent survey made by the Bureau of Employment Security has shown that in every state which has submitted data to the Social Security Board, at least 40 percent of all claimants exhausted their benefit rights during their benefit years. In several states over 60 percent of all claimants exhausted their rights. When it is realized that these figures are based upon experience gathered during a relatively prosperous period, and that in most states no claimant can draw more than sixteen weeks of benefits, the high proportion of claimants who exhaust their

benefit rights becomes doubly significant. Full compensation for periods of short-time unemployment during relatively good times, the primary function of unemployment compensation, is not being paid under most state laws.

The amounts which claimants may receive per week do not, in general, fall far below a reasonable standard. In most states claimants receive weekly benefit amounts roughly approximating half of their weekly wages in a week of usual earnings. This broad generalization, however, conceals deficiencies in the weekly benefit amount provisions of individual states. In five jurisdictions weekly benefit amounts are related not to weekly wages, but to claimants' total annual earnings. Without elaborating the mathematical basis of this formula, it may be stated that this type of formula has in practice not only obliterated the relationship between usual weekly wages and the weekly benefit amount, but also reduced drastically the weekly payments made to individuals. In Pennsylvania and New York, states which accounted for more than one quarter of the total amount of benefits paid throughout the country in 1940, no provision for the payment of benefits for partial unemployment exists. Minimum weekly benefit amounts far below the level necessary for the maintenance of decent subsistence are paid in many states. In seventeen jurisdictions the minimum weekly payment for total unemployment is below five dollars. When such payments are made, unemployment benefits do not form a first line of defense against the effects of wage loss caused by unemployment.

An examination of the volume of prior earnings and employment required of eligible claimants in different states leads inevitably to the conclusion that these clauses are based on no clear and consistent concept of the portion of the unemployed group which should be entitled to unemployment benefits. In many states, eligibility for benefits is comparatively easy to attain. The result is that numerous workers with meager past earnings become entitled to small weekly benefit amounts and to few weeks of benefits. For many of these claimants, unemployment benefits are merely an impediment to the receipt of more decent subsistence payments under other programs for aid to unemployed workers. On the other hand, in some states, eligibility requirements are so

stringent that large numbers of the group currently becoming unemployed can obtain no benefits whatever. One state has found, for example, that over 41 percent of those who claimed benefits in the six months after the adoption of a new and severe eligibility requirement were declared ineligible. Extreme differences in the effect of eligibility requirements are the result, not of planned experimentation, but of chance variation.

A catalogue of the status of the remaining sections of the benefit formula—causes for disqualification, waiting periods, maximum benefit amounts, and special restriction on the benefit rights of seasonal workers—would fill out the general picture of inadequacy and lack of careful planning.

There would be cause for optimism if definite progress had been made by the forty-six state legislatures which met this year. Although many legislatures are still in session, it is possible to tell which way the wind is blowing by examining amendments adopted in twenty-four states whose legislatures have adjourned. The picture is not especially encouraging to those who had counted upon the existence of large trust funds to facilitate liberalization of benefits. Only two states have thus far adopted uniform duration of benefits during these sessions. Existing uniform duration has been extended by one or two weeks in three states. On the other hand, two states have somewhat restricted duration. With respect to weekly benefit amount provisions, the most significant trend has been to increase minimums. Nine out of the twenty-four states have either raised the flat minimum or established effective minimum amounts. The maximum weekly benefit amount has been increased by amounts ranging from one to four dollars in three states. The most marked liberalization has been evident in widespread shortening of the waiting period. Fifteen states have shortened their waiting periods; nine of these have adopted one-week waiting periods. No clear trend has appeared in connection with eligibility requirements. Some states have made it more difficult for workers to qualify; others have made their eligibility provisions more lenient.

Perhaps the most marked change in benefit formulas has been an increase in both the variety of acts which cause disqualification

and in the loss of benefit rights by disqualified claimants. Six states have adopted provisions which cancel, in whole or in part, the potential benefit rights of disqualified claimants. Four other states have increased the duration of disqualifications without canceling benefit rights. This development is discouraging because it foreshadows the sort of sniping at benefit provisions which has for thirty years hindered the development of adequate benefit schedules under accident compensation laws.

There has been little tendency to broaden the coverage of state laws. Only two additional states have adopted coverage of one or more during these sessions. This reluctance to broaden coverage is in part traceable to the terms of the sections of the Social Security Act dealing with unemployment compensation. Under these provisions a tax is imposed only on employers of eight or more. The Social Security Board has strongly recommended that the Federal Act be amended to cover employers of one or more, and broader coverage under state acts may be expected to follow such an amendment to the Federal Act. The Social Security Board has also recommended that nonprofit institutions—and particularly social agencies—be brought under the Federal Act. Coverage of the great bulk of domestic and agricultural workers appears to be a problem for the longer future. The administrative problems involved in collecting taxes with respect to the wages of such workers and the establishment of a sound structure for benefit payment to them involve very complex administrative problems.

Although in many states the failure to enact adequate standards may be traced simply to lack of vision, there are several factors in the historical development and the basic structure of the present system which militate against the establishment of a sound unemployment compensation system. The first of these is that the Committee on Economic Security consciously underestimated the benefit schedule which could be maintained by a 2.7 percent pay-roll tax. Draft bills prepared on the basis of these estimates (which, with modifications, were widely adopted by the states) still exercise a marked influence over legal provisions and concepts of what constitutes a "normal" or "adequate" benefit standard.

General failure to rectify the errors resulting from these in-

evitable early miscalculations can be traced largely to two sources. First, the state is not a unit well adapted to the financing of unemployment insurance. Michigan, for example, feels the full force of variations in the nationwide demand for automobiles. The present Federal-state system is built on the assumption that states faced with a high risk of unemployment will adjust downward the schedule of benefits in order to maintain solvent funds. It is now evident, however, that such variation means, not benefit schedules varying in adequacy, but the adoption of patently inadequate benefits in many states. The second primary cause for continuing inadequacy of benefit payments is experience-rating. When employers' taxes depend on the volume of benefits paid to their former workers, as is now the case in most states, strong efforts to keep such payments low by opposing liberalization of the benefit formula may be taken for granted.

What changes are necessary if the defects in the present benefit formulas are to be eliminated? I see no answer except the establishment of minimum Federal benefit standards. Action by the states is apparently not a solution. A uniform Federal benefit schedule, on the other hand, would destroy the flexibility and the potential ability to make adjustments to local needs which are virtues of the existing set-up. Minimum Federal standards, fixed at the level below which no unemployment compensation scheme can function effectively, are the logical solution. Those states which are so inclined could enact standards well in excess of the Federal minimum.

I mentioned the fact that some states cannot finance adequate benefit standards. Not only is that true, but the enactment of even minimum benefit standards would eventually bankrupt some state funds. Since such standards are vitally necessary and the financial structure should be designed to facilitate rather than to impede payment of adequate benefits, some modification of the separate state reserves system appears necessary. At present I am not so much concerned with the details of a plan for equalizing the cost of unemployment benefits as I am in seeing that the principle of equalization is written into the Federal act.

One of the handicaps to the establishment of a sound system of

unemployment compensation is the existence of experience-rating provisions in their present form in state unemployment compensation laws. Until January, 1941, unemployment compensation in the states had been maintained through the device of a uniform equalizing Federal tax. This had provided in every state adequate funds for the payment of the benefits set forth in the state law. Indeed, in many states the status of the trust funds at present would warrant further extensions of benefits in the direction of greater adequacy. But from an actuarial viewpoint, adjustment of income to expenditures can be achieved in such states by reduction of taxes as well as by increases in benefit expenditures. Experience-rating, under the terms of the Social Security Act, is the only method for reducing taxes which is open to states. The effect of this circumstance is to push the states in the direction of experience-rating, even though they might themselves prefer to maintain complete pooling.

Experience-rating will, on the whole, generally reduce individual employer contributions and, therefore, reduce the receipts available each year for the trust fund. Since the Federal Act specifies no limits to this reduction, tax cuts may continue (at least in some states) until receipts are scarcely more than benefit payments. The question will then arise as to whether benefit payments themselves might not be further cut down through changes in benefit, coverage, eligibility, or disqualification provisions. At its worst, the result of this whole trend would be the reintroduction of interstate competition, this time in the direction of reducing taxes, limiting benefits, obtaining further reduction in taxes, and so on in a downward spiral.

Recent developments indicate that this downward spiral is already well under way. In sixteen states reduced tax rates became effective in 1941. It is estimated that the total income of these sixteen state funds will be cut by about 18 percent as a result of rate reductions. In 1942, when experience-rating becomes effective in additional states and when additional experience in prosperous times will help reduce employers' rates, it is not inconceivable that the total amount of pay-roll taxes payable under all state laws will drop by as much as 16 percent below the amount collectible

under a uniform 2.7 percent pay-roll tax. As these reductions begin to curtail the reserves available in specific states, increased pressure for reduced benefits in those states may be anticipated. On the other hand, employers in states where small or no tax reductions are possible will demand more lenient experience-rating so that their tax costs will not place them in an unfavorable competitive position.

There is evidence of this latter trend in recent legislation. In three additional states, clauses imposing a maximum rate of 2.7 percent were inserted by the 1941 legislatures. Other means of reducing the net income of state funds below an average of 2.7 percent are also finding wider acceptance. Evidence accumulates that experience-rating is not only a device designed to attain employment stabilization or allocation of social costs, but also a means of reducing unemployment compensation pay-roll taxes.

As a device for distributing the cost of benefits among individual employers according to the burden which their workers place on the fund, experience-rating may be justified as long as the entire cost of benefits is placed in the first instance upon employers. This allocation of cost theory, however, in no way justifies the use of experience-rating as a device for undercutting the financial stability of the unemployment compensation system. Relatively little attention has been given to redistribution of the tax burden among employers and employees through a worker contribution as an escape from the dilemma of experience-rating.

Stabilization of employment is often cited as the primary purpose of experience-rating, but it seems to me that in the present circumstances rapid expansion of employment and not maintenance of an even volume of employment is needed in the defense program. When some plants are doubling or tripling plant capacity as a result of defense orders while others are firing men because of the operation of priorities, there can at least be some doubt as to the advisability of relating each employer's tax to his own unemployment experience on the ground that he alone is responsible for either employment or unemployment. Finally, I believe that we must maintain large reserves if we are to be adequately insured against the possibility of mass unemployment. Experience-rating,

by reducing the income of state funds, is likely to imperil the building of a strong reserve.

There seem to me to be needed changes in the Federal-state system of unemployment compensation. I believe that Federal minimum benefit standards are essential because the primary function of unemployment compensation—payment of benefits to workers during their periods of short-run unemployment—is not being fulfilled. General failure on the part of states to plug up the most obvious gaps in the benefit formulas is alarming, not because we are now in a situation where expanded protection is imperative, but because the pattern set this year may be followed in subsequent meetings of state legislatures. Unless we prepare during the fat years for the lean years, we shall find unemployment compensation unable in a time of crisis to play an appropriate part in a comprehensive program for aid to unemployed employables.

The consequences of this failure to establish a sound benefit formula will be to throw on the Works Projects Administration and on poorly financed state and local relief agencies part of the load which should be carried by the permanent unemployment compensation system. Inadequate protection, unmet needs, unnecessary duplication of effort, and long delays in getting aid to unemployed workers will be inevitable if, as seems probable, state legislatures fail in future sessions to face the probability of a sharp increase in the number of unemployed workers.

In connection with the financial structure of the program, two changes are immediately necessary. Use of experience-rating as a device for cutting the income of state funds could be limited by inserting in the Social Security Act a clause requiring states to maintain an average income of a specified percent of pay rolls. Such a change would permit a fair test of experience-rating as a means of stabilizing employment and re-allocating the cost of benefit payments, but would rule out the use of experience-rating as a device for reducing taxes. Finally, since the acceptance of minimum benefit standards and collection of taxes at a certain percentage of pay rolls in all states will cause some states' reserves to shrink and others to grow, I believe that the plan of having wholly separate state reserves must be modified. States might be required

to place a portion of their income from pay-roll taxes into a common pool from which states in danger of insolvency could draw money. The offset allowed against the Federal pay-roll tax might be reduced, and the increased volume of Federal taxes used as a fund to support benefit payments in states where the risk of unemployment is high.

These three changes—adoption of minimum benefit standards, maintenance of the income of state funds at a certain percentage of pay rolls, and acceptance of some form of equalizing income among the states—seem to me to be immediately necessary if the unemployment compensation system is to play a substantial role in coping with the problem of unemployment.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE OLD AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE PROGRAM

John J. Corson

NOT QUITE SIX YEARS AGO the Social Security Act was passed. The United States was still in the grip of the most serious depression it has ever known. From twenty-three million to nearly twenty-five million persons, it is estimated, were receiving some form of public aid during the early months of 1935. The financial resources of cities and counties were strained to their limits and beyond. It was to meet this tremendous burden more satisfactorily, and to prevent a recurrence in the future, that the act was passed. For this latter task the two social insurances, unemployment compensation and old age insurance, were established.

Today the depression is largely behind us; the effects of the depression will remain for many years to come. But now we are faced with new dangers which few of us expected six years ago. We are feverishly building airplanes, ships, tanks, and guns. We are inducting more and more men into our army and navy. Our resources are being thrown into a mighty effort to increase our military strength. Our national defenses are being built at a large but essential cost. An equally significant but less apparent cost, which has accompanied the building of our national defenses so far, has been the delay in the development of these basic social insurance institutions. That is a cost which this nation cannot long afford.

Fortunately, the original old age insurance system has undergone substantial development since it was conceived in 1935. In 1939 it was generally overhauled. Protection for the survivors of insured workers—the widows, orphans, and, in some instances, the dependent parents—was added to the protection for the old

age of the workers themselves. Supplemental allowances were also provided for the dependents of retired workers, their wives, and their young, dependent children. Workers live in family units. The original act evidenced little recognition of this simple fact; the 1939 amendments are premised upon it.

Other important steps were taken. The payment of benefits was begun two years earlier than was originally planned—in January, 1940, instead of January, 1942. It was made easier for workers who were already old to qualify for benefits in the early years of this system. More nearly adequate benefits were provided for those workers who would retire in the early years of the program. Protection was extended to more than one million workers not previously covered. Most of these (700,000 or more) had been excluded because they were past sixty-five years when the system was started. Certain maritime employees, left out for other reasons, and the employees of national banks were also brought under the system.

These amendments better adapted old age and survivors insurance to its principal objective. That purpose is to lessen the dependency of families upon society for relief or assistance. The 1939 amendments to the act revised the system to give greater emphasis to this objective and less to the relationship between individual contributions and benefits. That did not, however, obscure the basic requirement that each individual worker must first contribute to the cost of benefits in order to be entitled to protection.

Hence, this system was remolded into a more truly social insurance. In simple terms, old age and survivors insurance is designed to make incomes available to people who might otherwise be insecure. It is designed to accomplish this end in order that society may be relieved of the continuing burden of supporting them through the provision of assistance. It is designed to provide this essential income without requiring the individual to undergo a means test which, to the average American, is objectionable, even though the better it is administered, the less objectionable it becomes. Social insurance, as one student has said, is "the orderly budgeting of relief costs." It is a more orderly method of planning for the costs of dependency. In recognizing these costs and planning

for them, we took a long step forward in the provision of security for the individual and for society.

What have we learned about the people for whom we are administering the old age and survivors insurance system? We have had more than four years of what might be called an acquaintance with them. Our accounting operations—wage records, on which benefits depend—began the first of January, 1937. We have been paying monthly benefits since January 1, 1940, and we have been analyzing our records, studying them and their implications, at almost every step of the way. Experience accumulating in the administration of old age and survivors insurance will reveal more precisely the nature of insecurity as it affects the aged and the survivors of deceased workers. It will provide a firm foundation for future developments. The accumulation of this experience began with the receipt of the first reports of employee earnings. It was hastened by the commencement of the payment of monthly insurance benefits in January, 1940.

The analysis of our experience will soon provide answers for such basic questions as these: What does the typical worker have to live on when he comes to retirement age? How steadily has he been employed during the years before he was sixty-five or before he died? In short, was he economically shelved or physically worn out before he became, under the law, old enough to retire, or before he died? Are widows left with means enough to tide them over until they are sixty-five, when their benefits begin? When and why do workers retire? How important a part do benefits play in the lives of retired workers? Already our data indicate three factors which should be considered in planning future development of the system.

American workers, we find, do not remain in the neat compartments described by statute as "covered employment" and "uncovered employment." Many workers move from job to job, and some move often. A study of over two thousand persons regularly employed on farms in ten counties in Virginia, for example, indicates this. It was found that about one of every five of those persons had obtained a social security account number because he expected to work for some business or industrial concern. One of

every ten had worked in covered employment since 1936. Studies of farm wage workers in North Dakota in 1938 and of migratory agricultural workers, registered in the camps of the Farm Security Administration in North Carolina and California, revealed that about 40 percent of these farm workers had recently worked in jobs covered by the Social Security Act. Also, among 1,100 domestic servants in private homes in one Eastern city, one third had social security account numbers, although only 4 percent had actually had covered jobs. Of the total of 36,800,000 workers for whom wages in covered employment were reported in 1937 and 1938 more than one fourth—9,600,000—had worked in covered employment during only one of the two years.

These facts indicate that our old age and survivors insurance system should be adapted to provide security for many workers whose lives are spent at intermittent employment, or who may go in and out of different kinds of employment. They indicate even more clearly that any social insurance which does not cover all forms of employment will leave an appreciable number of families insecure upon the death or retirement of the breadwinner.

Our experience indicates, in the second place, that American workers would rather work than retire. Of 550,000 over sixty-five years of age in 1940 who were eligible to retire and receive old age insurance benefits, only about 132,000 did retire and apply for benefits. The remainder, three fourths of the total, continued to work. Of those who did retire, well over a quarter were sixty-nine years of age and older. Only 17 percent retired on their sixty-fifth year. For the total picture, turn to the census of 1940. There we find that one fourth of all persons aged sixty-five or over (more than two million in the United States) are at work or looking for work, and more than one fifth are actually employed in industry and agriculture, or on public works.

Why do these men and women continue to work? Recently we interviewed some twelve hundred workers in one area of California who were eligible to retire and claim insurance benefits but had not done so. When asked whether they were working by choice or necessity, most of them stated that they could not afford to retire. The majority of them added, however, that they would

not want to stop working, even if they could afford to. After all, who should be surprised at this? There have always been people who prefer to die with their boots on.

At the moment the need for the skills of these older workers in the production of defense materials makes it clear that the national interest is not served by their retirement. Their productiveness, moreover, and their value to industry are confirmed by some very practical evidence in our hands. On the average, their earnings, as revealed by the old age and survivors insurance wages records, were higher than the earnings of younger workers. These facts pose a meaningful question. Can our society afford to retire workers merely because they have reached a certain age? Is it not more immediately important that every man and woman be assured that, come what may, the wages which they lost through unemployment, sickness, disability, old age, or the death of the breadwinner will be replaced in sufficient part to provide at least security against want?

The extent to which old age and survivors insurance is providing, in some part, this basic security is becoming clearer as experience accumulates. On June 2, 1941, more than three hundred and twenty thousand persons received either old age insurance or survivors insurance payments. The average monthly payment to a retired worker was a little less than \$23.00 a month. For retired workers with aged wives the average monthly payment was about \$36.50. The average individual benefit for all persons over sixty-five, including retired workers, widows, and dependent parents, was approximately \$20.50 a month. To younger widows, with children under eighteen in their care, the average monthly payment approximated \$41.00.

These amounts are not large. Are they adequate to provide this basic assurance against want? If these benefits now make recourse to other forms of public aid unnecessary for the mass of all beneficiaries, then these benefits can be regarded as adequate. Our present fragmentary evidence indicates that few of these beneficiaries are also receiving old age assistance, aid to dependent children, or general relief. However, until information is available as to the other resources of beneficiaries, as to their standards of living, and

as to the composition of the households in which benefits are received, adequacy cannot be finally evaluated. Soon we will have the results of our first survey of the income, resources, and living standards of beneficiaries. In one large city we have recently visited the homes of 550 beneficiaries to ask how they now live as compared to the time before their wages ceased. Soon we shall know the results of this survey.

Any long-run evaluation of the adequacy of these benefits must keep in mind the objectives of all social insurance. If we propose to induce all workers to retire at a certain age, benefit payments will have to be increased tremendously. They will have to be raised close to the level of customary wages. If, however, basic security against want is our objective, lesser payments will suffice. A sound insurance system cannot afford to promise more than it can fulfill. Nor can it provide more than basic security for those whose wages are lost as a result of single hazard—old age—until it has provided equivalent protection for all those whose security is destroyed by other common hazards. Those who have real concern for the welfare of our society must strive to insure that an increasing share of the national income is apportioned among all insecure groups rather than to any particular limited group, or to the victims of any one hazard alone. Unless this balance is attained, social security will remain a vision for the future.

We cannot think of our system of social insurance as adequate until we have included some twenty million workers who are not now covered by it. Among these are three or four million farm workers, not the farmers themselves, but the men they employ. Most of these men are on large farms which hire from three or four to as many as 5,000 workers. They are paid wages, in a number of instances, through a cashier's window, just as the factory worker is paid. When crops are bad, or in the off-season, they seek work "in town," or they work at a cannery. Such workers as these are among the most insecure in the whole American economy.

Excluded also at present are almost one million workers employed by religious, charitable, educational, and similar non-profit organizations. Most of these have no protection for themselves in old age, or for their widows and orphans, unless they can

save from an income too small to permit savings. Some of them work all their lives for the school or the church where they get their first job. Others come and go, working on covered jobs at other times, but without much chance of earning enough credits to benefit under the old age and survivors insurance.

Then there are the domestic servants, almost two and a half millions of them—laundresses, practical nurses, children's nurses, chauffeurs, butlers, maids, cooks. They don't make much. Their jobs are irregular, often part time, intermittent. Their need of protection is very great.

There are great numbers of public employees, all now excluded. For more than half of all state, county, and municipal employees, and for some few Federal employees, there is no protection in old age, and provision for survivors is lacking for a great many more. At least a million state and municipal employees work for states and cities which do not have retirement systems. Others are covered by retirement systems which are financially unsound or which offer meager benefits after long years of service. Practically all of these public employees lose whatever protection they have against old age or death if they leave their present jobs and go to work for another employer.

Finally, there are the great numbers of self-employed workers not on any employer's pay roll. Among these are many who are well-to-do, but there are also the small employers, the professional men and women of small income, artisans, salesmen, newsboys, fishermen, shopkeepers, and farm operators who need insurance protection as much as many wage or salary workers. Here also we find some of the most vocal critics of the present old age and survivors insurance program. Such are the salesmen who work for commissions—insurance salesmen, real estate salesmen, and all the others who legally, if not always rationally, are considered by their employers to be independent enterprisers rather than employees. Particularly critical are the small employers who, while paying taxes upon the earnings of their few employees, see no provision being made for their own security. Yet their income may permit no better provision for their own old age or for their survivors than do the wages of their employees.

There, briefly, is the picture of one great inadequacy of our present system—its limited coverage. With forty-odd million workers on our books, some twenty million others are left out.

There is another great inadequacy, affecting both the forty-odd million and the twenty million. There is no basic insurance protection for any of them against disability arising from illness or accident not connected with their jobs. Yet there are said to be some two million people in this country now unable to support themselves or their families because they are totally or permanently disabled. They have been stricken with what might be called premature old age, but our system does not cover them. Their need, of course, is no less than that of the worker whose age prevents his earning a livelihood. Indeed, at present, if a man dies, his widow and orphans receive monthly benefits; if he is only half-dead—totally and permanently disabled and hence a continuing financial burden upon his family—neither he nor his family gets any benefits from our present system.

In six brief years we have learned that social insurance protection against the hazards of old age and death must provide for people living together in family units. It must provide enough for them to live on if it is to accomplish its purpose. It must be adapted to a mobile labor force whose members may become disabled but who will not retire unless they are forced to do so. Social security will not be attained by inducing the retirement of able-bodied workers—at least not until all workers who are disabled before retirement age are guaranteed enough to live on.

The lessons learned so far make clear the developments that must be sought in the future. The important thing is to protect all our people against the economic hazards of death, disability, and old age, and to do it with democratic recognition of the dignity of the individual. This protection is essential at any time; it is doubly so at a time when these men and women are freely giving their effort to the defense of our democracy. Let us hope that it will not require the aftermath of this defense effort, the economic accompaniments of the victory we foresee, to prove the necessity for underpinning democracy with this pragmatic guarantee of subsistence to every man and woman.

WHAT DOES THE GROUP WORK PROCESS HAVE TO CONTRIBUTE TO A HOUSING PROGRAM?

Jean Coman

NATHAN STRAUS, administrator of the United States Housing Authority, made a statement three years ago which expresses clearly the fundamental aims of the housing program:

The managers of housing projects must, of course, see that the rents are collected, but their primary consideration must be the well-being of the tenants as a community of citizens living together with all that this implies in civic life. The development of a community spirit and feeling is of great importance. The city slum furnishes practically no opportunity for the development of personality or individual interests and hobbies . . .

How different are the opportunities in a low-cost housing project! Every such project offers opportunities for the development of the interests and hobbies of the individual. Today the individual is deprived of the opportunity to do something himself; he simply watches. It is high time we restore to him his chance to participate in something of which he is a part.

A housing development should be an ideal setting for the growth of coöperative living and the "community spirit." It should present to the residents, as well as to the other low-income families in the neighborhood, an opportunity to improve themselves socially and economically. This improvement will not just happen, but little by little over a period of time tenants will get over their first bewilderment at being thrust into a new and different atmosphere if patient and sympathetic guidance is given. The successful community relations program in a housing development is dependent upon the ability of the management staff and the tenants to develop cordial and effectual relationships. These relationships must extend beyond the boundaries of the development to agencies, organized groups, and neighborhood leaders. In the final analysis,

the neighborhood and not the housing development is the organizational unit for the community program.

The group work process means to me that educational process by which individuals develop and adjust through voluntary group associations with the assistance of a group leader; and the educational process which uses voluntary group association to pursue socially desirable ends determined by the group. It is the combined attempt to achieve individual growth and common social results.

To illustrate the opportunities for the group work process in the housing program let us look at the formation of tenant activities. The United States Housing Authority has urged local housing authorities to include community facilities, with both indoor and outdoor space, when the housing projects are planned. Having provided social facilities, the local housing authority then must establish certain policies for the use of them. We have encouraged local authorities to take the following points into consideration when establishing such policies:

1. Facilities should be available to tenants and neighborhood residents for social, civic, educational, recreational, and other lawful purposes.
2. The use of facilities as places of assemblage for tenants and other citizens to hear candidates for public office and for the discussion of political affairs should be considered a civic purpose, providing the same opportunity is granted to all candidates and that all sides of questions are considered.
3. The use of facilities by religious groups should be granted at the discretion of the housing manager, providing the same opportunities are made available to all groups making such requests.

Furthermore, it is the policy of the USHA to encourage the development of resident-initiated activities. The experiences of the last few years indicate clearly that resident activities benefit the larger neighborhood as well as the tenants and the housing management. From this point of view they contribute to the development of healthful family life. They provide a basis for sympathetic and cordial relationships between tenants and management. They encourage tenant initiative and responsible tenant

participation in affairs which have a direct bearing on maintenance, low rents, and reduced subsidy. Thus nursery schools, consumer services, homemaking programs, tenant associations, and other community activities play an important role in progressive and sound housing management.

A variety of activities centered around the family as a unit and around the individuals and groups develops naturally within a period of time in every development. The list is not always the same; the programs are dissimilar; and the interests of tenants differ from place to place. This is as it should be, because a successful program must reflect the interests and needs of the participants.

The USHA urges local housing authorities to observe the following principles when formulating policies and procedures relative to tenant activities:

1. Activities must develop as the result of interest, responsibility, and participation on the part of residents in the development and in the surrounding neighborhood. They should not be organized and controlled by the management staff.

2. The local housing authority and the management staff should indicate that they encourage community activities in the development on the same basis that activities are developed in any other section of the city.

3. Activities should be integrated with the community life of the surrounding neighborhood for the purpose of avoiding isolation of the development.

4. The local authority should assume responsibility for assisting resident groups with leadership, planning, financing, and programming where residents indicate that they wish this assistance.

5. Only competent personnel trained and experienced in community organization and group work should be employed by the local housing authority to supervise the community or tenant relations program.

6. Proper consideration should be given to the timing of sound and successful resident activities. They cannot develop overnight or within a period of months, because their success depends upon

the growth of leadership, stability in membership, group morale, and sound methods of financing.

These principles can take on meaning only if the group work process is used. All group workers know the importance of sound organizational structure if the group is to function in high gear. The settlement house council, the neighborhood association, the Y.M.C.A. inter-club council, and the Boy Scout troop council are similar in function and organization to resident councils and tenant associations in housing developments.

Three major factors have stimulated the formation of resident councils and tenant associations.

1. They have been practical and useful methods by which the tenants could plan, initiate, and direct various types of community activities.
2. They have met a constantly growing need for the establishment of officially elected and representative groups in accordance with American traditions.
3. They have provided positive channels and healthful incentives which lessen the likelihood of destructive activities based upon misunderstandings, bickerings, and personal or group antagonisms.

The actual way in which these councils have been organized has differed, of course, in each development. Sometimes they spring from the desire of tenants, management, or both, to celebrate some special event. Often temporary committees are set up to handle such celebrations, and they are the forerunners of permanent elected bodies.

The block or area type of representation has been adopted in many developments, although the procedure has differed in each case. In one development each of the seventy-six buildings has representatives on the resident council, the officers of which are elected by all the residents. Another development is divided into nine areas, with seventy-three dwelling units to an area, each one electing three representatives to the tenants' association. In still another, the resident council includes representatives from every apartment stairway or row of houses. The tenants in a fourth community decided to establish seven wards, sending two representa-

tives from each ward to the tenant council. This was patterned after their own city council form of organization. It should be pointed out that the block, ward, or area form of organization is not the only method. Others, in fact, may be more suitable under certain local conditions.

The community council in another development is composed of one representative from each club and special interest group as well as one representative from each areaway. In other words, each resident body has to analyze its own problems, weigh the advantages and disadvantages of each suggestion, and devise a plan to meet its particular needs. This may represent a composite of two or more approaches to representative organization. "A stitch in time saves nine," and many difficulties may be avoided by both tenants and management if serious consideration has been given to plans for tenant organization rather than leaving important steps to chance developments.

The exact nature of the relationship of the management to the resident council of tenants' association has likewise varied. Four approaches have prevailed, generally: (1) indirect stimulation; (2) direct action; (3) complete hands-off policy; and (4) assistance on specific requests from the association or its affiliate groups. It must be recognized, of course, that any or all of these approaches might be used at different stages of management.

While the majority of tenants' associations have been successful, the unhappy experiences and failures of a small number should be analyzed. One of the outstanding difficulties has been the general reluctance to give careful study to the method of organization that will give equal representation and at the same time provide smooth-working machinery. Another cause for failure seems to be the stimulation of competitive and prize-winning activities to the point where jealousies and factional quarrels have been aroused. Likewise, overorganization has been noticeable. In other cases, tenant associations have lost prestige because the program of activities has not been sufficiently rich or varied in content to stimulate and sustain the interest of a large number. Too many groups have been caught in the meshes of constitution-writing, money raising, and membership campaigns. But the real lack, in my

opinion, has been leadership. Professional assistance to guide tenant groups through the organizational period, to suggest wide-awake and colorful programs, has been lacking in most housing developments. Without this leadership, the group work process rarely, if ever, has a chance to function.

It would be advisable to have a person with group work training identified with every housing development. In many of the small projects it may not be possible for the operating budget to carry the salary of a full-time worker, but with adequate organization and advanced planning, a worker can be made available through public or private funds other than funds from rent. Soon after the housing development opens it is clear to all but the most autocratic managers that someone must be designated to handle the problems of human relationships which inevitably arise. Unless group workers are able to demonstrate the skills that fit them for this task of building community life, it is not likely that housing authorities will think of appointing them to these positions. Many of the architects, engineers, and businessmen connected with the program have never heard of the group work process. When the group work process is not used in housing developments one may find groups being organized for partisan political purposes, to promote socially undesirable ends, or even to achieve the selfish purposes of some opportunist.

Housing communities bring together hundreds of average families. What they want in their group life is what most Americans want—pleasurable association with congenial people, fun, relaxation, freedom from regimentation, security, health, stimulating hobbies, and opportunities for exploration. Housing developments offer a new plan of living. For the first time in our history the whole family, young and old, have a chance to live and play with their neighbors under the influence of a landlord who is interested in their well-being as well as their rent. Now as never before we need to nurture every opportunity for the growth of constructive family and group life. If group workers are not a part of this plan, someone less qualified will be—with what results?

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN TIME OF CRISIS

I: FROM A NATIONAL POINT OF VIEW

Robert E. Bondy

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION is viewed as broad consultation and planning for joint and united action in the interest of the general welfare; this consultation and planning must assure full participation of government, of private effort, of business, and of social and civic interests, locally, in the states, and nationally.

A crisis is defined as a turning point in the progress of an affair, a juncture on which depends a transition to better or worse, such as a flood, a hurricane, widespread unemployment, a financial collapse, a war, or preparedness for a war or for the defense of that whole community we call the nation.

Community organization in time of crisis may be best understood through acquaintance with past crisis situations and with this present crisis. The World War, the depression and resultant unemployment, the Ohio and Mississippi Valley flood, the present conflict between totalitarianism and democracy—all these crises have common characteristics.

First, there is a disruption of normal processes and ways of life. All of life is affected—our personal innermost selves, our social and economic life, government, organized private effort in health, welfare, recreation and education, the organized community. This disruption takes the form of loss of employment in some crisis situations; in others, employment is on the upturn with shortages developing, the supply of labor unevenly distributed, and priority schedules calling for rapid shifts of workers. In a flood, disruption may consist of transportation interruptions or breakdowns. Power and communication facilities may go out. Shortages of food and medical supplies may be reported, although rarely are they found

to exist in fact. In a war or defense emergency, disruption may include housing shortages in boom communities. Prices of food, clothing, and rent may step up. Shortages in fuel, cotton goods, aluminum utensils, steel for normal construction uses, sugar, and automobiles may occur. Some of these disruptions are merely inconvenient; others pinch the family purse; others positively hurt. All change normal ways of living.

In any emergency the community and its members are confused. There is a groping for leadership. The way out is foggy. Despair grips many, even some erstwhile leaders. Recovery seems impossible of attainment. The spirit of the people plunges downward with each unfounded rumor. Hysteria takes odd and varied forms; in a flood, the fear of a second levee break today; in a defense emergency, fear of bombing of midcontinent cities tomorrow. Often the community's accustomed leadership carries on with magnificent strength in the emergency, but frequently new leaders emerge, clothed with vision and courage and calm discernment of needs and solutions.

It is characteristic of times of crisis that resources, of personnel, of human necessities, of sinews of defense, are inadequate. Local or regional or categorical shortages occur. Resourceless communities must call for state or national aid. Even the strong may not be strong enough without the added strength of the national community. And so a controlled service of supply is set up; priorities are established; inadequacies are supplemented out of the nation's stores.

Crisis situations are life's crucibles wherein strengths and weaknesses are precipitated. A lifetime of community action may never disclose the drabness or inadequacy of a so-called leader, may never expose his meanness, his cowardice, his inhumanity. Normal times may never bring public consciousness of the poor across the tracks, the undernourished neighbors on the doorsteps of the best citizens, the frozen state of central financing of the community's welfare program. Overnight the crucible of a crisis spotlights these weaknesses, and the strengths as well. Leadership does exist everywhere; the chemistry of a crisis discloses it. Courage and neighborly concern abound. Unselfish devotion to the common good

takes form. The community has "what it takes" for the job at hand—if not the local community, then the national community. And so the processes that are slow in a democracy are stepped up; for out of confusion and hysteria and loss and travail come, with the cleansing of fire, those sufficiencies that assure survival and recovery. Weakened morale then becomes sustained. And morale, that touchstone of unity and the will to triumph, is indeed a direct product, an inevitable counterpart, of those principles of organization and procedure that crisis experience has evolved.

Before stating the principles of organization and procedure and some of the positive needs characteristic of this experience, the nature of today's emergency or crisis should be considered, the forces involved briefly outlined, and the organization of the national community to this date chronicled. As one after another of the democracies was conquered, the American people became increasingly aware of an onrushing threat to their very existence. The nation was not prepared for such a crisis. Nerves became more tense. Fears became more widespread as the emergency grew. Deeply rooted values, priceless heritages of the spirit, seemed to be jeopardized. Much of the confusion and hysteria common to crisis situations appeared.

At length action was taken, first in one sector, then in another. A Selective Service Act was adopted. Plans for strengthening of the military and naval defense were pegged higher and higher until over forty billions had been voted for that purpose. Defense industries multiplied, although the facing of total needs for defense and normal demands lacked an all-out plan. Employment shifts followed new demands and priorities. Heavy population movements occurred. Resources in human skills, in plant capacity, in materials, showed spotty inadequacies. Power shortages threatened. Talk spread of price rises due to housing shortages, due to demand outrunning top production capacity, due to monopolies.

As in most crises, weaknesses in the national community became spotlighted. The selective service process showed appallingly high percentages of rejections due to physical and mental defects. Lack of organization slowed the marshaling of existing resources. Disunity showed its hydra head here and there. The spottiness of

good social organization, of effective community organization on the national front, was evident.

Yet counterbalancing strengths were revealed. Almost boundless human and material resources awaited the proper call. The nationwide system of public welfare and public health brought into being during the thirties constituted an underpinning for the nation's great task which was without parallel in the first World War. Private social effort showed many evidences of flexibility needed to round out the defense of the human sector at many points. Unity grew and now grows as objectives become defined and machinery becomes more adequate. And the broad spiritual base which rests on freedom and is inherent only in the democratic way of life is the shield and buckler for the fray. These strengths appear in spite of the absence of a national plan through which all national forces can be integrated into a single instrument for total defense.

The forces involved in an integration for total defense are nothing less than the whole national community. Total defense requires total participation. Total participation means the participation of government at all levels and in all its phases. It means the participation of private effort. It means the full and hearty participation of business and of labor and of agriculture, of the metropolitan center, of the rural crossroads, of the coastal states and the midcountry states, of rich and poor, of all races and sects. It means *total* participation. These are the forces that are involved, that await their marshaling, their utilization, their full participation.

The chronology of the organization of those forces is a story of stop and go, of evolution and opportunism. No chart existed for the start on the course of total defense. Some maps were taken from the first World War kit. They proved useful in the beginning. However, map making took on the proportions of a popular indoor sport, until panacea producers must have appeared to the chief route-maker to be comprised largely of cartographers.

Out of the Council of National Defense of the first World War came the National Defense Advisory Commission with commissioners responsible to the President for coördination and planning

in such fields as production, raw materials, labor, agriculture, price stabilization, transportation, and welfare and consumer interest. Generally, operating or administrative responsibility was not assigned, and existing agencies, primarily governmental but partly nongovernmental, were looked to for carrying through the plans of action to be evolved through the coördinating and planning processes of the commission.

In the field of welfare and consumer interest some conferences and conversations with representatives of the field and of interested civic agencies were held; but lack of authority and of a clear definition of responsibility placed limits on even the coördination process. In health and medical matters a separate committee was established by order of the Council of National Defense.

On December 7, 1940, the Council of National Defense, with the approval of the President, designated the Federal Security Administrator as Coördinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities. Advisory committees representative of each field were established. A field staff was organized around the Social Security Board regional staff, and a special staff of coördinators was assigned to unorganized camp and defense industry communities. Conferences were held with representatives of the appropriate governmental and private agencies to coördinate activities, study needs, and evolve programs wherein established public and private agencies would largely assume responsibility.

The Coördinator's office has taken significant leadership in providing recreation for uniformed men on leave and for defense industry workers. Federal appropriations for facilities such as roads and sewers, schools, and recreation centers in resourceless communities adjacent to training centers have been sponsored and the efforts of certain national private social agencies to carry on recreation, educational, and religious programs in behalf of men in uniform have been coördinated. A national nutrition conference was called through the office of the Coördinator to plan for the food needs of the nation in defense.

Meanwhile, the national private social agencies represented in the National Social Work Council and in three national councils in the fields of case work, education and recreation, and health had

developed a memorandum on health and welfare services in national defense, stating the problems involved and certain principles of organization and procedure. These councils sponsored consultation with the office of the Coördinator and members of the councils became active on the advisory committees in the Coördinator's office. The National Social Work Council became a small center for assembling information on health and welfare needs and for its analysis and interpretation. Through its own meetings its members were informed on health and welfare matters in national defense.

The army and navy are responsible for recreation and morale activities within the camps and stations. To facilitate their efforts, a Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation was appointed by the Secretaries of War and Navy. Close cooperation is maintained with the Coördinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities. The Selective Service Administration is responsible for carrying out the purposes of the Selective Service Act, and has its own advisory committee for planning purposes.

The President, on May 20, 1941, established the Office of Civilian Defense within the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President, "to assure effective coördination of Federal relations with State and local governments engaged in defense activities, to provide for necessary coöperation with State and local governments in respect to measures for adequate protection of the civilian population in emergency periods, to facilitate constructive civilian participation in the defense program, and to sustain national morale." A Board for Civilian Protection and a Volunteer Participation Committee are provided in the Office of Civilian Defense. It is anticipated that the Division of State and Local Coöperation, which has fostered the organization of state and local councils of defense, will become part of the Office of Civilian Defense, and that councils of defense will increasingly become the means of carrying out the national plans of the Office of Civilian Defense and the Coördinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities. Financing of private war-relief and defense activities is now receiving the attention of a special com-

mittee of three appointed by the President in the interest of economical money raising and efficient expenditure of funds raised.

Finally, on May 27, 1941, the President proclaimed an unlimited national emergency and called upon "all loyal citizens to place the nation's needs first in mind and in action to the end that we may mobilize and have ready for instant defensive use all of the physical powers, all of the moral strength and all of the material resources of this nation."

These are the efforts at community organization in time of crisis from a national point of view. While related in various ways, at times closely, these devices of coördination and planning do not yet constitute a unified whole. Some twilight zones of function and responsibility exist. Yet progress must be recorded for this whole effort at coördination and organizing in the interest of human welfare in the present emergency.

Present and past experiences in organization of the national community in time of crisis suggest three principles of organization and procedure.

1. There should be total participation of all agencies and forces in the national community, governmental and private, business and social, professional and volunteer. In time of crisis only the full use of all resources will suffice to serve the whole of human welfare. Further, the full use of existing agencies and resources should be made before new agencies or services are improvised. No single agency or group of agencies can represent the entire community or produce the maximum of resources in behalf of the entire community. In time of crisis, the very life of the community may be at stake. Only all-out efforts will suffice.

2. This total participation should rest on a popular base but should have authoritative direction or sponsorship. A vigorous and spirited participation enhances productive action. The feeling of participation, of belonging, of having a part, of being taken into account, is inherent in the democratic process. "Of the people, by the people, and for the people" did not originate with an empty phrasemaker. Where voluntary association for a common end is the method, morale and hope and courage run high. Yet the popular base must have authoritative direction or sponsorship asso-

ciated with it. The device of popular rule requires the presence of authority. That authority may stem from common consent, from confidence in, and respect for, leadership. In some crisis situations, as in natural disasters, popular confidence in an established agency with a record of fulfillment and decency assures authoritative direction for the popular will and brooks no interference with the agency in which faith rests.

In other times of crisis, as in war or preparedness for defense, authoritative direction or sponsorship must come from government itself, government that rests on popular will. Today the authoritative sponsorship of government in coördination of health, welfare, and related defense activities, in civilian defense, in councils of defense, augurs well for attainment of that essential measure of a popular base with authoritative direction. In such a scheme the mellowing influence of public opinion serves as a guide to public action. When kept candidly informed of the worst in prospect, yet not deprived of hope for the best, public sentiment assures the maximum of support for all-out programs.

3. Total participation under authoritative direction popularly supported must be accompanied by a total plan which is national in scope. Such a conception is frightening to the timid. To those full of hope and confidence, the conception of a total plan which is national in scope represents an essential blueprinting of the way; it represents the fixing of an objective; it represents the synthesis of the complicated factors and forces in today's world; it represents the statement of the need, of the problem, of the task to be done; it represents the assignment and division of responsibility for the way on ahead.

Such a conception of a total plan in the interest of human welfare envisages fact-finding and planning facilities. Means for conference among all participants must be provided. The process of counseling and of education must be included. Out of all this, social action is the end result.

These three principles of organization call for mobility in action. They assume speed and an offensive strategy rather than a defensive strategy. In human welfare, as in the military sphere, offense is usually the best defense. To enact on a national scale

these three principles, namely, total participation of all agencies and forces in the national community, governmental and private, business and social, professional and volunteer; total participation resting on a popular base but having authoritative direction or sponsorship; total participation accompanied by a total plan which is national in scope, would bring a blending of united, democratic, and planned action singularly harmonious with our American concept of federalism, a new federalism of the mind and of the spirit.

II: FROM A LOCAL POINT OF VIEW

Pierce Atwater

IN MANY RESPECTS the term "national defense program" is unfortunate. The American mind is not geared to a philosophy of defense. For nearly two hundred years we have been an aggressive people. There has been little in the development of a frontier country, the opening up of the railroads, the growth of business and industry, or the development of traditional American institutions which could be characterized by the word "defense." The United States has a natural protection in the two oceans. Through the years friendly relations have been maintained on both the north and the south. American citizens are not habituated to think of danger from abroad. Even military and naval experts do not forecast actual invasion. They do consider that real danger exists in the control of naval and air bases close to the United States.

In spite of these real possibilities for future insecurity, our people do not actually think of the problem as one of defense, and as a consequence we are divided, puzzled, and disturbed about what the national defense program really means. We ought to devise some other name for this nationwide effort, more in keeping with American traditions. The state of the public mind does not give our efforts unity and purpose. It reflects only too clearly

the difficulties inherent in the organization of community facilities to aid the defense program.

Money raising by community chests for the year 1941 shows a 2.3 percent improvement over the amount raised the previous year. Many of the campaigns stressed the "home front," or local communities, as "the first line of defense." As indicated by the figures the campaigns were a success, but 2.3 percent is not a very substantial increase in the face of national crisis. It illustrates that the 9,000,000 people who contribute to local welfare campaigns were not geared to a spirit of self-sacrifice because of the defense program. They gave about as they usually give, and the small increase was caused more by better business conditions and wider employment than it was because citizens felt any real sense of conviction that social agencies were vital to the defense program or even that the defense program itself was something in which they had personal involvements.

Compare the spirit of giving last fall with what it was in the period from 1930 to 1932. Business was in a state of economic collapse. Employment was at the lowest ebb in modern times. In spite of these difficulties the community chests raised over 20 percent more in the fall of 1931 than they did in the fall of 1940. It was easy to raise money then because people knew that the need was real. They saw bad conditions on every hand and they stepped into the breach to do their share, as the American people usually do when they are convinced that a crisis exists. It indicates that the public did not have any real sense of emergency last fall in spite of the effort to tie up campaigns with defense needs.

When the campaign for the United Service Organizations was first discussed there was a strong feeling in many cities that leading citizens considered the U.S.O. a project that should be financed by the Government. People were reluctant to throw themselves wholeheartedly behind it. As soon as the matter was clearly explained by Charles P. Taft, Thomas E. Dewey, and others, citizens began to understand that there was a private obligation in this matter, and as this understanding is now being broadened, it is probable that the campaign for \$11,765,000 will

end in a reasonably successful manner. The attitude indicated, however, does show that the public mind is lagging behind the actualities of the situation and that the people just do not understand what the defense program really is.

The statements of President Roosevelt and other ranking government officials have all stressed the U.S.O. campaign as an opportunity to weld the nation into a sense of unified participation in defense measures. These statements are not idly made. All people in official positions understand that in this democratic nation we cannot go farther and faster than the public conception permits. The defense program still lacks a sense of personal participation, a sense of importance, and a sense of unity.

Too many of us have interpreted the defense program in terms of private agencies defending their continued existence, municipalities defending their financial structure, social workers defending the social gains of the past few years, business defending its opportunity for a little prosperity, and labor defending its chance to share in some of the defense program benefits. Such is the scene in which we have tried to perform community organization work in a time of crisis. Obviously, we only half believe that there is a crisis. Social workers are not fully convinced. Local government officials show no greater conviction, and the public is still toying with the idea. The actual results have been proportionate to this state of mind, and the situation has presented a difficult set of circumstances in which practitioners must work. The surprising thing is that results have been so good.

There has been little initiative and leadership in the Federal Government toward the regulation of war-relief appeals. Reports from the Secretary of State's office indicate over four hundred different efforts. In the spring of 1941 the President did appoint a special war-appeals committee to try to bring some order into the situation. In almost all communities throughout the United States there have been repeated campaigns, most of them small, but several on an extensive scale.

The prospect of large-scale money raising for the balance of 1941 on behalf of the war-relief agencies, the American Red Cross, and the U.S.O. has caused increasing concern over the need

of some more coördinated plan of money raising in local communities. On May 10 a group of representatives from the larger community chests of the nation met in Cleveland and developed what is referred to as a "Rational Plan for Appeals in Wartime." In substance this scheme proposed careful planning for financing all-time local services, defense needs, and war-relief appeals toward the end of eliminating duplication and competition and giving the citizens of local communities, who, in the final analysis, pay the money, an opportunity to organize their local machinery in line with the most efficient methods possible. Subsequent to the drawing of this plan conferences have been held with representatives of the Federal Government and the larger agencies involved. It is difficult as yet to determine just what progress has been made, but it would appear that all factors are slowly getting together and are beginning to think more in terms of the defense of our country than of the importance of their special interests.

It is reasonably easy to plan to meet known situations. It is vastly different to plan our resources to meet unknown conditions about which exists much difference of opinion. Such has been the problem in organizing local community resources to finance the many appeals which have been presented. Perhaps it is not yet too late to act wisely. While the matter is far from settled, it does seem that excellent progress has been made.

I have found no cities in which the local welfare councils are not actively planning how to fit their community resources into the defense program. A good many councils have broadened their basis of operation by creating some form of community-wide planning body in which there is much broader representation than is normally found in local councils. There is not the slightest question that everywhere there is widespread concern over the problem. Council divisions are giving serious attention to the program facilities in all the major fields of local welfare work. Every city is confronted with the fact that certain operations will sharply increase because of needs arising out of the defense program. They will require larger staffs and more money. Other needs may be reduced by increased employment. The acute problem arises of enlarging certain programs and finding ways and

means by which other services can be reduced. To meet this situation is one of the most difficult and complicated problems faced by all local planning bodies. Out of their past experience, councils seem to be tackling the problem carefully and effectively. The situation is difficult, but wisdom of council leadership in matters of this kind has been well demonstrated in the past and it would seem as though alert consideration was being given the problem today.

There has developed a renewed interest in the organization of volunteers. The thing which has really brought action is the 50 to 75 percent reduction in the number of recreation leaders in the Works Projects Administration. This loss has been caused because these WPA workers represent some of the best people on the projects, and private employment opportunities have opened up to the extent that many are leaving the WPA rolls. It is really a critical situation. For instance, in Chicago the reduction has been from about nine hundred such workers in July, 1940, to an estimated three hundred and fifty in July, 1941. It is obvious that volunteer leadership is not the only answer to this problem, but it is an immediate recourse, and much increased activity has been shown by agencies in trying to fill this gap.

The meeting of special problems always causes consideration of corollary matters. This tendency has caused local groups to consider what will be the new demands for volunteer service should the present crisis become more acute. The loss of professional personnel in the draft, the natural desire of citizens to help in time of peril, the sharp extension of services in places of need, increasing wages for clerical workers in business and industry, and many other factors have caused consideration of the extension of volunteer service.

Many problems have arisen in the administration of the Selective Service Act which require more specific information than is available to local draft boards. Most councils have effectively organized the facilities of their case working agencies to assist in this national problem. There may be draft boards which have not had any contact with social agencies in the administration of their business, but they are probably in rural regions where in-

formation is more easily determinable. It is safe to state that most draft boards in urban centers have sought information and have been effectively aided by social agencies.

Social workers should bear in mind that the number of men inducted into the service in the past year has been small as contrasted to the rapidity with which the draft operated in the World War. It has probably been slow in comparison to the way the Selective Service Act may progress in the year ahead. As more men are inducted into the service, more peculiar problems will arise and more information will be needed from social agencies and their staffs. The force of this great need has been felt only in a preliminary way, and as the months move forward it will present a constantly growing problem for both public and private social agencies.

Several cities have made special surveys of cases on public relief which represent families of men in the military or naval forces. It is surprising to note that while the number of such cases is small, there are actually more than were expected. After all, the Selective Service Act is not supposed to take men who are responsible for the support of their families. The army will discharge men whose families become dependent subsequent to their induction into the service. The Selective Service Act is being handled wisely in this regard. The natural conclusion would be to expect that no such cases would be located, but that is not the condition.

Social workers can understand better than any other people how dependency develops in spite of the best laid plans. The real issue is the need to formulate some more clear-cut policy than we have at present as to how the needs of these families are to be met. The American Red Cross takes some responsibility in this direction. I believe their policy is to meet the needs, at least temporarily, of such cases of dependency provided the families have not been previously registered with some other local public or private agency. Certainly such dependent families do need the attention of a case worker who understands the military aspect of the situation. With the heavy responsibilities which the Red Cross must face and the probability that the number of such cases

will constantly increase, it would seem as though some further clarification of this matter should be made and that public agencies might have to place case workers on their staffs who are skilled in understanding military and naval regulations. There should be no great difficulty in working out this problem, but it still remains unsolved. It is likely to develop on a wide scale. The Government, the American Red Cross, and public and private welfare agencies need to give it an increased amount of consideration.

It is surprising to note how many cities have organized information centers for soldiers and sailors. Many acted when it was still a rare experience to see a uniformed man on the street. Others, of course, have been faced with real problems because of their proximity to camps or because they are important transfer points for travel. It is distinctly complimentary to the foresight of local councils that as good facilities as exist have already been provided.

It is encouraging to note that many cities with good social work facilities have promptly tried to meet emergency needs when such cities have been located near troop concentrations. We hear a great deal of the wretched conditions which exist in communities adjacent to camps and defense centers. I am sure it is all true. On the other hand, most of these communities are small and have never needed extensively organized social work facilities. It is my observation that where cities are of substantial size and have had experience in welfare work, their councils and all public and private agencies have risen to the occasion to do an excellent job with limited resources. This statement is not made to diminish in the least the urgent need for the type of facilities to be provided by the U.S.O.

It is most encouraging to note the alert way in which public recreation departments have been planning the meeting of their responsibilities. When one considers that this organization work has gone on without any apparent need for it, in many communities, the efforts which have been made are even more commendable because they show foresight. It is regrettable, however, that municipalities do not seem to be actively considering any

serious capital outlay for recreation purposes to meet defense needs. Since the U.S.O. will devote its facilities to places which have no other resources, large cities which need central buildings will probably have to erect them at their own expense. Capital will be required.

Because the country has had to tackle the immediate and practical problems presented by the U.S.O., we tend to forget what a real achievement it was to get these six agencies together under common auspices. The decision for a united front stands out as a statesmanlike development which is of great benefit to the agencies involved. It will make coöperation among them in the local communities easier for the next twenty-five years. It will probably save millions of dollars during this emergency over what might have been expended had each of these national agencies determined to follow its individualistic course.

It is interesting also to note the deliberate way in which the U.S.O. has given the responsibility for raising \$11,765,000 to the local communities and to observe how well these communities are taking hold of the situation. Few great national campaigns have been conducted with as little professional national promotion. At the inception of this program it did not provide a popular appeal. Every local community grumbled that "this is something the Government ought to be doing." Gradually, however, the situation is changing and considerable local support is being developed. After all, the goal is not a large one for a nation of this size. Win or lose, the U.S.O. campaign is going to do a great deal toward unifying national opinion that the defense program has reality and that it actually concerns the security, the prestige, and the safety of the United States of America.

Thoughtful planning activities are progressing everywhere on such problems as housing, nutrition, medical care, and transiency. One of the most interesting developments of the decade has been the increased focus of national attention on nutrition. Even a few years ago nutrition appeared to be a matter of seeing how little food it took to keep people from low-grade starvation. Today there is a strong public conviction that we can have a healthy

nation only if it is properly fed and that our future security as a people depends upon wise planning in this field, which includes the use of surplus commodities in the most effective way possible. We appear to be learning that there is a direct relationship between nutrition and the cost of medical care and other human ills. This new concept means progress.

The disqualifications for military service because of health defects as discovered by the selective service boards have been a shock to the country. To be sure, the standards are high, but the defects are there none the less. The facts as revealed have given new impetus to social planning in this field, and those concerned with the problem can take such small comfort as exists from the fact that a more receptive mental attitude is evidenced as to the need for strengthening all-time services toward the goal of a more healthy nation.

This record of careful planning of welfare measures important to the defense program at a time when the nation has been emotionally upset and divided strikes me as a real achievement. The plain facts are that this country is not in a crisis, but it is on the verge of one. The amount of thoughtful consideration which has been given to this matter in all cities is remarkable.

It is necessary to compare 1941 with 1929 and 1930. What planning was done in those years to meet the depression clearly foreshadowed? The record of the National Conference of Social Work clearly shows that social workers were deeply concerned but that the public was still apathetic. The way in which social agencies have taken hold of planning problems in 1940 for the defense emergency is of far better quality, more widespread, more statesmanlike than the way in which we planned for the economic depression in 1929. This much is to the good, and while tremendous problems lie ahead, my inquiry over the country indicates that we are in a better position to meet the needs of the future than we have ever been in any comparable crisis.

In 1932 Walter Lippmann said, in substance, that social workers deserve well of their country. I think he was right. During the acute period of the depression I saw too much overwork, too many deaths, too many physical breakdowns, too many friends

growing prematurely old to have any doubt that social workers did everything which was humanly possible to do. Even today when I hear political attacks on social workers I am more amused than disturbed. I honestly feel that we have helped pull the country through a most serious emergency and that we were the first "line of defense." Then "defense" was real.

When defense becomes real again or changes into some new kind of national crusade, social workers will do their part. We understand human needs. We know human suffering. We have no entrenched personal interests at stake. We are patriotic. We have demonstrated our capacity for leadership in meeting human problems. Social work is neither a dramatic nor a colorful profession. It does not function against a background of flags and bugles; but it is on the job every day of every year, in times of prosperity or depression and in times of peace or war.

THE EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES IN SMALL TOWNS AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

Martha C. Wood

THE PARTICIPANTS in this discussion,¹ who came from the North, East, South, and West of our United States, felt that they were, in general, not experts in the field of community organization, but practitioners in the field of rural social work. In order to create understanding of their programs and to give them roots they had, however, whether consciously or unconsciously, used certain of the methods of community organization.

As a background for their discussion they pictured for us the type of community in which they worked and lived as, for example, in rural Ohio, where we're hard-working, plain-living folk. We don't like our young people to be too joyous. God, weather, and crop-raisin's been hard on us, and young folks must expect to have it no better than we've had it. So we work hard, take things hard, and talk about it hard, getting a certain measure of solid satisfaction from being sorry for ourselves and seeing to

¹This article is a summary of a panel discussion in which the following people participated: chairman, Kate Bullock, Chief, Division of Child Welfare, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbia, South Carolina; Helen Alcorn, Wapello County Children's Worker, Ottumwa, Iowa; Lucia Bing, Division of Public Assistance, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio; James Brunot, Director, Public Welfare Committees Department, State Charities Aid Association, New York City; Ruby D. Elwell, Child Welfare Division, State Department of Public Welfare, St. Albans, Vermont; Joan Kain, Child Welfare Consultant, State Public Welfare Commission, Portland, Oregon; Neuta Lumberg, Great Lakes Indian Agency, Ashland, Wisconsin; Louise W. Rice, Director, Dallas County Department of Public Welfare, Selma, Alabama.

Any written material prepared by the participants has been utilized in so far as possible.

it that no one has an easier time than we do. We were trained to scrimp and save for our old age and a decent burial. The one time we can expect the spotlight of our neighbors' undivided attention is when we lie in our coffins. So the coffins are going to be decent ones. No greater insult could be offered our rural communities than to imply that we are needing to be organized or that we don't have community spirit. We're quick to tell you how everyone belongs to everything and everyone knows everyone else, and then we add that it's different in the cities where no one knows anybody.

In rural Vermont many of the social problems center around the town system of relief. In this farming region there is a shortage of ready cash, and the farmer's chief concern is keeping the taxes as low as possible. Many families whose wage earner is a day laborer live on a marginal income and object to expenditures for relief. The family that comes to want, especially if there is an able-bodied man in the family, is looked down upon. The overseer, forced by public opinion, must have as his major concern keeping down the expenses for relief. Why the family who is applying came to want and their possibilities for rehabilitation are no concern of his. He uses no budget, but gives a grocery order for a small amount. If the family comes back too soon or becomes too demanding, he threatens to send the parents to the poor farm and petition for the commitment of their children to the State Department of Public Welfare. He can by law carry out his duties of relieving the family either by placing them on the poor farm, or by disposing of the case in any other manner the town directs. In many instances families have been allowed to go for such a long period of time without adequate assistance that morale is broken and the possibility of rehabilitation is questionable. Many families whose children suffer because of the need of supplementary income are deterred from application by the threats of the overseers. Is it any wonder that the rate of committed children in this state is twice that for the United States as a whole?

Along with inadequate relief, lack of any planned relief giving, and the use of threats to prohibit dependency, there are attitudes

and prejudices that prevent an objective approach to the study of requests for relief. One such is that relief administration is simple. It is felt that the wage earner will not work if aid is given and, therefore, assistance is denied. Those in need are forced to help themselves. Those who come to want through death or illness of the wage earner for the most part receive much more understanding and helpful treatment. Some of the county officials have earned their own living since childhood and have become well-to-do. The same opportunity is open to all, they say.

In addition to the problems created by these attitudes, the case worker has to face the reality of too heavy a case load, the lack of resources, such as group work and recreational agencies, lack of funds for medical, dental, or optical care, and lack of classrooms where children of limited ability may be given training adapted to their needs.

Then we consider an Iowa county with a population of about forty thousand. The county seat is the seventh largest city in the state, but ranks third in industry and business. Some of the problems, therefore, are not typically rural but include those of urban areas, with poor and crowded housing conditions, seasonal employment, unlicensed red-light districts, and poorly regulated taverns making their contributions to neglect, dependency, and juvenile delinquency. In spite of the large number of juvenile cases in court, there is no juvenile court judge and seldom are there private hearings. There are four judges in the district of seven counties and each judge presides over juvenile matters arising within his jurisdiction. Out in the county there is a serious lack of resources. Adequate relief, medical care, provisions for recreation, care of the feeble-minded, education for the physically handicapped, and vocational training are all grave problems. Some of these needs may be met locally, but they still remain statewide in scope. The worker from this county points out that we must not excuse ourselves or give up because of the facilities we do not have.

And then to Dallas County, Alabama, located in the heart of the Black Belt, so named because of the fertility of its black land. It might be thus called because of the predominance of black

people, since the Negro population is definitely in the majority. This county has many service clubs, churches, fraternal orders, and the like, each doing its share toward some welfare program. In Selma, the county seat, are centered the county-wide offices of all agencies such as the Farm Security Administration, the extension services, the Department of Public Welfare, the Health Department, the county school system, the National Youth Administration, the Works Projects Administration, crippled children's services, vocational education, and so forth, all, in many instances, reaching the same families and their children. That these agencies do not provide adequate opportunities for rural families and children is proved by the steady stream of migration from the sparsely settled areas to the more urban centers. This problem, though existent and recognized throughout the past several years, has been greatly intensified as a result of national defense.

The problem which Dallas County is facing in having its residents move to Selma is actually small in comparison with the influx of intercounty and interstate migrants to such industrial centers as Mobile, Childersburg, and Muscle Shoals. In these places the more obvious problems of crowded living conditions, trailer camps, inadequate housing and recreation are presenting themselves along with their corollary, intensified child welfare problems. Child welfare problems are, likewise, prevalent around cantonments. Juvenile delinquency is rising; children are stealing hub caps and any other detachable parts of automobiles and selling them because of the demand for scrap iron; young girls are entering prostitution. Facilities are insufficient to remedy the situation.

Although not an expanding industrial center, Dallas County has real defense problems as a result of the establishment there of the Southeast Air Corps Advanced Flying School. While the school has been in operation only a short time, the local authorities have already learned of girls as young as eleven and twelve becoming involved with soldiers. It is anticipated that unless steps are taken to meet more satisfactorily the recreational needs of each age group among both the civilian and soldier population, the problems of delinquency will continue to develop.

Into any one of these and comparable situations there may be injected a trained social worker, perhaps a child welfare worker through the coöperation of the state and the Federal governments. A field worker from the State Department may have paved the way for her coming by demonstrating to the county judge or to local public welfare officials what a skilled worker can do for children in their community. In other instances the worker has to be her own interpreter, and it is likely that the first cases which are referred to her are the problem families, the so-called ne'er-do-wells of the community.

As the worker from Vermont indicated, the case worker must face problems which are not hers alone, but the problems of the citizens of the community, too. What do they want to do about the situation? Some are satisfied with the *status quo*; some want change. It is through the day-by-day contacts with clients and townspeople that the problems and attitudes are learned. A worker can interpret also through these interviews and try to arouse the people to meet the gaps in community resources. However, this is a time-consuming process for a busy worker and often amounts to little. The support of some layman in the community can do more to break down the prejudice of a local official than hours spent by a case worker whom he feared was taking away some of his authority. Leaving the worker with the entire job of interpreting places no responsibility upon the layman for supporting or furthering a social work program.

How can a child welfare worker in a large county help the people to see that the welfare of all the children is their problem, not just the job of the social worker? What this particular Vermont area needed, those consulted—among them the commissioner of public welfare and the state supervisor—felt, was a non-policy-forming group, made up of representatives from each town in the county, to act in an advisory capacity. These members should be men and women who were representative of the various groups and who were a little ahead of their communities in their thinking on social welfare and who had the confidence of the people in the county. They must want to become acquainted and to cope with the social problems of the area, help interpret

the department's function to their fellow townsmen, and talk to the legislators to get through much-needed legislation and more adequate financial support.

How could we find these key people? Fortunately, the State Children's Aid Society, the only private nonsectarian agency, was well acquainted with the problems of the area, and when the executive was consulted about the advisability of organizing a local group to act in an advisory capacity, she wrote one of her board members who, through her connection with the Children's Aid and the State Parent-Teacher Association, knew many of the socially minded people and asked that she help by suggesting names to be included in the group. The list was compiled after consultation with the Children's Aid Society board member, the Red Cross executive, the old age assistance worker, the public health nurse, a Farm Bureau worker, another Department of Public Welfare worker, the state supervisor, the commissioner, and the deputy commissioner. A letter was sent out by the commissioner, announcing the formation of a group of people interested in promoting the social work program in the section, to act in an advisory capacity to the local staff, and inviting the individual to serve.

Letters and personal calls brought together a committee consisting of two physicians active in town affairs; one shopkeeper; two priests, one of whom is chairman of a committee of the Catholic Daughters making a study of delinquency; the secretary of the State Association of Overseers of the Poor; a banker; a school principal, who is chairman of the Social Service Committee of the Catholic Daughters; a district attorney; a librarian; two Protestant ministers, one of whom is leader of a county ministers' group interested in social legislation; a public health nurse; an old age assistance worker; and five housewives who are active in the Farm Bureau, home demonstration clubs, the Grange, Parent-Teacher Association, Children's Aid Society, and 4-H clubs. This group has met monthly since its organization in October of 1940.

After a period of getting acquainted and learning about the Department of Public Welfare program and settlement laws, the group chose to study cases of delinquency. This study is arousing

the members to the needs of the area as no speaker or study made by a group from the outside could. The plan is to present all the cases of delinquent and predelinquent behavior referred to the worker. A chart is made, giving the name of the town; factors in the situation that may have contributed to the child's problem, and treatment that is indicated; action that has been suggested by the committee to provide the resources necessary but not now available to carry out the plans; and preventive measures that will insure a more likely possibility for normal development for other children in the community. The chart is filled in as each case is discussed. At the end a summary is made which gives a rather complete picture of the extent of the problem in the county as indicated by referrals and court petitions, the probable causes, prevention and treatment attempted, and a record of the committee's activity. Since in all cases so far presented, poverty has appeared as one of the possible contributing factors to delinquency, this study will be followed by one on the relief situation. From a period of doubt and fumbling as to its purpose, the committee has come to feel, through making this study with the staff, that it is needed. An interested group is facing what is happening to some of our children and the probable causes. Changing the condition will be a long process, but it will be based on careful study. The acceptance of responsibility will be gradual.

In Dallas County, Alabama, the problem was met in another way. For years there has been recognition of the need of coördinating the work of the different agencies serving the community, but the necessary impetus for such a plan was lacking. In February, 1940, a mentally deranged mother bludgeoned to death her two small sons and poisoned herself, giving as the reason the fact that she had been told that her eleven-year-old son would be sent to a reform school if he did not attend public school. It was later revealed that the child was an epileptic, could not keep up with the other children in his grade, and was embarrassed to attend. His mother knew that, but had not explained it to anyone in authority, and in her twisted mind, death for all three was the only solution. This tragedy was apparently the shock that was necessary to point up child welfare needs in the county and to

arouse the community to action in coördinating the scattered services being rendered to children by numerous existing organizations. Because of the sentiment awakened by the incident, it was a comparatively easy task to start the Coördinating Council, which is composed of a representative from every public and private agency in the county. The members wanted this new organization—it was not superimposed upon them—and its growth has consequently been normal and progressive. According to its declared aims the council is seeking to promote coöperation for the welfare of children in making the community a more wholesome place in which to live. The council plans to study existing resources, to advance the education of the general public regarding conditions and needs, and to secure effective democratic action in improving these conditions and in meeting these needs.

Since it was realized that the work of the council could not immediately cover the entire county, it was decided to begin with the largest town in the area and subsequently to develop resources in the others. The first act of the council was to study one community in all its aspects. From the children themselves came the knowledge of the major problems. Twenty-five hundred questionnaires were put into the schools. A careful analysis of that survey showed the greatest needs of the community, as indicated by the children's responses, to be more adequate recreational and health facilities. With these needs pointed out, the town was thoroughly surveyed for resources, and every club, organization, and agency gave statements outlining in detail the work they were doing for children. This in itself led to a quick recognition of certain overlapping and duplication of services, which have since been eliminated. During the past year the council has taken those two outstanding needs as its objectives: recreation and health. There have been no spectacular results, nor has a period been placed at the close of any successfully finished project, but already, from the standpoint of community awareness and coöperation, the council's existence has been more than justified.

The Coördinating Council meets as a planning group, and its work must be accomplished through its member organizations. The council studies the needs, works out a possible solution, then

refers that to a representative organization. The referral is made to the most suitable organization and the one, if possible, which already had a similar aim as one of the phases of its program. Concrete accomplishments include the inauguration of high school dances to prevent youngsters from dancing in questionable places, the revival of a Boy Scout movement, and plans for a city-wide recreational project. Another result of the organization of the council is a survey by a member agency of all of the resources which can be used for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, particularly among the Negro children. Indications are that this will lead to the establishment of a well-rounded Negro recreational program supported by the community.

The council has had a struggle for existence during its first year, but those who have worked closely with it feel that it is now a permanent organization. It is past the testing period and will begin to spread its efforts outside the town of Selma into the rural areas which so definitely need its guidance. It is aware of what has been done elsewhere in the state through organized leadership, such as NYA residential projects, 4-H clubs, a Negro cabin community led by an invalid Negro girl, extension service community centers, and so forth.

It is believed that the work of the Coördinating Council in Dallas County will also prove a first step in guiding community planning to meet the new needs emphasized by defense. Already this agency is acting as sponsor for a soldier center and is backing the U.S.O. drive for funds in that area. These responsibilities are logical ones for the council if it is to carry out its avowed aim—to study the needs for Dallas County children and to find ways by which some existing group may meet those needs.

In Wapello County, Iowa, a combination of these two methods has been used to develop understanding and support. This county has an integrated county welfare program and the county department has held meetings of boards and lay groups to present problems and to discuss and propose remedies. County officials, including the sheriff and county attorney, city police, school authorities, physicians, and representatives of business, civic, and welfare organizations, have participated. A children's advisory

committee has been organized. This committee and similar committees in other Iowa counties have helped raise funds for special projects, such as supervised playgrounds and recreation centers. They have helped formulate policies and have been instrumental in stabilizing certain local conditions, sometimes administrative, which have tended to get off balance. Still another group, known as the Coördinated Welfare Council, has recently been created. The idea for this group grew out of a need for a better understanding of the work of the various welfare organizations in the county. Attendance grew steadily for a period of three meetings, at which point grave symptoms of a possible collapse developed because of the fear that certain groups would upset the balance of power through their larger representation.

The child welfare worker in Wapello County, with the cooperation of interested health, welfare, and educational people, made a survey of the physically handicapped in the county, which grew out of the lack of facilities for the care of a specific child. As a result, the Board of Education approved a plan for a special school, the state paying half the salary of the teacher. For a year the school has met two hours in the morning in a centrally located building. The results shown in the children's social behavior and training have been such that the board has agreed to a full day's schedule next year.

From Oregon came word of certain developments in welfare and health which grew out of interpretation to interested groups and organizations. One of these was the abolition of the county farm; another, the creation of a county health unit. To accomplish the latter, the public health nurse took the county officials across the line to see a unit in operation, and the county judge, a chiropractor, appeared before the county medical association to advocate such a unit, in order to secure their backing.

A minority group for whom utilization of community resources is needed are the Indians, represented in this discussion by a worker from the Great Lakes Indian Agency, which includes the Indians of northern Wisconsin and northern Michigan. The Indian has been set apart from the general body politic and considered a subject for special Federal consideration for so many

years that local authorities tend to reject his welfare needs, claiming that he is a Federal responsibility, even though the United States Office of Indian Affairs may have no way of meeting these needs of citizen Indians.

There are in northern Wisconsin four Indian reservations plus three organized communities of Indians, besides various scattered small Indian villages and individual Indian families living in an area comprising about a dozen counties. The low economic condition of the cut-over region in which these counties are located is so grave that it has come to the attention of the National Resources Bureau. That agency, together with other Federal and Wisconsin state units, is giving the matter intensive study in an effort to devise ways and means of enabling the population to develop some method of sustaining itself independently. In the recent curtailment of the WPA program the Administration made no retrenchment for this district. Some of the counties do not have a single industrial enterprise, and the land is not suitable for agriculture. Practically every county in the section receives some state funds to meet relief obligations. In some counties the state is obliged also to finance all forms of social security assistance, as well as the entire relief load.

The Indian in northern Wisconsin is in an accultural, transitional stage. Because of his sudden impact with white culture he has been forced hurriedly to adjust from a hunting-and-fishing economy to an industrialized, money economy; there was no natural, gradual evolution. This revolutionary change has resulted in considerable social breakdown in various areas of life, so that today the Indian represents one of the most deprived elements in the general population of this impoverished area.

The Indians of Wisconsin have state citizenship. Because of the poor economic condition of the counties, and the confusion resulting from conflicting state and Federal jurisdiction over the Indians, there is a local tendency to avoid rendering service to Indians. In keeping with the principles of democracy the Great Lakes Indian Agency attempts to have the county assume the responsibility of meeting the welfare needs of its resident Indians. In order to attain this objective it has been necessary to establish

and maintain cordial working relationships with all county and town officials in such divisions as health, school, law and order, relief, social security service, WPA, NYA, and any other state service or facilities that can be used as a social resource for the benefit of Indians.

In summing up the discussion certain points were emphasized by the chairman and by the speaker from the State Charities Aid Association of New York:

1. Social workers in rural communities do not live and work alone.

2. They must acquire an awareness of the community in which they work, its mores, its reactions, its problems, and its resources through seeking the advice and help of citizens and other workers in the community.

3. They may draw these groups together into advisory committees of lay groups or coördinating councils of professional workers to interpret programs, determine needs, and develop resources to meet those needs. Such a drawing together should come only as the community is ready for it.

4. It is the worker's responsibility to point out to these groups that ultimate responsibility for meeting needs is the community's, not the worker's.

5. The relationship between the worker and these committees is, then, of great importance in determining whether a program shall be like a fungus on a tree or something which is part of the permanent life of the community.

PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

I: SELECTION OF PROJECTS AND PARTICIPATION OF PUBLIC AGENCIES

C. Whit Pfeiffer

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION is a process used by most social agencies, and councils of social agencies are not alone in specializing in it. However, this discussion must be limited to the administrative problems peculiar to the councils, growing out of the work that they endeavor to do; Part I deals with two such problems.

The first has to do with the selection of the activities or projects which should engage our attention. It might be called the problem of intake, or the problem of program planning. It grows out of the fact that all councils of social agencies have limited staffs, frequently composed of no more than three or four professional people. With such limited personnel, how can we plan our activities so as to get the most effective results? If we have as many as three professional persons, the full time of at least one must be devoted to fact finding and research. That leaves two people to handle all the other problems, involving endless committee work, for which the staff must plan meetings, prepare agendas, issue notices, take minutes, and write reports, to say nothing of exercising some degree of leadership in the discussions. Many tasks come to the councils from the community chests, hardly any of which would consider, today, admitting new agencies, dropping old ones, approving increased allotments for new activities, or lopping off appropriations for worn-out activities, without first getting authoritative reports from the council.

Considerable staff time is involved in the successful handling of an active legislative committee, preparing briefs, writing reports and legislative bulletins, corresponding with legislators, and arranging delegations to attend hearings at the state capital on matters pertaining to public agencies. Last year the Executive Committee of the family welfare division of the Kansas City Council became so heavily engrossed in its work with the State Social Security Commission that it was virtually unable to give attention to anything else.

Social agencies are becoming more and more concerned about improving their standards of performance in entire fields. That means study committees on common administrative problems, on agency processes such as supervision, and on agency functions, and it also means educational activities with qualified speakers and leaders. Moreover, social agencies are increasingly getting away from the acute agency-mindedness that has proved so great a stumbling block to coördination and adjustment, and they expect the council to provide the machinery through which they may do something about the community's social problems with which they are jointly concerned.

In one rather short meeting of the Executive Committee of our family welfare division, after a satisfactory discussion and arrival at an agreement with the business agent of the Building Laborers' Union as to how clients of the public relief agency could become members of that union, in rapid-fire order the members present voted to create: (1) a committee to study the problems of the care of the aged; (2) a committee to study the problem of border-line families ineligible, for technical reasons, for public assistance; (3) a committee on public assistance; (4) a committee to study the problems of discharged prisoners with special reference to prisoners discharged from the county jail, and to formulate plans to meet these problems; (5) a committee to study the adequacy of the facilities for the care of the mentally ill and the feeble-minded; and (6) a committee to prepare a standard family budget. I was fairly aghast, because it was perfectly clear that these six committees alone could readily utilize to advantage all the time of the entire staff for several months. Passing reference should

be made, too, to the many new problems coming into council offices as a result of national defense developments.

In short, we must continuously decide what to do and what to forego, what aspects of our job to emphasize and what to minimize. In my work on the Baltimore survey last year, it was interesting to contrast the practice of the Baltimore Council with that of the Kansas City Council. Baltimore then had three full-time professional people; we had about the same number. Each council had one person working full time on research and fact finding. Baltimore concentrated its attention on the division on family and child care, within which were seventeen committees. It had no health division, and both its volunteer bureau and its group work division received almost no staff assistance. The Kansas City Council did a little in a much wider range of activities. The work the Baltimore Council did in its main division was much more thorough and effective than anything we did, but agencies in other fields felt that the council had let them down. The Baltimore policy of concentration and our policy of diffusion each had its advantages, each its disadvantages.

How can we attempt to solve this problem? Four possibilities occur to me, the first and most important of which is to get greater financial support so as to enlarge the staff. That kind of help seems to be coming. I am finding agency people now who seem as much concerned about the council staff and budget as about their own. Our budget committees in Kansas City, and I think elsewhere, too, fortunately, are keenly alive to the growing importance of council functions and are pushing the council budget up as rapidly as possible. This is all encouraging, but we can't regard more budget as the sole answer. It is doubtful if we shall ever have staff enough to do all the things which might advantageously be done, and meanwhile these tasks and problems and requests are on our desks today. What can we do now?

The second possibility is that we must be sure that we exercise the utmost skill in screening out problems which can be handled properly and satisfactorily through staff consultation or office conference, without involving the slow and costly process of committee procedure or research. Staff consultation with an agency

representative on personnel matters, for example, is frequently sufficient to stimulate improved professional standards. Adjustments between agencies often may be worked out well in an office conference, wherein the council staff member acts as a sort of social engineer and intermediary. In performing such functions the council secretary must exercise great care. While he quite properly should strive to achieve adherence to standards and policies previously worked out and accepted democratically, he must avoid any authoritarian attitude of dictating those policies.

A third method is the one which the research department of the Kansas City Council uses. The advisory committee has set up a definite procedure to pass on all requests for research projects. Any agency, division, or committee which asks that a study be made must file a formal application, covering specifically the nature of the proposed study, the work involved, the purpose to be achieved, and other pertinent points. The committee has established certain criteria by which it judges the merits of the proposed undertaking. After an analysis and a report are made to the committee it then determines whether or not to accept the project. If the committee and the council executives should disagree, there would be a new type of administration problem, which, however, could readily be handled I am sure.

This procedure is similar in certain respects to a recommendation that Bradley Buell made in our social work survey two years ago. He proposed that each division and standing committee, at the close of the year, should carefully prepare a plan of activities proposed for the year to come, including objectives to be achieved and methods to be pursued. The board of the council should then hold a full day's meeting, preferably out of town, with all the committee and divisional chairmen, have all the reports presented, consider the practical possibilities of what can be done, and set up a list of priorities, so to speak, which would serve as a guide for both staff and committee work.

The last possibility is to get committee leadership, including secretarial service, from outside the council staff. While perhaps this is a makeshift arrangement, it sometimes proves exceedingly helpful. Two of the best committees our council ever had, from

the standpoint of continuity in program and effectiveness in improving standards of work and interagency relationships, have functioned with practically no staff assistance. The interest of those who serve on the committees and their belief in the importance of their problems generate the motive power that makes the committees go. I know of a council in a small city that has no budget at all save for postage, stationery, and part-time clerical service, but through the work of a few committees it has achieved important results in social planning. That city had previously had a social work survey which laid out a community plan, and the interest aroused by the survey has been the dynamic that has kept those committees going. The extent of such service depends, of course, on the number of competent professional and volunteer workers who are so deeply concerned about community problems that they are willing to take on added duties which would normally be performed by a council staff member. Councils which have professional staffs can count on such help only in moderation.

Councils of social agencies will, in all likelihood, be faced continuously with the problem of adjusting their facilities to the tasks they should perform. By occasional use of volunteer staff service, by skillful selection of appropriate matters to be handled on the basis of staff consultation and office conference, and by setting up policies and criteria to help determine what to do and what not to do, we shall be able to focus the attention and energies of the council so as to get the greatest results with the resources at our disposal. When too many important problems and projects are left without consideration, special efforts must be made to secure additional staff and budget.

The second administrative problem is that of securing genuine and reasonably complete participation of public agencies in councils, both on an activities and on a financial basis. There are differences of opinion as to the extent of such participation at present, the reasons for nonparticipation, and the possibilities of participation in the future. David Liggett, in an article on councils, refers to the superiority attitude toward public agencies held by private agency people in earlier days, which naturally created

an uncoöperative reaction. Dr. Arlien Johnson, in a paper given at the National Conference of Social Work in 1940, said: "Too often they [the public agencies] regard the council as a private agency enterprise with which they coöperate, but upon which they do not depend for action."¹ On the other hand, Leonard Mayo, in his article on councils in this year's *Social Work Year Book*,² says: "In central councils of the larger cities, and in the regional councils of smaller towns and rural areas, public departments take a leading part, along with representatives of private agencies in the day-by-day activities of Councils." Dr. Johnson seems to believe that full public agency participation is inhibited partly because a large public agency has no more representation on the council's delegate body than a small private agency, and she refers with apparent approval to a tentative suggestion made by Pierce Atwater for some kind of multiple-delegate representation, based on size of budget, or size of professional staff. Mr. Atwater recognizes, however, that the real work of a council is done by its staff and committees, not by the delegate body.

On the matter of financial support, Dr. Johnson states that "a subsidy from public funds would not be desirable," without, however, explaining why. Yet she cites with full approval the expenditure of public funds by public agencies to engage personnel to staff coördinating councils. Why one is bad and the other good is not clear to me. Leonard Mayo raises what seems to be a more important obstacle when he says, "Only in relatively few instances do the regulations governing public agencies permit them to pay membership dues to Councils."

Let us review these somewhat contradictory ideas. Granting that in the earlier days councils were primarily concerned with the problems of private agencies and had little to do with representatives of public agencies, it is not necessary to condemn councils permanently, even though at times they may have been at fault. Under the circumstances which prevailed in some of our

¹ Arlien Johnson, "The Obstacle of Limited Participation in Local Social Planning," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 428.

² Leonard Mayo, "Councils in Social Work," *Social Work Year Book* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1941), pp. 152-59.

communities, the inhospitable attitude displayed by councils toward public agencies, it seems to me, was unavoidable. In one city, for example, where all city and county positions were the personal property of certain political bosses; where every job was awarded strictly because of effective ward and precinct service, including the number of votes delivered; where the director of the welfare department, for example, was a former boiler inspector with an eighth-grade education; and where the head of the county detention home was a woman ward boss who has just recently completed a term in a Federal penitentiary for conspiracy to steal votes—under such circumstances, I say, coöperation with public agency people was a little difficult. Even then, in some of the public departments, there was an occasional person who was anxious to render a real service and who welcomed the benefits derived from participation in council activities, although it had to be somewhat surreptitious because it was contrary to the policy of the political bosses to have anything to do with organized social work.

In some communities the situation was never that bad, and on the basis of my observation of a fair number of representative American cities, I can subscribe wholeheartedly to Mr. Mayo's statement that public departments do take a leading part with representatives of private agencies in the day-by-day activities of councils. In Kansas City Council, in January, we elected the director of one important department to the board of the Council. In all our divisions, and on all our committees, the public agency people are well represented. They occupy important chairmanships, and there is every evidence of a general recognition that public agencies and private agencies are working together as partners in a common enterprise. In Baltimore I found the same situation, more highly developed, if possible, together with very substantial financial participation. It has been said that public agencies do not look to the council for support. In Kansas City by far the most important public agency is the county division of the State Social Security Commission, which not only administers old age assistance and aid to dependent children, but is also the gen-

eral public relief agency. Except for the American Association of Social Workers, the council is the only agency to which the Social Security Commission can look for support, and the support given has been extensive. Similar statements can be made of service given coöperatively to the public recreation program and to the Health Department. Similar evidence can be cited by any reasonably effective council in the country.

My observation and experience lead to the inescapable conclusion that we are rapidly achieving full public agency participation in the regular day-by-day activities of the council. Of course, there may always be some public departments whose practices and policies are below approved standards, and who therefore become defensive and consequently hold back from council activities, but they are no different from certain private agencies which do the same and they do not alter our conclusion. Furthermore, public agency participation does not seem to be as much affected as we sometimes believe by the degree of tie-up between the council and the chest. I am familiar with situations representing four different kinds of council-chest relationships. In Baltimore the two are both legally and administratively separate. In Kansas City the council is wholly separate legally but has considerable administrative integration with the Kansas City Charities Fund. In Minneapolis there is complete integration, but the Fund is part of the council. In St. Paul, also with complete integration, the council is really a part of the Fund set-up. In all of them, it is safe to say, the council renders important service to the public agencies, substantially similar to its service to private agencies, and in all of them the public agencies participate actively and wholeheartedly.

When it comes to financial participation the story is different. I hope to see the day when financial support of council work by public agencies will become common. I do not advocate this because I think there is anything immoral or evil in having councils rely upon chests for the bulk of their income. The concept that a chest board is a sinister group of reactionaries who are bound to dominate the council board and restrict its freedom of action does not disturb me. The money to operate social agencies, public or

private, does not come out of thin air. It has to be provided by someone; in most cases it has to be voted by some appropriating body. Public agencies generally look to the city council, county board, or state legislature. Most councils and thousands of other social agencies look to the chests. I suggest that the average chest board, in making appropriations, exercises as much intelligence, social vision, and public spirit as the average state legislature, county board, or city council.

I see no handicap to the councils in obtaining their income from chests. There are, however, several reasons why some public agency financing of councils would be desirable, and may be necessary if councils are to achieve their fullest effectiveness. For one thing, the growth of public agencies and the great increase in taxes to support them have greatly complicated the problem of securing voluntary contributions. This makes it difficult for chests to increase their appropriations to finance the needed expansions in council programs. For another thing, councils are properly giving more and more of their time and attention to the needs and problems of public agencies. Eliminate from council work all activities related mainly to public agencies and the program will be cut at least in two. Since this is true, and since public agencies are so wholeheartedly entering into these activities, it seems both fair and proper for public agencies to share in the cost of the program.

There are various precedents. It has become common for public agencies to pay for the service given by the social service exchange, sometimes on a cost per clearing, sometimes on an annual percentage basis, sometimes in a lump sum payable monthly which may not be in exact proportion to the cost. In Kansas City the system of public agency payments for exchange service is only in its second or third year. For many years this service was free to all agencies and paid for by the chest. At one time, not so long ago, some public agencies refused even to use the exchange. In other words, we have progressed from a stage of no use, through a stage of free use, to a stage where use is paid for, at least in part. We can anticipate a somewhat similar development in public agency-

council relationships. In many cities the exchange is one of the common service departments of the council. The payments by public agencies to child guidance clinics in return for services rendered is another valid precedent.

The financial arrangement of the Baltimore Council of Social Agencies seems to me to be the most interesting and promising. Here is, among the larger cities, the youngest council in the country—only five and a half years old—which from the start has received half of its budget from the public welfare department and half from private agencies. This plan is unique. Too, the state of Maryland differs from most states in that public subsidies of private social work are very common. But one wonders if the very fact that the council did not share the early experience of other councils, which began primarily as associations of private agencies, has not helped it to avoid the relatively narrow concept of council structure and program. When the Baltimore Council was organized public agencies had already achieved their present full-statured position. What was more natural, then, than for them to enter into the council as full partners in financing as well as in activities? The plan appears to be working excellently. It is true that the procedure of making appropriations is a bit cumbersome. Since the public welfare department appropriates half, the community fund one fourth, and the Jewish and Catholic federations each one eighth, the four must agree on the total amount. Likewise, there are some curious, but so far theoretical, veto powers vested in a board of four trustees, one from each of the financing bodies. But the Council has gone ahead in many admirable ways. It certainly has achieved full public participation on the board and throughout all of its activities. If this is a sound arrangement, it might serve as a guide elsewhere.

The place of public agencies in the total social welfare picture is today assured, recognized, and respected. They are as alert to the need and value of social planning for the whole community as anyone else. They are willing to accept the council of social agencies as the organization to do that job, and to avail themselves of the community organization services of the council. They are participating more and more fully in council work. As they be-

come full partners in the council program and receive increasing services from it, I believe the time will come when they will not only be willing, but anxious to share in its expense and will find a way to do so.

II: DEFINITION, PLANNING, DIRECTION, AND TIMING OF PROJECTS

Otto T. Gilmore

THERE APPEARS TO BE a pretty definite agreement as to the function of community organization. We think of community organization as a process of coördinating, planning, and creating in the field of social work with the purpose of "mobilizing resources to meet needs."¹ Such supplementary processes as fact finding and research, education and interpretation, conference, group organization, social action, and even social work administration are accepted and used separately or in combination as tools, methods, or activities essential to the whole process of "intergroup relationships,"² in which at the same time there is much interplay between individuals, particularly those sharing responsibilities in the respective groups.

The primary meaning of "administration" is "conducting to some purpose," "leading to a result." May we take it, then, that administration in community organization is putting the process of community organization into effect for the purpose of coördinating, or planning, or developing welfare programs? This discussion will be limited to such problems as are specifically related to the direction of that function.

Without giving names, places, or dates, I present brief descriptions of two community organization projects which were administratively directed:

¹ "The Field of Community Organization," a report of discussions within Section III of the National Conference of Social Work, given by Robert P. Lane, *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 498.

² *Ibid.*, p. 499.

PROJECT 1

The indoor recreation facilities of a community of over one hundred thousand were extremely limited. With increased demands they became badly overcrowded in the early thirties. Leaders and club groups began to ask why the public school buildings could not be used. Some ventured to make definite requests to the office of the superintendent of schools. All were informed that no provision had been made by the school committee for other than school use and that the committee considered that the facilities should be kept for school purposes only. The leaders, their groups, and an increasing number of other citizens felt that the schools should be opened to serve older youth and adults.

The secretary of the Community Fund and Council of Social Agencies talked with one of the leaders of a recreation service group. These two decided to invite three other citizens to meet with them, one of whom was the superintendent of schools. These five discussed many angles of the situation and asked the executive secretary of the Fund and Council to draw up plans for approaching the community and the school committee and for servicing the buildings should permission be obtained for their use. These plans would be reviewed by the five before other steps were taken.

Plans were made which included getting more facts on needs and resources locally and on uses made of school buildings in comparable communities, the publishing of carefully selected data, the organization of a large and inclusive sponsoring committee, inclusion of the members of the school committee and leading school administration employees in various features of the community-wide program to extend recreation facilities and for the operation and financing of new facilities. These ideas were carried out in some ten months, so that eventually a meeting of the school committee was scheduled to discuss the use of the school facilities with a carefully chosen citizen committee. The school committee placed restrictions on the uses of the buildings, but granted about as much space and equipment as the recreation groups could make provision for during the first season.

PROJECT 2

The organization of a community for defense in the areas of health and social welfare, including special services to new industrial workers and enlisted men, has challenged the abilities of some of the most capable administrators in the field of community organization. The need, both to provide new services and to protect the normal work of organized welfare, as well as to protect the community from overorganization and waste, was recognized early by community-organization-minded persons even before Congress had passed the Selective Service Act.

In one community, shortly after the congressional action, a small group of leaders of organizations which would most certainly be involved in new services was called together by the executive of the Council of Social Agencies for an informal discussion. Tentative plans were formed. These were further perfected informally on the basis of more facts before another and slightly larger meeting was called. This meeting then formally requested the Council of Social Agencies to set up a committee on organization, which, in turn, worked most carefully to include by representation, as nearly as possible, every agency and organization which would probably want to participate in the health and social services as community interest in defense programs became aroused. This committee also took steps to secure its recognition by the city government as the official group on such services. All these steps took many conferences, the collection of much data, and considerable interpretation to the community. As new developments locally and nationally have occurred, the organization has been further modified and strengthened. Extensive plans have been made and services somewhat commensurate with needs are being provided. It is believed that future demands can be met within the set-up.

Please note that some consciousness of need had been awakened or some demand for action had been made before each of these projects got under way, that is, before any community organization operations were set in motion. Certain preliminary

work was done. Analysis shows that this involves seven distinguishable acts, from the point of view of the administrator, whether or not they are done consciously by the persons interested in organizing the project. While the order of these acts may vary in respective projects, they seem to be:

1. The area of the undertaking is staked out and an appraisal of the size and acuteness of the need is made, at least in rough outline.

2. A cursory inventory of the readily known available and suitable resources, both active and latent, is made.

3. Estimates of the community interest and understanding on the situation are ascertained as well as possible.

4. A preliminary analysis of the agencies and committees which should and may become interested is made.

5. Brief descriptions of known misunderstandings and other obstacles to be studied and overcome are sketched.

6. A list of major and minor objectives is made.

7. A general plan of procedure for bringing the community organization process into action and carrying it along is formed.

In the last, the administrator's rough plan of procedure, the development of a worksheet in considerable detail may be highly desirable. One may think of this as a process or prediction sheet, or a campaign chart. It is based on the best predictions the administration can make, founded on the materials gathered in the preceding steps, as to the moves to be taken as the course marked out will be covered. Alternative steps may well be included to meet necessary adjustments. Rough timing will appear on this chart so that the introduction of various parts of the activities may be made when their usefulness will be greatest.

Thus we have the case before us separated from other cases; we have a diagnosis and a prognosis and a course of treatment prescribed. The first two will be made more complete as the process proceeds, and the third, the treatment, may be considerably modified in the course of applying the community organization process. This work is preliminary in nature and may well be limited to not more than two or three persons. The results are tentative. We hope that the community organization process

has not as yet been set in motion. If it has started, these steps will still be taken and an effort made to key in thereafter at the most strategic point. For this preliminary work the eleven questions listed in Chapter I, "The Pathfinding Study," of Dr. Swift's book *Making Your Agency More Effective*³ are adaptable.

In order to relate the remainder of the discussion more clearly, I shall briefly analyze and list the steps of the community organization process. As will be readily seen, these steps have mostly to do with agreements by groups or their representatives as to the utilization at given points of what are variously termed the tools, methods, or activities of the community organization process. We are not attempting to put them in any established chronological order, for we believe that may vary with the situations and some of them may even be omitted or canceled as a project proceeds.

1. Conferences of a small strategy group will be held to decide definitely on individuals and groups to be approached and to plan how, by whom, and when they will be contacted.

2. Agreements as to fact finding, studies, and surveys will be made.

3. Planning will be done on the release of interpretative and stimulating information through press, radio, conference, special bulletin, demonstration, exhibition, and so on.

4. Arrangements for conferences and meetings will be made, and they will be so spaced as to help meet the needs of interpretation, education, and progressive decisions.

5. Decisions will eventually be secured as to the development, allocation, and acceptance of responsibilities for services. Here included are organization, legislation, and budgeting.

6. Records will be set up and provision made for any measurements to be taken later and for reports to be issued.

7. Agreements will be reached as to the dismissal or the continuation and function of any special project committee and the relationships to any central organization.

How far are the problems of administration in community

³ Arthur L. Swift, Jr., *Making Your Agency More Effective* (New York: Association Press, 1941), p. 11.

organization inherent in the nature of the process of community organization and its auxiliary processes, in its tools? To what extent are the problems inherent in the very objectives of community organization, or are they also or even more in the nature of the media of its operation?

There appear to be at least four basic problems of administration in community organization, particularly in cases such as I have briefly described and analyzed. The first is the problem of defining and determining the situations which warrant the directed application of the community organization process. It is the discovery of the field of operation, the selection of an area for action. Whether we will or not, decisions as to action or inaction must be made.

Situations press for attention, apparently demanding action. It is a matter of choosing from among them the more pertinent ones, the most likely, in the light resources available, to benefit the community most. It is to be hoped that in most instances the administrator will have the opportunity of sighting the need sufficiently in advance of the demand for action to choose the time for initiating the processes of community organization in an orderly fashion, or for staying action. He is fortunate if he can utilize a ripeness of time for marshaling the forces for an interplay which will be fully productive of constructive results. Mr. Pfeiffer, in Part I of this discussion, has described this as "council intake," one of the major problems of councils of social agencies. He has suggested, in the term "screening," an apt word to describe the sorting of these problems. By screening, some problems are chosen to be ironed out by executives through informal conference; others are booked with other organizations or for future consideration; and the remainder are either listed for action or are ruled out as either imaginary, not sufficiently serious, or not sufficiently precipitated for recognition.

The second problem is that of determining the developmental state so far as coördination and coöperative planning are concerned in a field in which a project is being considered. Part of this problem is getting an estimate of the potentialities and probable difficulties in taking any steps whatsoever. The ad-

ministrator needs to know the interest and degree of understanding of the community involved, what the obstacles are, how hard the struggle may be to achieve a new level in some phase of community welfare. Without some such survey he can move only in a hit-or-miss fashion, groping his way, and he is almost certain to have to make unexpected moves or retreats, which may lead to unnecessary complications and failure.

In order to get this orientation the administrator may want to send up "trial balloons," tactfully issue test questions, perhaps at a tangent to the main issue, develop a temporary situation which will draw reactions that will show him the forces which are probably at play. Keeping close to the community's real leaders will give him many opportunities, if he is astute, to read the signs and perhaps know where to apply eventually the process of interpretation or other influences.

Fairly frequent conferences with small groups made up of widely representative leaders probably give the community organization worker, who moves with confidence and ease by way of democratic procedures, the most reliable gauge of the situation from time to time. If these persons are carefully chosen because of their devotion to community welfare and because they are fairly good observers and interpreters they will accept with modest pride the responsibilities of interpreting the mind of the community and will give much valuable material for significant decisions.

The third and fourth problems are difficult ones and are closely related from the administrator's point of view. The third is that of establishing and maintaining direction of the activating agents, while the fourth is that of timing. I purposely choose not to use the word "control," for I believe that although the community organization administrative executive wants to feel that he or the project group are, in a sense, in control of the total situation, in that he hopes he is so directing the process that it will not get out of hand, he does not actually control any more than an aviator controls wind and clouds. He will hope to reach his objectives eventually, although he may greatly modify the course.

Maintaining direction must mean executive action, getting things done, which may seem contrary to the democratic idea in community organization. However, when one realizes that the power remains in the hands of a group or groups and that these are involved directly in administrative responsibilities, the idea of executive action in the community organization process is not inconsistent. This sort of action is fundamental to community organization and brings it into the group of activities to which administration may be applied.

The key to successful executive power in administration in community organization is strategy, which is closely related to maintaining both direction and timing. Dr. Philip Klein stated in the 1939 *Social Work Year Book* that "today social welfare planning is becoming of necessity a matter of social strategy for the administration, coördination, and constructive planning of the total volume of social work, comprising both tax-supported and voluntary activities."⁴ A strategist is an active figure even if he lies in wait. He has his maneuvers planned in community organization although he may wait, at certain points, for developments to occur, for events outside his direction to transpire. Strategy often means planning in line with known coming events, utilizing them deliberately.

Maintaining direction toward an objective obviously requires great care in choosing the methods which are the tools of community organization, that is, the auxiliary processes. For example, research, or conference, or education are highly stimulating processes and are to be handled with extreme care, especially in projects where tensions may be easily increased. The administrator may necessarily choose in some situations to avoid some one or more of these methods, trying by informal conference to reach the major objectives as economically as possible, taking a chance on the other methods only when the situation may demand.

Timing, the fourth problem, is (a) a matter of judging when the situation is ripe for community organization action; (b) estimating, especially in some projects, the length of the period which

⁴ Philip Klein, "Social Welfare Planning," *Social Work Year Book* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939), p. 424.

may be necessary for attaining chosen goals; (c) a question of rate of acceleration; and (d) a matter of synchronizing the auxiliary processes in the succession of steps taken. A project may be highly desirable but its undertaking very unseasonable. Choosing the time for action in order to reach a climax at the right moment requires an intelligent grasp of the forces at play and the possible effects of the application of the respective auxiliary processes at given instants in the course of developments. Much dependence may well be placed on the materials gathered from the small conference groups.

Contemporaneous events and varying states of mind require a careful appraisal to gauge the general readiness of the respective groups who will be involved in a project, especially the state of mind of the people of the area most affected. It is almost always advisable to study the period preceding the current era to know hidden and latent emotional streams. The experienced administrator knows all too well how often persons and groups in a community either have to be approached in an established order or contacted simultaneously so that no one can recognize any preferential variation.

Timing often means slowing the process as well as speeding it. Even a casual study of the national public opinion polls of recent years is stimulating to the community organization leaders. Through these we see how opinion varies with the chain of events and the strength and type of educational programs carried on. It is clearly evident that community opinion generally changes more slowly than ambitious leaders like to assume. Dr. James S. Plant stated this necessity extremely well in the November, 1940, issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* in these words: "There must be a certain time lag between the point of application of an idea or method and the point at which a majority of the electorate is willing to accept that fact. This maturing process on the part of the electorate gives the impression of growth; indeed it is growth, but rather of the citizenry than of democracy."⁵ More time must

⁵ James S. Plant, "Objectives for Children in a Democratic Society," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXII (1940), p. 228.

be permitted than we often want to allow for the gearing of the thought and emotional life of a community to some new venture. If the ambitious can be tempered a bit, the compensations of patient effort are especially high on some issues. In this area much can be learned by social work community organization leaders from the propagandists and politicians in other fields as well as from the psychologist and sociologist. In both strategy and timing there are excellent lessons to be taken from the experiences of the Rockefeller Foundation as described by Dr. Victor Heiser some years ago in his *American Doctor's Odyssey*. It is a valuable record of the necessity of gauging the emotional factors and so ordering events that quite radical departures from traditional community conduct may be made.

Timing has also to do with the selection of a terminal or slackening-off point, when the job is done or when it is considered that the community has gone as far as it can. In almost all community organization, goals are relative. Usually, still more can be achieved through further planning and coördination, but periods for assimilation are necessary before active consideration of new steps may be undertaken.

If our objectives may be achieved in administration in community organization, we must choose with care our projects, proceed with an understanding of what will be required to build sufficient coöperation, keep the process properly directed, and so time all moves that their full effect may be realized.

CHANGING THE STRUCTURE AND PROGRAMS OF AGENCIES

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

Kathryn Farra and Kenneth L. M. Pray

ARE THERE METHODS common to the several well-recognized fields of social work whereby change in structure and programs of agencies is effected? If so, can these methods be isolated and described? Will such descriptions illuminate the process of community organization?

Analysis of the process of community organization was the principal interest of Section III of the National Conference of Social Work in 1939 and in 1940. This was a departure from preceding years when discussion had been focused on specific examples of community organization, without serious attempt to draw general conclusions about the nature or validity of the methods invoked.

In 1941 two sessions of Section III combining these approaches were held. The first session consisted of a series of four group meetings. At each meeting the representative of an agency that had undergone marked change in structure or program described the steps taken to bring the change about. At the same meeting a specialist in community organization analyzed the methods as reported, in accordance with a check list which had also been available to agency representatives in preparing their papers. At the second session these community organization specialists and a few others came together in a panel to discuss similarities and differences in methods employed in the several fields and communities.¹

¹ Persons participating in the panel were: chairman, Kenneth L. M. Pray, Professor of Social Planning and Administration, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia; Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, University of Michigan; Kathryn Farra, Secretary, Committee on Regional Organization, Welfare Council of New York City; Hugh Jackson, Associate Secretary, State Charities

The four papers presented at the first session dealt with (a) the merger of three agencies—a family agency, a child-care agency, and a protective organization—in Peoria, Illinois; (b) the joint administration of a family agency and a child-care agency in St. Louis, Missouri; (c) revision of the program of the Girl Scouts organization throughout the country; and (d) a state-wide educational campaign in behalf of aid to dependent children in Florida.²

Attention is called to the fact that two of the changes described were primarily, although not entirely, structural; a third dealt chiefly with content and quality of program; and the fourth related exclusively to arousing interest in and support of a public service, to be expanded if and when funds were appropriated. The first three statements covered periods of from four to six years; the fourth statement, describing the development of public understanding of need for aid to dependent children, covered seven months. What did these statements reveal?

Beginnings of change are often obscure. They are more than likely to stem from several sources. Accidental or incidental factors, such as the resignation of an executive, may expedite change, but in and of themselves they rarely provide sufficient reason or impetus for far-reaching revision. Other more essential elements making for change must be present. In Peoria the family agency was under the necessity of redefining its function in relation to a public relief program, and informed citizens recognized the need for a better quality of work for children. In St. Louis, similarly, the family agency, assured that the public assistance agency was there to stay, had to decide definitely upon the general direction of its program; the children's agency, because of budgetary difficulties, faced drastic reduction in its program, jeopardizing its stand-

Aid Association, New York City; Russell H. Kurtz, Editor, *Social Work Year Book*, Russell Sage Foundation; Robert P. Lane, Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City; Edwina M. Lewis, Secretary, Division of Family and Child Welfare, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago; and George W. Rabinoff, Associate Director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City.

² Papers were presented by Perry B. Hall, Executive Secretary, Child and Family Service of Peoria, Peoria, Illinois; Herschel Alt, Secretary and General Manager, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri; Mrs. Lewis De Blois, Executive Secretary, Program Division, Girl Scouts, New York City; and Eunice Minton, Director, Department of Public Assistance, State Welfare Work, Jacksonville, Florida.

ards of service; and protective or generalized service to children, which was lacking, was a widely recognized need. In the case of the Girl Scouts, growing interest in the methods of progressive education as applicable to the Scout program had been developing throughout the field for a number of years.

The primary objective in each of these situations was better service to a constituency or the enlargement of a clientele. Were Florida's dependent children being adequately provided for? How could family life in Peoria be strengthened? Were group activities of the Girl Scouts satisfying the basic needs of girls? By raising general questions at the outset a favorable setting for discussion of more particular questions may be provided.

In each of these situations there was an extended period of exploration before sentiment for change was crystallized and, obviously, before specific changes were formulated. In both Peoria and St. Louis new executives had been or were about to be appointed. In Peoria there had been a community-wide survey which affected the development of a selective intake policy of the family agency but otherwise had no direct influence on the later merger. A survey of the Girl Scouts National Headquarters, which had no specific relation to the nature of the program, included among its recommendations the suggestion that a program study be undertaken.

Initiative was taken in Peoria by a member of the board of the family society, by the Community Fund executive, and by the Council of Social Agencies; in St. Louis, by some members of the boards of both the family agency and the children's agency, and by the executives of these organizations; in the case of the Girl Scouts, by the professional staff at National Headquarters. It was difficult to discover, in most cases, the actual priority of interest and initiative among many factors.

It is significant that in three instances the area of interest gradually widened. All major groups in the Girl Scouts were ultimately drawn in—national board, local boards, local staffs, and volunteers. A formal organization to facilitate the change was created by the Scouts and by the Peoria group. The parties chiefly concerned in these projects were thereby furnished with a medium through

which they could function and were assured of adequate representation in deciding whether change was to be made and, if so, what and how. The Joint Committee in Peoria held some forty meetings on the subject, with frequent reports to the board of each of the three agencies involved. The board of directors of the Girl Scouts, made up of representatives from all sections of the country, authorized the thoroughgoing study that eventually resulted in a far-reaching modification of program; a committee consisting of representatives of all major divisional committees of the national organization was created, and this committee, in turn, was authorized to select another advisory committee. During a twenty-two-month period this committee held eight sessions lasting from two to four hours each.

At what point to bring in individuals and organizations known to oppose change provoked lively discussion. Some of the discussants advocated their inclusion at the outset, or early in the process of defining the scope and the objectives of change. Others thought sentiment in favor of specific change should be well mobilized before doing so.

When to inform the staff of impending change and to seek their active participation was revealed as a matter deserving serious consideration. In St. Louis board and executive staff worked hand in hand throughout the process, but the full staff (Mr. Alt, who reported for St. Louis, noted with regret) was not formally brought in until details had been worked out. All classes of staff in Florida and in the Girl Scouts were drawn in at the beginning. While participation by the staff members throughout the process may give them a sense of security, it may have the opposite effect. In either event, their close relation to agency operations gives their contributions weight. Concern on the part of board or staff members as to how the change will affect them personally is almost inevitable and should be taken into account, both as to the timing and as to the method of their participation.

How the client can participate in bringing about a change in program was an unanswered question. No concrete experience was presented for discussion, but all discussants agreed that the question merits further attention.

To what extent the community can be a party to change, using the term "community" in its broad sense, depends upon a number of factors: the nature of the service to be modified, the auspices under which it is conducted, the size of the community, facilities for publicity, the extent to which making public negotiations would facilitate or hamper them, and a variety of other factors. In Florida, where every voter had the opportunity to exercise his influence on the state legislature, upon whom ultimate responsibility for aid to children rests, it was very important to have the public informed as early and as fully as possible. The State Welfare Board wisely enlisted the direct help of such influential bodies as the Parent-Teacher Association, the American Legion, and the Florida Legislative Council. By placing on local boards and staffs direct responsibility for educational campaigns in local districts great interest and enthusiasm were generated.

The value of outsiders as aides in effecting change was recognized, the term being variously defined to include persons and organizations in the local community not immediately concerned; the local council of social agencies and the community fund; national organizations and their field representatives; other experts, such as research specialists and executives of agencies that have had experience in similar endeavors.

The role of a council as an impartial body with a community-wide planning function was mentioned. It was referred to by one discussant as the "collective best self of all the agencies." However desirable that the council at least be consulted regarding all major changes, it was admitted that the practice is not universal, and that a great deal of planning takes place outside its machinery. Some discussants questioned the practicability of its use as a general rule, particularly in our largest cities. Others took the position that failure to use the council reflected on the agencies or the council or both and removed an important aid to unselfish, broad-gauge agency planning.

Individual and group conferences, perhaps the most generally accepted specific methods in community organization, were widely employed in these undertakings. The Fund executive in Peoria had private conversations with key individuals on the board of

the family agency and of the children's agency. Board members, professional workers, and volunteers in the Girl Scouts were interviewed at length. To interview persons according to their preferences, individually or in the company of others, is a commendable practice. The fact that some persons express themselves more readily in two-way conversations, that others talk more freely in a small group, and that still others enjoy the stimulation of a large group should be taken into account. Furthermore, the choice of these alternatives may be determined by the stage of negotiations. Each of the several methods may have its own advantage with the same individuals at different times. At certain points it may be advisable to get the principals to commit themselves in the presence of others. Everyone likes to be "in the know." Omission in Peoria of individual conferences with board members of the protective agency in advance of a meeting of representatives of the three agencies created resentment which, fortunately, was eventually overcome.

Keeping the interested parties fully informed is another accepted method that was taken advantage of in the instances under discussion. Circulation of minutes, progress reports, tentative findings, reassuring notices, encouraging memoranda, round-table meetings, and planned attempts to carry along the various groups are repeatedly mentioned in these accounts.

There was consensus among panel participants that it is important to know when to take a vote, when to postpone formal action, when to table. Substantial agreement rather than majority vote is often advisable. Capitalizing on positive elements, delaying consideration on the more controversial items, may facilitate change. In Peoria need for better diagnostic service was quickly recognized by all parties concerned. In St. Louis joint intake was the first step.

Recording full agreements as they are reached is important. If possible, the next points to be considered should be outlined as negotiations progress. Seasoned community organizers are all too familiar with the methods of slowing up the process of change that are used by those who oppose it. Sometimes consciously, often unconsciously, they introduce entirely new proposals that have no

logical relation to those under consideration, not only to direct attention from a particular plan, but to block any change whatever.

Contrasts in types and uses of studies as tools in community organization are illustrated in these reports. Each county in Florida was asked to examine what was happening to its children. Obviously, these were informal inquiries carried out by untrained people, but they were valuable as an educational device. A more formal study by the state department staff had established the extent of children's needs and the approximate amount of money required to meet them. In the case of the Girl Scouts, there was a nationwide study extending over a period of twenty-two months, directed by an expert with an advisory committee of experts. The study as conducted involved the continual collaboration of board, staff, volunteers, and outside experts, and included an examination of the philosophy underlying the program, observation of the program in practice, and the development of yardsticks for measurement of its effectiveness, the scope of the study being gradually extended as all the groups interested progressed in their grasp of common problems. Preliminary consideration by the board; a detailed report with recommendations to the delegates at the annual convention; formal ratification by the board, following, not preceding, the convention; referral to various board committees for study and action—all these were steps in thorough understanding that led progressively to a revision of the program. Collaboration in research, which obviously slows up an inquiry and may not be congenial to a research specialist not skilled or primarily concerned in community organization, is an important point.

That a study often has value even when the major facts in a situation are well known was emphasized. Such a study may give perspective; it may provide fresh impetus to consideration of change; and it may create occasions for bringing individuals and agencies into at least temporary relation to consider its findings, and thus open the way to further planning. On the other hand, as illustrated in Peoria, it is important to know when not to make a study, or, at least, how to limit its scope. There it was deemed inadvisable to examine case loads of the agencies whose merger was proposed, because of dissimilarity in the types of case work.

It was suggested, however, that a clear examination of these differences in advance might, in other situations, lay the basis for more genuine acceptance of change, especially by the staffs concerned.

Calling attention to what has been done in other communities may be stimulating if it is done in a way that does not threaten local pride. Florida took advantage of facts brought out in the White House Conference on Child Welfare to highlight its own child welfare problems. Comparison and a degree of wholesome competition may be valuable aids.

That proper timing is an important element in sound community organization has long been recognized. This was apparent in the situations presented. The date for the public education campaign in Florida was fixed in accordance with the spring session of the legislature, upon whose action the future of the child welfare program depended. Nine regional meetings covering the entire state were held within a two-weeks' period, thus facilitating concentrated state-wide publicity.

A cooling-off period in the midst of negotiations may often save the cause. In Peoria, when intense feeling developed, the Community Fund asked that all discussion of the proposed merger be dropped for the calendar year; it subsequently requested the protective agency not to fill its executive post for the time being, leaving the way clear for further joint action.

Rarely is a change inaugurated that does not involve compromise. The rank and badge system of the Girl Scouts, which was vigorously opposed in some quarters, was retained after the study. However, the emphasis was shifted from individual skill to group proficiency, and this compromise proved acceptable.

Providing for an experimental period, where it is possible, has many advantages. It helps to keep the situation fluid, leaving the way open for movement in several directions. It reassures those not fully persuaded, so that they may be willing to go along for the time being. In St. Louis there was definite provision for terminating the original agreement after sixty days. In other situations, however, change cannot be really effected at all without full commitment all around for a thoroughgoing acceptance of proposals.

The evolutionary nature of change was repeatedly stressed. All were agreed that the process of evolution is slower than we usually think, and that its creative possibilities are seldom used to the maximum, immediate pressures and anxieties often overwhelming long-term plans.

Analysis of these particular situations revealed many common methods, certainly no contradictory ones, in the several fields. It did not yield an exhaustive catalogue of methods. No one expected that it would. We are far from a definition of the total process of community organization. There was agreement that the methods described are applicable to the local community, urban and rural, and to state and national organization, and that community organization is both horizontal—in marshaling forces at local, regional, state, or Federal level—and vertical—in bringing operations at all levels into coördination.

There was no claim that the methods outlined were discovered by, or the exclusive property of, practitioners of community organization. Striking similarities between community organization and social action, for instance, were apparent. Perhaps the two fields or processes greatly overlap; perhaps one may be an aspect or phase of the other. Common methods of case work, group work, and community organization were discussed in another session of Section III at the 1941 Conference.

The subject of community organization needs much exploration. Obviously, accounts of community organization identified by name and place (as those analyzed here) do not contain all the details that would be required for a thoroughgoing analysis of the total process. Many subtleties are lost. But there was a consensus that further recording and similar analysis of the kind of information contained in the narratives presented will be a step forward.

THE BOARD MEMBER IN A PUBLIC AGENCY

James Brunot

ANY DISCUSSION of factors affecting the position and responsibility of the board member in a local public welfare agency would be equivocal without an effort, at the outset, to answer some basic questions which have been the subject of much discussion and debate: Should a public welfare agency have a board? If so, what kind of responsibility should it have—administrative, policy-making, or advisory?

First, I believe that every local public welfare agency which exercises discretionary powers in determining functions, policies, standards, or the methods of applying them, should have a board. By a board I mean a group of persons whose central function, as a body, relates to the work of the agency; not a group, such as a county board of supervisors or a city council, whose concern with the agency is incidental to a general governmental responsibility. Through such a board, to a greater degree than through a lone executive or a general governing body, the diverse points of view which are to be found in any community can be taken into account continuously and specifically in dealing with the agency's problems. Through such a board workable and democratic solutions can be found for many issues which otherwise might become subjects of unnecessarily roughshod political controversy.

Second, public agency boards should be policy-making or advisory rather than administrative. A primary function of the board of any social agency, public or private (or, for that matter, a primary function of the board of an agency undertaking to carry out any community enterprise) is to relate the work of the agency to the needs, desires, and resources of the community. That can be done most effectively with the aid of persons who are

not preoccupied with the day-by-day responsibilities of agency management. In addition, there is the fact that boards with direct administrative responsibilities—boards serving as multiheaded executives—are cumbersome and often expensive substitutes for a single competent executive fully and directly accountable for agency operation.

Much of the discussion of these questions has dealt with the issues as though they were important only in relation to public agencies. That is natural because, in public agencies, the questions usually must be settled by legislative action. Actually, however, differences of opinion and differences of practice as to board functions are equally significant in public and private social work. It is important to remember, therefore, that principles which determine the answers as to where and how boards can function in public agencies may be equally applicable to private agencies.

The place of a board in a public agency is dependent upon the extent to which the agency's functions involve the exercising of significant discretionary powers. That is particularly important to remember in relation to public agencies because the term "public welfare agency" embraces a wide variety of different meanings. Even in the local community it may include Federal, state, county, city, or town agencies operating side by side and related to one another and to other departments of government in many different ways. It includes agencies concerned with a wide variety of services or combinations of services.

The position and functions of a board in a public agency administering a service which is primarily a local responsibility obviously must differ from those of a board attached to a local administrative unit of a state or Federal agency. In some such local units, in fact, the limitations on discretionary powers are so narrow that there is little room for a local body which could be called a board. Similar differences are to be found in private agencies. The position and functions of the board of an independent family welfare agency may differ greatly from those of the board of the local branch of a sectarian agency serving the same community in much the same way. The district offices of a

city-wide agency may need the help of representative groups within the district, but there may be no place for a district office board.

An agency board, as a body concerned with the whole program of the agency, must be attached to the organization, whether public or private, at the point where responsible discretion can be exercised. Though it may sound trite, it means simply that a policy-making board must function at the point where policies are formulated, and an advisory board must function in relation to an administrator who has authority to act on its advice.

However simple they may seem, these principles actually involve a series of difficult problems for public agencies and their boards. For example, local agencies administering special forms of public assistance under the Social Security Act are governed in specific ways by Federal and state legislation and by Federal and state administrative regulations. Though the extent and nature of these regulations are frequently misunderstood, and though it is perfectly clear that some controls are necessary and proper along with Federal and state financial aid, many local boards and many local administrators have felt and said that their discretionary powers have been whittled down to such a degree that they have become nothing more than "rubber stamps," or cogs in a vast and unresponsive machine. This is particularly true of boards or administrators who were concerned with the local administration of similar services in an earlier and sometimes simpler form.

Formerly the local board may have had responsibility, not only for selecting an agency executive, but also for considering and determining the qualifications which the executive's job required; now they select him from a civil service list. Formerly they may have made final decisions as to methods of determining eligibility and as to standards of assistance; now eligibility is the concern of state and Federal as well as local authorities, and local decisions on eligibility and adequacy of grants are subject to review in hearings before state authorities.

Do these changes mean that there is no longer a place for responsible boards in local public welfare agencies administering

services which are subject to such state and Federal regulation? The answer is "No" on a number of counts.

First, state-wide or nationwide agreement on minimum administrative standards and certain uniform procedures merely changes the point at which the local public welfare authorities take up their responsibility. Instead of beginning, as private agencies must do, with the question "What standards and what procedures shall we establish?" the public agency board can concern itself with the next and inevitable question, "How can we reach that standard and how can we go beyond it?"

Second, legislation and regulations may limit the means but not the extent to which public welfare services and other community efforts can interplay for the good of the community. Alertness to opportunities to foster fruitful coördination of services is the responsibility of the board of every agency. The fact that a local public agency may be limited by law or by regulation does not lessen this responsibility any more than would be the case in a private agency limited by the provisions of a charter or, as all too often is the case, by the provisions of an ancient and well-intentioned last will and testament.

Finally, and most important, one of the functions which a board can and should fulfill is that of influencing the formulation of policies for which it is not fully responsible. Public welfare is social work provided with the support of the public at large. It is a community function provided to meet community needs. It is, and must remain, responsive to changing needs, changing resources, and changing attitudes as to public responsibility for using public resources to meet human needs. The board of a public agency holds an obligation, not merely to take responsibility for adjusting local policies to local needs, but also to give leadership in using available means to see that desirable modifications are made in policies which are not determined locally.

One of the complaints frequently heard in recent years is that public welfare planning has proceeded from the top down, that local initiative has been stifled by centralization. Initiative is an agreeable prerogative. Local boards, singly and collectively, can exercise a strong and effective influence on the formulation of state

and national public welfare policy. By thoughtful analysis and careful presentation of facts to state and Federal authorities, and especially to their legislative representatives, local boards can give invaluable aid in assuring planning as well as administration which will keep public welfare closely attuned to the needs and wishes of their communities.

The recent organization of associations of state and local public assistance administrators within the American Public Welfare Association and similar groups in various states, some in connection with state conferences and others independently, offer additional channels of communication between local, state, and Federal authorities. Local boards, far from having their importance diminished by becoming part of an integrated local-state-Federal welfare program, have, in fact, acquired a new responsibility and a new opportunity for participation on a more inclusive scale of public endeavor.

The board of a public agency, like that of a private agency, can be a dynamic group providing real leadership or it can be a nonentity. I know of no formula or set of formulas which will insure a strong and effective board. Not even the basic expedient of having the board made up of competent individuals can guarantee that. There are, however, some important considerations which have a bearing on the problem.

A clear definition of function is essential. A public agency board with nothing but a clear understanding of what it can not do, and a few notions of some things that it might do, may have a difficult time accomplishing anything. An important function of the appointive authority and the agency executive is to formulate a comprehensive and clear statement of the specific functions which the board is expected to perform. Whether these functions are determined by law, by regulations, by request, or by sufferance, they should be explicit and should be reviewed from time to time.

Size and representativeness are important, and not in a merely mechanical sense. In a public agency, perhaps to a greater degree than in a private agency, size and representativeness have an effect, both on the community's attitude toward the board and

on the board member's attitude toward his own status. Too small a board may have inadequate contacts with various elements in the community. "Who are they to know about such problems?"; or "Who are we to decide such issues?" are questions which may mark the end of a board's effectiveness. Conversely, a board so large that free discussion and interchange are hampered may be unable to function. There is no exact formula for determining size. Perhaps the best that can be said is that within limits of from five to twenty-five, a board should be as small as it can be and still provide contact with important elements in the community.

To be representative of the community a board need not include a representative of every important organization, every political subdivision, every geographic section, or every cultural group in the community. Its representativeness can be unquestionable if its members, as a group, command the respect and confidence of the whole community. Public agency board members, unlike those of membership organizations, should not, I believe, serve as representatives of particular constituencies. They may be especially familiar with the problems of a particular group, a particular agency, or a particular section of the community. If so, they should make every effort to have that special knowledge enter into the thinking of the board as a whole. But always the responsibility of each member of the board must be primarily to the community as a whole.

Frequently the method of appointing public agency boards has been a subject of major controversy. Should a local board be appointed by state authorities, by local authorities, by a "neutral" authority, such as a judge, or by some plan of collaboration between two or more of these? Boards which have specific powers to determine policies should be appointed, I believe, by officials of the unit or units of government responsible for providing the resources and controlling the methods used for carrying out those policies. But, in the case of local agencies operating services in which the local governmental units do not participate financially or by exercising any other direct control, there nevertheless should be an opportunity, preferably an informal opportunity, for local authorities to participate in the selection of board members.

Boards which have only advisory powers—that is, boards which influence policies through recommendations rather than by determinations—present an entirely different problem. Their ability to function effectively depends upon the soundness of their recommendations and the degree to which they command the attention and respect of the officials responsible for final decisions. They may be appointed by the authority who wishes to have their advice; they can be, and frequently are, appointed independently; they even can be self-constituted. The strength of their position depends, on the one hand, upon their ability to establish and maintain a direct coöperative relationship with responsible administrative officials and to elicit the support of public opinion.

Continuity and change are equally important. A public agency board which lapses with each change of administration is not conducive to stability in the agency's program and runs the danger of being looked upon as a means of intensifying, rather than minimizing, political influence in the agency. On the other hand, a public agency board composed of persons who serve on and on through the years may easily become a dampening influence. Overlapping terms with a definite limitation on the number of years of continuous service for any individual seem to be desirable provisions for public agency boards.

Undoubtedly, a rigid retirement rule for board members can deprive the agency temporarily of the services of excellent board members. However, even the best board member may benefit from a sabbatical leave. Lack of a retirement rule, on the other hand, may deprive the agency of the good will of a person who is admirably qualified for almost anything except continued board membership. I will concede the point that individual appraisals may work as a method of terminating membership on a private agency board, but I cannot accept it as a workable plan for a public agency. Appointing authorities are not fond of appraising local worthies. Perpetual reappointment of highly respected nonentities can be a cloak for unrespectable manipulation of public boards. Occasional serious losses are far outweighed, I believe, by the advantages of automatic retirement.

The internal organization of a board may be an important factor

influencing its functioning. Whether the chairman is elected by the board itself or named by the appointing authority, he should be a person who is thoroughly familiar with the board's functions and a person who can act skillfully as a presiding officer. Especially in a large board, successful work may depend to a great measure upon the chairman's ability to facilitate action by clarifying issues and by guiding the board's action so as to give each alternative due consideration. In agencies performing a variety of functions some specialization through the use of board committees may serve as a useful device for facilitating action and for utilizing and developing special knowledge or interests on the part of individual members of the board.

Staff services to the board are essential and require a high degree of skill. A board whose working materials are limited to routine reports may be incapable of progressing beyond routine problems. A board which is overwhelmed with a mass of poorly presented and poorly related data may be unable to deal with it at all. Staff services to the board should be directed toward placing at the board's disposal, in the clearest possible form, all facts pertinent to issues which are to be placed before the board or questions which have been raised by the board. In local agencies lacking facilities for securing such facts quickly and accurately provision might well be made for assistance from state authorities, or even from other local organizations, such as councils of social agencies, both in collecting and presenting the facts.

The most important factor determining the effectiveness of a board is, of course, the quality of its individual members. Basically, there are just two qualifications which seem to be indispensable: first, a sincere and intelligent interest in the public welfare program as an important function of government; and, second, willingness to give time and energy to the job of making that interest effective. I think that the reasons for an interest in public welfare are not especially significant. One person may think public welfare is important because it accounts for large expenditures of public funds; another, because it relates to the well-being of children; another, because it affects the work of a private agency in which he is interested; and still another, because he is

interested in the political implications of the welfare program. All may serve effectively on a board if their concern is sincere and if their approach to the agency's problems is reasonably open-minded.

I believe that the most satisfactory way to select a new board or a new group of board members is not to start with the question "What groups or sections or shades of opinion should be represented?" but rather to start with the question "What persons in the community can be counted upon to serve as active, interested and intelligent board members?" Having a generous list of such persons, it is a relatively simple problem to select a group who will be in touch with a wide range of viewpoints and who will be respected as a responsible, unprejudiced, and representative group.

The functions and responsibilities of boards as groups can be described also in terms of the functions and duties of individual board members. When so stated some significant similarities and differences as between public and private agencies are apparent. Boards in both fields serve the twofold function of interpreting the agency to the community and the community to the agency. This certainly does not mean that the individual board member must go about the community repeating an agency sales talk or listening for chance comments about the agency and its work. The board member's interpretive function in a public agency is primarily that of serving as a means for intelligent interchange of opinion about public welfare needs and public welfare resources. In whatever circles he moves the board member is looked upon as a source of facts and informed opinion about what the agency is doing and why, or what it is not doing and why. He is a person with whom public welfare issues are discussed because of a mutual concern with some aspect of the problem, a mutual concern which often is lacking in the case of private agencies.

Social workers, I regret to say, sometimes talk about "using" boards for interpretation in terms which sound as though boards were inert instruments to be manipulated at will. That is a careless and inaccurate way of describing a dynamic and an important function of board members. If anybody "uses" boards for interpretation, it is the members of the community. Board members,

among their associates in business or social life, are the means by which people in the community learn about services which they help to support, and through whom they express their own observations and opinions about the public agency's work. The board member's interpretive function is a process of direct interchange between himself and the members of his community. Successful fulfillment of this function requires broad and accurate knowledge of the public welfare program, its limitations and its potentialities, as well as an interest in community reactions to both.

Boards may give status to social efforts and command public support for the agency. Board members can do that in so far as they assure themselves of the soundness of the agency's program and in so far as they have studied the facts about it well enough to relay that assurance to persons with confidence in their integrity and judgment. A board member whose response to a question about the need for continued public relief expenditures rests on firm conviction does not need to back it up with any more statistics than he himself remembers. But if he lacks the basis for a confident reply, or if he lacks confidence that he can get a full and complete answer, he contributes nothing to the status of the agency nor to his own status as a responsible representative of the community.

Boards have an important function in securing adequate financial support for the agency. In private agencies this means dealing with individual donors or community fund boards to convince them that participation in the agency's support represents a desirable use of whatever resources may be available. In public agencies it means dealing with appropriating bodies and, at the same time, providing for such administrative requirements as may be necessary to secure grants-in-aid. In many instances it involves responsibility for vastly larger sums than are involved in private agency operations. It involves accountability to taxpayers who, unlike the contributors to a private agency, may be unwilling or at least doubtful participants in supporting the public program. For the individual board member this, like his function in molding general public support, requires conviction as to the

extent of need for the agency's service and conviction as to the agency's efficiency in meeting those needs. To a greater degree than in any other function it requires, in addition, consideration of the relationship between the need for public welfare services and the need for other community facilities. In recent years local public welfare boards repeatedly have had to face appropriating bodies with the knowledge that more funds for their agencies could not be found without curtailment of other essential community services. Board members, under such circumstances, have needed all their resources of courage, knowledge, influence, and restraint to find and adhere to reasonable compromises with unreasonable facts.

Boards give continuity to agency services. In public agencies this means that board members must be ready to face times of hard sledding. When the members of the board have arrived at reasonable and unprejudiced decisions they must stand by those decisions and know why they have been made. Board members must be responsive to changing circumstances but, through a closer knowledge of the facts over a period of time, they must avoid being swayed by each new demand or attack, each external change, or each staff change.

Boards can relate their agency's program to the work of other community agencies. For the individual board member this means knowledge and consideration, not only of his own agency's work, but of the whole fabric of community services, public and private, to which it is related. The board member in a public agency must, I believe, consider the functions of private agencies in the community and assume a measure of responsibility for their development and support. To the staff of a social welfare agency the services provided by other agencies are resources to be utilized with professional skill in meeting social problems which often cut across functional agency lines. The board member should understand that point of view but, in addition, should attempt to see his own agency as one of a number all contributing to the sum total of community efforts to meet the community's social problems. Through experiences or contacts in other agencies and through their freedom from routine agency responsibilities, board

members are strategically situated to safeguard and foster productive interagency relationships.

Finally, boards offer a means for broad citizen participation in the operation of public welfare agencies. Individual board members, in giving time and energy and thought to public welfare problems, not only fulfill a duty of good citizenship, but also exercise a right and privilege consistent with our democratic tradition in public affairs. Through them public welfare services can be kept close to the needs of the community and enriched by the interplay of varied points of view. Through them, too, the satisfaction of progress and accomplishment in meeting community needs by public effort can become a vital force in making public welfare services a civic effort, not merely to be tolerated as a necessity, but rather to be valued as an expression of a high civic purpose.

THE BOARD MEMBER IN A PRIVATE AGENCY

Ralph A. Uihlein

IN A DISCUSSION OF the role of the board member in a private agency three questions of major importance should be considered:

1. Why do lay people participate on the boards of our agencies?
2. How do agencies acquire good board members?
3. What are some of the problems which confront lay people who serve on agency boards?

It is well to remember that agencies vary, one from another. Some are active, with frequent and regular board meetings, and committee activity to supplement the work of the board. Other boards, especially those whose members live in different parts of a state, meet less frequently. Some agencies have relatively little committee activity. Some boards are small and can operate as a committee of the whole. Others contain upward of a hundred members, and that of itself influences the kind of work which such boards can do. In some agencies there is a small professional staff which coördinates the activities of large numbers of volunteers. In others, the staff has all the contact with clients, leaving to board members a field of activity which is once removed therefrom. Again, some agencies raise much of their financial support. Others collaborate with associated agencies through a community fund. These variations have a bearing upon the type of person who sits on the agency board and upon the nature of his activity.

In order to understand the layman as a board member it will be helpful to consider some of the factors which underlie his interest in social work. Few lay people give direct thought to these factors. Of some, they are aware; of others, they are not.

Most frequently, I think, a layman is conscious of a feeling of responsibility for improving social conditions in his community,

and of a desire to be helpful to others. In this he may be selfish or unselfish, and sometimes both. He may be doing no more than following a pattern. His friends have accepted it, and he does the same. Many young people who are about to enter upon a business or professional career welcome an opportunity to see, and to be seen in, the social groups with which they seek to establish contact. Lay groups which are affiliated with social agencies furnish such opportunities. While the important man about town may lend prestige to the efforts with which he is associated, these younger people give freely of their time and skills in appreciation for what such participation gives to them.

Those lay people whose concept of social work is weighted heavily with the thought that it is charity are apt to frown upon their associates who participate in social welfare programs for selfish reasons. But if that selfishness is enlightened, acceptable, and useful, one may well ask whether their attitude is called for. There is much to be gained, both by the agency and by the lay person, in an open give-and-take relationship. Those who become deeply engrossed in the work of their agency find that they are increasing their knowledge of people and of their community.

Then there are those who take themselves and their position very seriously. In going on a board, they are possessed of a feeling of trusteeship. They want to guard their community against what to them is theorizing, or ill-considered expenditure of community resources. They feel that they are keeping the social worker's feet on the ground.

Some agencies consciously seek board members who are substantial contributors. Some board members come to agencies by inheritance. A parent or a grandparent may have been a good board member. I have been told of an agency in which it was almost impossible to become a board member unless some other fruit of the family tree had likewise been a member.

To some people, board membership is a compensation. There may be this or that in their lives, things done or left undone, which they feel needs balancing. Participation in a worthy cause provides the balance. Occasionally a board member may regret

that he cannot support a cause financially as extensively as he should like. If, instead, he has time to give, it serves him as a substitute.

Lastly, there are those who look upon board membership as an opportunity to express their social convictions. While those who belong to this category may be in the minority, there are at least a few in every community. They labor long and hard and do not always get the recognition they deserve. In the past their contribution sometimes lay in the field of their own calling, in law or in finance for example. Their point of view regarding social work was based upon the recommendations of professional associates. Today many of the board members in this category take less for granted. Their convictions are based upon their own understanding of social needs. They have an intellectual curiosity which has led them on to study and analysis, and to an exchange of views with their professional associates. To this there has been added an emotional quality, resulting in a type of conviction which is profounder than it was a few decades ago.

The motives which underlie a board member's acceptance of a place on the board color his action later. The person who reacts emotionally will find it difficult to be objective with respect to agency problems. He may not be able to distinguish between the heart-throb appeal of a single case and the long-term need of all the agency's clients. The person who belongs for social or business reasons cannot always be depended upon when the agency's needs and his own do not coincide. But if the board member regards his membership as an opportunity to give expression to his social convictions, he can make a real contribution and receive in return much that will enrich his own life.

In general, the lay board member of a private agency occupies a position between that of the professional worker and that of the public at large. He is distinguished from the professional worker by the absence of technical social work training, and by the fact that his participation in the affairs of the agency is secondary to some other occupation. On the other hand, he is distinguished from the general public by his specific interest in the agency and by his assumption of responsibility for its success. In

assuming responsibility for his agency, the board member undertakes to perform certain functions. Roy Sorenson, Associate Executive Secretary of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, has enumerated them as follows:

1. Fulfilling a legal requirement, incident to incorporation
2. Choosing, supervising, and removing the executive
3. Creating a financial and physical setting for carrying on the program of the agency
4. Giving sponsorship and prestige to the agency program
5. Acting as an interpreter of the work of the agency to the community, and of local conditions within the community to the agency staff
6. Taking ultimate responsibility for the policies which govern the conduct of the agency

The performance of some of these functions calls for action on the part of the board member. The performance of others is incidental to his general assumption of responsibility. His association with the agency is meaningful to the community even if his participation is relatively inactive. The prestige of such a citizen is projected onto the groups and endeavors with which he is identified.

There are two ways in which the board member's active participation may be helpful. He may bring to board problems his specialized knowledge and training. I have in mind here such men as lawyers and bankers who serve as legal or financial advisers. However, most board members serve as lay representatives of the community rather than as specialists.

Usually the responsibility for securing good lay members is carried by a nominating committee. Most board members do not relish assignment to this committee; it seems so far removed from the more interesting phases of the agency's work. The committee does not attain in men's minds the position of importance to which it is entitled, but the success of the agency is directly related to its success in recruiting able people to serve on the board.

It is interesting to see how confused many nominating committees are. Criteria on which to base selections are not as well

thought through as they might be. Even when such criteria are available, it is a temptation to forget them when the actual process of selection is under way. It is difficult to withstand the strain when a board member gets enthusiastic about a candidate because he or she is "just a swell person."

Most agencies try to keep their boards representative of the community. That is desirable and important. In order to assure themselves of representativeness, some agencies have adopted rigid policies which require that a number of board members be drawn at all times from certain sections of the community or from certain walks of life. When policies are rigid, however, there is a danger that they may become mechanical. Much is lost when that happens. If a board member is chosen primarily because of what he represents, he is apt to be more loyal to his constituency than to the agency. His thinking and his action are apt to grow out of what they mean to the group which he represents rather than what they mean to the agency or to the community.

Should not the basis for the selection of board members be the capacity of the candidate to give his agency that which is worth while? The contributions of board members are indeed varied and the opportunities for service are likewise varied. In order to get these resources, it will be necessary to seek them in different parts of the community and in different walks of life. If the capacity to contribute is used as the criterion, diversification can be attained without having the process become mechanical, and the emphasis will be placed where it belongs.

Another aspect of representativeness involves conflicting directions of thought. If, on the one hand, we wish our board to be truly representative, we must bring to it individuals whose underlying political economic, religious, or other philosophies conflict. When the conflict is serious, confidence of board members in one another is jeopardized. If we want a board which is going to work well as a team, and it must work well in this manner if it is to perform its duties, the members must have a feeling of respect and good will for, and confidence in, one another. A board that cannot work together as a team will be ineffective. On the other hand, a board will probably be ingrown if it is made up entirely of intimate

friends who are drawn from the same social group. Somewhere between these extremes, sacrifices must be made in order to arrive at a compromise. We want a team which is as effective as possible, and at the same time we want a board which is as representative as possible.

The building of a board which contains all these desirable characteristics is not easy. It requires continuing labor. Only too often we find that the nominating committee is appointed shortly before the annual meeting and ceases to function immediately thereafter. Should it not be a year-round committee? Further, does this problem not require that programs be set up in which prospective board members can acquire competence?

Through participation in such phases of the agency program as lend themselves to volunteer effort and through participation in groups which study the agency's work with its clients, the prospective board member can acquire some understanding of the client's needs, of the causes which underlie those needs, of the agency's methods in dealing with the client's problems, and of some of the strengths and limitations of these methods. By his contributions to the discussions he will indicate his capacity to understand the work. As these contributions become more meaningful, his rate of growth will be indicated. Since his participation is purely voluntary, his continuing attendance at such meetings will show also that he is obtaining satisfactions therefrom. The nominating committee needs such evidence of his ability and of his interest. After the candidate has become a member of the board, should we not require him to continue his development? In the minds of many, election to a board is thought of as the end of a process. Instead, can we not think of it as a beginning, or as an intermediate point?

Many laymen, when they become board members, are bewildered. Even if they have had some preparation, they lack the knowledge upon which to base intelligent decisions. In the course of time, and if they have the fortitude to stick through thick and thin, they acquire what is needed to make them effective board members. Such a method is not efficient. In order to overcome the difficulty, some agencies have undertaken to provide a course

of instruction, or institute, and require that the new board member attend as a condition of membership. What such an institute may include will vary from agency to agency. In the Milwaukee Family Welfare Association it consists of brief surveys of the history of the agency, its financial structure, board and staff policies, and its relationship to other agencies. Parallel with this there is an analysis of different types of cases to bring out the strengths and limitations of the agency program. Five sessions are given over to the institute. New board members are fired with enthusiasm and are anxious to go to work. Such an institute gives them the tools with which to do so.

All boards, at some time, face the problem of what to do with those members who have served loyally for a long period of time. In recent years they have been resting on their laurels. Often their point of view is based on the experience and problems of another day. Many boards have instituted a policy of limited tenure, under which a board member is not eligible for re-election for more than a given number of consecutive terms. I submit that the people who sit on our boards cannot successfully be made to fit so rigid a mold. Some board members will continue to grow in capacity for many years; others will have outlived their usefulness after only a few. Some should never have been elected. We need courage and tact to face these issues as they arise. If we do not face them, we must accept the burden of this deadwood until the time limit has expired. On the other hand, it seems undesirable to rid a board arbitrarily of members who still have much to give. Case working agencies appraise their clients and their staff members on the basis of individual strengths and weaknesses. Cannot this philosophy be applied to board members also?

In appraising a person, the layman likes to have a single, simple term with which to express himself. The trained worker, on the other hand, knows that no such term does justice to that intricate combination of factors that go to make up a person. Case workers simplify the problem by weighing a client's attributes one at a time. We can do the same in appraising the board member. First we need to study the attributes that we should like to have. Then we can ask ourselves how well the candidate measures up to each

of them. In Milwaukee, for example, we feel that attendance at board and committee meetings is important. In the case of a new board member, we explain the demands upon his time which the agency expects to make. We ask him frankly whether he is prepared to give this time. I emphasize this point because it is not exceptional to find that the nominating committee member who invites a candidate is so anxious to receive an affirmative reply that he understates the requirements of the job. In the case of a board member who is up for re-election, the attendance record speaks for itself. Next, we want to know how well the new board member is prepared through previous participation in the discussion of case material. Lastly, there is a group of other attributes, including education, experience, energy, initiative, and such things as the ability to understand the work of the agency and congeniality of point of view.

There are some, and their number is greater than we may be willing to admit, who see little more in the plight of a client than "right or wrong." A wrong choice on his part is due to weakness or badness, and he who is bad should be punished. Then there are those who have little sympathy for an agency that will not step in and correct a known situation whether such assistance is wanted by the client or not. They do not recognize the voluntary nature of joint participation by client and worker upon which family case work is based. If a candidate holds such views with a rigidity that prevents acceptance of the fundamentals upon which the program of the agency is predicated, he cannot become an effective board member. The time to discover his attitude is prior to election to a board and not afterward.

In applying the criteria which I have enumerated it is necessary to bear in mind that the same candidate will measure up differently to each of them. Fortunately, boards need varied resources and have many opportunities for making use of various talents. The advantage of such a method of appraisal lies in the fact that it protects the layman from one of his greatest weaknesses, oversimplification.

There are problems which confront the board member. In discussing the selection of persons to serve on an agency board, I

attempted to bring out the importance of taking advantage of the differences that are to be found between individuals, and of bringing these varied resources to bear upon a common problem. In discussing the relationship between the board member and his staff associates, we encounter the same problem in a more formal setting. Board and staff members differ from one another in their training, experience, and background, in their responsibilities, and in their point of interest in social work. As a result, each has a separate and distinct contribution to make. Yet there probably is nothing which either of these groups does which is entirely removed from the field of interest of the other. In most of the problems which come to an agency, benefit is to be derived from the fact that these differing groups in a joint effort bring their strengths to bear on the development of a common solution. If we can accept such a philosophy, then it follows that we need to have a real understanding of, and respect for, the differences between these two groups. This will make possible a constructive use of those differences. There need be no competition between the two, and there should be no resentment.

While these points may seem clear to us today, it is well to remember that in many types of social work, in the not very distant past, the differentiation between worker and volunteer was not clear-cut. As social work developed, there was a taking over by the trained worker of many of the tasks which had been carried interchangeably until that time. Those who were unable to understand the development that was taking place were resentful of the change. They resisted being pushed into what to them seemed a place of secondary importance, and they resisted the surrender of their paternalistic satisfactions.

Today we see the board member giving much of his time and attention to the study and formulation of the policies which govern the agency. Since many policies are the outgrowth of technical considerations, he needs the collaboration of the members of his staff. He needs also a friendly atmosphere in which to exchange his thinking with that of the staff.

Unfortunately, many such policies must be expressed in abstract terms. In family case work, for example, we say that it is

our object to help people to lead personally satisfying and socially useful lives. It is difficult for the layman to work in such terms. He becomes impatient with them. He reacts much more positively to the plight of jobless Mr. X whose wife has died, leaving him with five children, all under seven. It is difficult for the board member to learn that if he does not get a firm hold on the fundamentals, confusion may undermine the very things he wants so much to do. He needs to take responsibility for sound policies, for effective application, and for the proper amounts of each.

Much of the board member's concern is centered around methods for bringing about results. There is danger that this interest in methods may obscure a consideration of the real needs of the client. For example, he may be concerned with the question of whether one agency may operate more smoothly than two. In this he must be on his guard to retain his sense of proportion. Whether the client be served by one agency or two is not so important as whether he is being served well. In his eagerness to "do something about it," when "it" is a situation that has stirred him deeply, the board member often becomes forgetful of the agency's limitations in terms of staff capacity, or of the relationship of his agency to others, or of the responsibility to other clients whose needs are acute also.

The board member often finds himself in an anomalous position. His participation in the work of his agency is of an extracurricular nature. If there is not enough time to go around, the extracurricular activity gets the short measure. He finds it reasonable to excuse himself for not being as conscientious toward his social work as he is to his regular job. Such a problem is serious, not because there is insufficient time to do both jobs well, but because our board member permits himself to undertake a job for which he may frankly admit he cannot find sufficient time.

Excusing himself on this count sometimes makes it easy for him to excuse himself on other counts also. He may become careless in his parliamentary procedure. He may listen at a board meeting to twenty minutes of discussion of an involved problem, and when the need for action comes over him, he will say: "I

move it!" When the presiding officer asks that the motion be stated, the results often leave much to be desired.

Our board member shares with other lay people a tendency toward superficiality. This is quite general and is apt to affect all people with respect to subjects in which they are not specialists. If we go to a doctor with a health question, we will receive a well-considered, well-qualified reply. If we ask him about a financial problem, there is some likelihood that the reply will be just as ready but not so well qualified. When we go to our lay board members with a question involving the technical aspects of social work does not the same thing happen? I believe that this characteristic of laymen needs to be recognized and dealt with frankly.

As our board members build up their understanding of the work of their agency, they build up a feeling of loyalty also. This often becomes so intense that the mind is closed to the work of other agencies. Provincialism and prejudice result. Because the board member's time is limited, the executive guards it jealously. While it may be the latter's object to give the board member a thorough grounding in his own agency first and then to let him go on to other community aspects of social work, the prejudices which he has built up may preclude the attainment of the second step.

A good board member needs an understanding of the work of other private agencies. He needs also an understanding of the work of the public agencies, an interest in them, and a willingness to support public agency officials in the improvement and strengthening of their programs. Perhaps we need in all our states an agency similar to the New York State Charities Aid Association. Until we catch up with such a program, however, and as an in-between step, private agency people have a responsibility for the success of the public agency program.

The board member of the private agency learns of the affairs of the agency from the executive. He learns also of the problems of the staff from the executive. This brings with it a tremendous responsibility for the executive because it is inevitable that he should color his interpretations with his own point of view. In

most agencies it is possible, however, for numerous members of the board to have friendly and serious contacts with numerous members of the staff. As long as this is done in a spirit of loyalty to the executive, there is much to be gained by both, and a feeling of mutual understanding can be established.

In the case of the younger board member this dependence upon the executive for all information about the agency, its clients, and its staff brings with it another problem. In order not to become a "yes" person, this board member must learn to stand on his own feet and to do his own thinking. However, if the younger board member has had an opportunity to come into contact with numerous members of the staff, the differences of interpretation which are inevitable between two people, even if they agree on fundamentals, will throw the issues into bold relief. The board member will have to resolve them in his own mind, and this will help to emancipate him.

One of the most perplexing problems with which the board member finds himself confronted has to do with the allotment of limited funds among the agencies which share in the distribution of a community fund. A similar problem exists within the agency that carries on different types of social work. These problems are baffling because the tools which are at the board member's disposal are so limited. In many cases he does not know what the community's total social work needs are. Nor does he know with any degree of exactness how much more efficient one type of program may be than another. It is difficult to set up criteria. The result is that these lay people, board members or budget committee members, fall back on precedent, on the emotional appeal of the work, on a subjective evaluation that parades under the name of judgment, or on other inexact factors. Responsibility for improvement rests not alone on the shoulders of these lay people. The professional worker also must appreciate the need. Here is an excellent opportunity for collaboration.

In connection with problems such as this, and also with respect to the problems of a council of social agencies, emphasis is placed upon arriving at decisions through a committee composed of those who are not directly related to the problem. This is done to in-

sure impartiality. It may be done also to bring into social work lay people who have not participated previously. This, however, is a secondary consideration.

Such a committee may be asked to review a phase of an agency's program. When its work is finished we are apt to find that it has made recommendations, not only with respect to the broad aspects of its investigation, but also with respect to the details of agency management, such as the type of worker or the number of workers who should be employed, the location and type of office which should be used, even the methods of keeping office records or of providing transportation for workers. Such a report may become the condition on which funds are made available, and when that happens, the will of this committee is superimposed upon the agency board whether it likes it or not.

While it is most desirable to obtain impartiality in arriving at decisions which affect agencies, I think that it is important that we solve our problems intelligently. These committee members are not necessarily free from prejudice or unsusceptible to strictly emotional appeals. Furthermore, because they are dealing with isolated problems, they may arrive at conclusions which are based upon fractional evidence, that is, fractional with respect to the community's problems as a whole. When such a committee's report has been rendered, committee members are released from further responsibility. They are freed, therefore, from the sobering influence of having to live with their own conclusions as these are being put into effect. May we not have confused our need for impartiality with our need for study and research which should be impartial as a matter of course?

I do not wish to leave the impression that weakness is an outstanding characteristic of board members. My own historical perspective is too short to warrant comparisons with the past, but as I have come in contact with the board members of private agencies, I have been impressed with their alertness and with their eagerness to learn. Association with the trained social worker is a stimulating experience to the layman. His awareness of the weaknesses of which I have spoken can, I think, be taken as an indication of his desire and of his ability to grow.

SOCIAL ACTION: A MOTIVE FORCE IN DEMOCRACY

Harry L. Lurie

WHEN ESTABLISHED SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS and legal relationships are challenged and transformed by the emergence of new cultural, economic, and political phenomena, the process and the results may be called social action. There are periods that are relatively placid with emphasis on the continuity of established institutions, and there are other periods marked by an increasing ferment that induces large-scale reconstruction of basic social relationships. War and civil strife are the most destructive and most rapid forms of social action, though important inventions and evolutionary developments in industry and technology may similarly produce rapid alterations in social organization.

Changing social processes are influenced, at times, by the organized efforts of social workers. More frequently, new situations develop through spontaneous economic and political movements in which social workers, as a group, have had little, if any, participation. Today radical changes are taking place in our civilization and culture and long-established economic and political institutions are in a state of flux. We face the danger that basic values created by social work will be submerged or destroyed if satisfactory solutions are not found for pressing social problems.

We may consider social action as the dynamic factor in social work and define social work in general as the accretions of gains secured in the long history of successful social action. It may be said parenthetically that if all social service programs are crystallizations of social action, some part of social work may be more properly called petrified social action. There is a tendency for

some social workers, representing the achieved social action movements of the past, to show great restraint in espousing new forms of social action. This is due, not merely to preoccupation with other specific tasks, but to a tendency to approve social action in the past or future but not in the present tense.

It is a mistake to believe that an established social agency is no longer subject to the dynamic factors operating upon the general processes of social organization. It is, in fact, an untenable attitude in the face of crucial factors that may destroy some part of previously established social gains. Whether our specific social work task is the improvement of service standards, the extensions of specific welfare programs, or even the continuation of an established service, we are engaging in some phase of social action. We, as well as those engaged in bold programs of social reform, need therefore to understand the basic character of the larger social processes of which we are a part.

Most programs of social action initially meet with opposition because they appear as threats of interference with established habits and traditions. Some of these habits and traditions are of a fundamental character; that is, they are involved with the basic principles of what has been called "our way of life" and call for such radical alterations of those principles that the chances for the adoption of the programs are dubious. On the other hand, other proposals are milder innovations that call for changes in methods or styles, and these have a less difficult role. Yet every effort to achieve social gains, even those of minor significance, is essentially a class struggle. It is a struggle between the group that wants to move forward and the group that resists change. Social action promoted by those who want to stand still, or move backward, we call reaction. Since each proposal is related to many other habits and social institutions which are being similarly challenged, we are bound to see a close kinship among the supporters and among the opponents of all proposals to improve social conditions.

The most important change in our basic approach as social workers to social action has been the shift from our concentration upon voluntary action to an acceptance of government as the more effective instrument for achieving social welfare. In theory,

we could utilize all our resources and make all the changes necessary in our social relationships that would result in social welfare through voluntary rather than governmental action. In reality, the individuals who legally control the material resources and who are restrained in their social and economic relationships only by existing laws have not been willing to make those decisions that would accomplish our social objectives in spite of the reasonableness of our various programs. Social workers in general should have recognized this practical point earlier since all of the major social gains, such as the abolition of slavery, the extension of the suffrage to women, the universal system of public education, the acceptance of labor organization, the taxation of incomes, the social security measures, and the correction of abuses in public welfare institutions were achieved by legislation only after long and decisive political struggles. Coercion in some form is usually present in every new social achievement.

Because so large a part of social work action in the past has been concerned with voluntarism, we are more familiar and more expert in those devices, psychological appeals and techniques. Our understanding of them has brought about the professional accomplishments and standards that have our greatest respect. Unfortunately, not all of them can be transferred intact to the field of public welfare action. We know how to soothe and relax the property instincts of that economic class that we call our contributors, but we generally fail when we have to substitute the tax assessor for the campaign rallies, or have to encourage legislators or business interests to yield to raucous democratic pressures rather than gracefully to practice the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Our persuasive efforts fail when we pretend that voluntary action and government action are the same things or the two sides of unified community action. We fail, in this instance, because it is probably not true and, at any rate, it is very difficult to believe. All of us have seen our most meritorious philanthropists emotionally disturbed and unrepentantly nostalgic for the good old days when all the decisions on social action were made by a group of gentlemen, your friends, whom you could trust to be moderate and aware of the fitness of things.

Social action through social legislation in a democracy can, in

one sense, be considered as the net product of a series of voluntary actions. The elected representatives of the people are responsive to voters' opinions, no matter what rating scale they may assign to different numerical sections of their constituency. Behind the political institutions there is an amazingly complicated network of organized groups and interests. Even if we consider some of these organized groups as holding bigoted or illogical convictions, we must recognize that, for the most part, these attitudes are sincere expressions of special group interests. Our efforts to enlist voluntary coöperation must therefore extend beyond the supporters or members of voluntary social welfare agencies to all vigorous groups that have some voice or some measure of political influence. Social action is essentially political action even when we strive to avoid involvements with existing political parties.

There is an important way in which the present focus of social action differs from the past. Political democracy everywhere is being challenged by direct political action and by the consequences of other economic and social changes. We must concern ourselves with the economic factors operating in our own country that have destroyed political democracy elsewhere and that threaten to destroy it here and with it all opportunities for democratic social action.

Our economic system of capitalism has not been challenged by the social workers' programs of social action. None of our measures, in the past, and few if any of the measures with which we are concerned today, carry with them any real threat to the existing legal arrangements of ownership and control of material resources. We know that even our maximum recommendations requiring the expenditure of public funds for the economic and social security of the population add up to considerably less in cost or in increasing government control over economic affairs than the present government program for national defense. There is bound to be a greater interference with the traditional structure of capitalism in a defense program costing from ten to twenty billion dollars than in the development of a peacetime program of employment and security, which in our most utopian proposals

amounted to much less than one half of the present staggering expenditures for defense.

The imminent death of the system of laissez-faire capitalism has been acknowledged, not only by those who wish to transform the economic system into a collective order, but equally by the more farsighted among those who wish to retain the advantages of capital ownership in the hands of individuals and groups in a centrally controlled economy. The basic contest which is being waged relentlessly in the background of political action is gradually being changed from resistance to any governmental interference with the economic system to schemes for controlling government. The recent Federal inquiry on monopolies showed clearly that the control of our economic business and financial institutions was largely concentrated in the hands of a relatively small group of business units and that this concentration had radically changed the essential nature of the individual and competitive capitalism of the past. These new factors of business concentration were considered to be responsible for the lags in production, the wasteful unemployment of resources, and the deterioration of living standards with which all of us are concerned.

The New Deal has been a social action program to alleviate some of the most pressing problems arising from the maladjustments in our present economic order. Based upon the will of an electorate which transferred its allegiance from a more conservative to a less conservative political party, the New Deal was able temporarily to persuade the more backward elements in control of our economic life to give their grudging consent to some economic and welfare experiments. As concessions to majority pressure and with the acquiescence of a part of business leadership, we achieved a limited program which relieved some of the economic distress of the unemployed. Measures for social insurance and social assistance were enacted which did not unduly disturb the basic elements of profits, wages, and economic control. Some of these measures, when enacted, proved to be convenient taxing arrangements which did not affect basic economic relationships. We know from our experience the inadequate and limited protection and security afforded by these measures and that some of

the neediest workers, such as the Negroes in the South, failed to secure adequate coverage from the unemployment and old age measures.

The most vigorous resistance to programs of social reform has been encountered in proposals dealing with the right of labor to organize and to such initial steps in achieving minimum standards as those that were involved in the National Recovery Administration and the labor relations and wages and hours legislation. A great deal of opposition continues to be concentrated on the Works Projects Administration for the reason that relief employment, under direct government auspices, shrinks the available labor surplus and has an indirect effect upon wage standards. In general, the New Deal during its more vigorous period was a program of moderate reforms that sought its objectives without upsetting the applecart of property and ownership relationships.

Most of the organized groups with whom we have contact through their interests in voluntary philanthropy or in social legislation do not, on the whole, want government to extend its controls over business enterprise except as business itself is in control through government. The programs they will support are necessarily limited on this account. We know from our experience in community affairs that the chances are much greater for organization to exist among conservative groups than among those who are willing to follow more radical programs of social reform. The conservative influences dominate in the respectable and responsible groups in the community, such as chambers of commerce, community chests, voluntary agencies, and women's organizations that we seek to enlist as supporters for social program. We tend, therefore, to concentrate our interest upon proposals that have some chance of being accepted by these groups. Knowing of the overt or latent opposition to less conservative measures, we are uneasy about proposals that may be charged with having a pinkish tinge or are definitely considered to be an outgrowth of radical movements.

It would be foolhardy to overlook or to minimize these obstacles to programs of social action. For the time being, the direction of government administration is being determined by an

uneasy equilibrium between contending forces in which those in control of existing economic institutions have the most important voice. We have not yet arrived at the political stage where forces opposed to these controls are strong enough to offer a real challenge. Within the ranks of organized labor, among groups of professionals and intellectuals who are able to advance beyond the basic ideologies of their class, and in the undercurrent of popular dissatisfaction with the lack of essential economic progress there is a potential base for popular strength that can become a counterweight to conservative opposition. Improperly directed, these same elements may become a bulwark of reaction. We all recognize the danger that faces progressive elements that may be submerged or have their influence weakened by the sweep of events during a period of war requiring quick administrative decisions by those who manage the affairs of our government. A program of control, essentially fascist in character, lurks near by because of the danger that a fascist program can be popularized among workers and middle-class groups who are not yet aware that the natural evolution of such a program can be the consequence of measures taken ostensibly in the interests of national welfare and national defense.

The sole hope for democracy in this chaotic world situation is if we can find an intelligent solution for economic problems and abandon peacefully some of our traditional economic relationships in the interests of the welfare of the masses of the population. Whether this can be achieved in the present status of political and economic controls is unpredictable. There are today no assured precedents in the history of European countries that the essential nature of democratic equality can be retained in the transformation of economic institutions that constitutes so basic a movement in all organized societies.

Though the analysis that I have offered on the essential problems of social action has been represented in the terms of the broadest perspective, I believe that the points are applicable to all the important programs for improvement of social conditions with which we are concerned. If we limit our aims to those measures which can be achieved with the support of conservative

groups, we are left with weak and inadequate programs. There are factors tending to make the traditional allies of social work more rather than less conservative. If our proposals are broader in scope, we must recognize the difficulties in gaining support from among those elements in our community who are most likely to be imbued with progressive ideas. Social work can exercise an important influence but it cannot be overly optimistic about its success in changing the opinions and attitudes of conservative social groups. It is from labor organizations from the intelligent middle class, and from enlightened individuals in general who dissociate themselves from their conservative groups that we can expect a greater measure of coöperation. We have the difficult task of enlisting these natural allies without frightening the other elements.

One of the basic tasks in planning social action is to analyze the extent to which a proposed program can expect popular support. In considering popular support a distinction must be made between the organized vocal support which is usually considered as synonymous with popular support and the underlying attitudes of the majority, but nonvocal elements, of the population. The weighting and evaluation of popular attitudes and popular pressures are exceedingly difficult. Devices for measuring public opinion, such as the Gallup Poll, have confirmed our knowledge that the actions of elected representatives are frequently in conflict with public opinion and that what passes for public opinion, put forward in the press, over the radio, in letters, pamphlets, and other propaganda devices, does not represent popular attitudes but merely expresses the point of view of those who have easy access to the instruments of communication.

We must also bear in mind that elected representatives, no matter how scrupulous they may wish to be in representing the opinion of voters, are entrusted with the functions of management in a democracy and must frequently use their own judgment on what the national welfare requires. The difficulty, however, lies not so much in the inability of the legislators to discern the trend of public attitudes, or in the responsibilities that they must assume as managers for the community, but on the fact

that organized pressures, especially from groups that have traditional prestige, are more important influences than real expressions of popular opinion. We have not yet learned how to make the views of a hundred thousand unknown individuals equal the weight of a single identifiable conservative leader who speaks for a fraction of that number. One of the perennial shortcomings of legislators is that they do not seem to know how to count. A job in the Census Bureau should be required experience for every congressman.

Another serious limitation in our programs for social action is due to the fact that we tend to diffuse rather than to concentrate our efforts. It is only on rare occasions and for relatively minor objectives that we marshal the strength of social work in behalf of a specific program. Instead we have many separate bodies and agencies and many unorganized efforts and we thereby defeat, at the outset, our attempts at social action, even those of a moderate type that could logically receive general support. Party and group discipline is alien to social work. We seem to be the true rugged individualists. We undertake programs with only a fraction of the support which might be available within our own ranks. Scarcely a day passes that we do not have a small detached group of social workers and reformers organized as a special committee, preparing a letterhead with a few selected names, and launching a movement which never extends beyond a fraction of the mailing lists secured by such laborious efforts.

Though much more effective concentration of social work effort is possible, we cannot overlook the fact that conflicts and contradictions in policy exist in various parts of the social work field. Social work, as a whole, has no general action program beyond the maintenance of the agencies and services built up by past efforts at social action. Central bodies for social work find it easier to be forums and discussion groups rather than action bodies.

No organization for social action can hope to succeed if it cannot move without unanimous consent. Progress in social welfare legislation, considering the character and extent of opposition, must for a long time to come mean action by majorities,

often by slim majorities. That is one reason why attempts to get support for social legislation have been so discouraging among social agencies, as a whole, and especially among associations of social agencies, such as local and national councils. A very small but determined minority of members or agencies can usually prevent action being taken by these bodies to whom retention of a diversified membership is a prior claim upon their established functions. The procedures of social action must differ from the techniques of community organization and of other programs for the coördination of social work. There can be no coördination in efforts for social action which does not recognize the contest between affirmative and opposing forces. Upon occasion, social agencies may be decidedly a reactionary influence, not because the majority of the members are opposed to a particular proposal, but because a determined minority threatens reprisals against the basic structure of the association. Because of this danger it may be preferable for some agencies, especially for associations of social agencies, not to engage in forms of social action. In an attempt to gain unanimous consent they may succeed only in reaching a position which is relatively reactionary and interfere or delay processes of social work action organized upon a more promising basis.

The general conclusion is that social action, to be effective, must be an organized salient within social work and that it must free itself sufficiently from the general body to engage in militant action without the impediment of carrying the entire group along with it. Obviously, a successful movement requires that we enlist as large a part of the field as we can reasonably secure without destroying the essential core of our program. Social action, large or small, depends upon popular approval, since it represents some desired action on the part of the majority in an agency or in a community.

The alternative to social action by popular will is the form of social action with which we are most familiar—social action by minorities who happen to be the powerful element in social control. This is a limited and circumscribed area which promises to become less and less satisfactory within the revolutionary

changes that are taking place in the economic and political life of every country. We see a recognition of this fact in some of the more progressive movements among social workers and of groups within the National Conference of Social Work.

The following conclusions may be offered:

1. Fundamental action in social work today is essentially political action and becomes of necessity, in our democracy, partisan political action.

2. Social action transcends the limits of social work. Therefore, it is not a service within the usual boundaries of social agencies, supporters, and contributions, though social work can put forth a salient for social action. To be effective, social action must involve democratic—that is, people's—organization, including organized labor.

3. Since social action breaks with past traditions, it must find new definitions, new structures, new techniques.

4. Social workers can easily and unconsciously be harnessed to the forces of reaction if we do not find a way of relating our conscious aims and objectives to the revolutionary changes which are transforming our economic structure from a widely diffused to a centrally dominated and integrated structure of production and distribution.

The unsolved historical problem of today is that of government. Can government assume new powers of central control without the risk of oppressing the democratic rights of individuals? Can a new synthesis of democracy and dictatorship be created to fit the world of today and of tomorrow?

GUIDEPOSTS TO SOCIAL ACTION

Sydney Maslen

EARLY IN 1941, in order further to consider methods of social action in social work, the Section on Social Action of the National Conference of Social Work reappointed for a second year a study group¹ in New York City. The group began its study this year at the point where the Conference Section on Social Action left off last year. It was felt that the question "Why should social agencies engage in social action?" was answered at Grand Rapids² in such a way as to leave little room for doubt that social action was a logical and necessary part of social work.

In order to find out how social agencies engaged in social action, the group decided to consider the aims and organization of the agency, and the methods, examples, and limitations involved in undertaking social action in agencies operating in the following fields or in allied fields of social work: (a) public welfare education; (b) social case work; (c) community organization; and (d) labor legislation. Social group work was not included because we were informed that another committee of the National Conference of Social Work was already studying social action in this field.

¹ Those who participated in the discussions were: Chairman, Sydney Maslen, Secretary, Committee on Housing, Community Service Society; Mrs. Dorothy D. Bourne; Lester B. Granger, Assistant Executive Secretary, National Urban League; Helen Hall, Director, Henry Street Settlement; Dorothy Kahn, Assistant Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers; Elsie Harper, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association; Robert P. Lane, Executive Director, Welfare Council; Harry Lurie, Executive Director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds; Louis Sobel, Federation Employment Service; Frances Taussig, Executive Director, Jewish Social Service Association; Russell H. Kurtz, Editor, *Social Work Year Book*, Russell Sage Foundation; and Philip Klein, Professor of Social Work, and John A. Fitch, Professor of Social Work, both of the New York School of Social Work. Mahlon F. Perkins acted as recorder.

² John A. Fitch, "The Nature of Social Action," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 485-97.

Four meetings of the group were spent in discussion with executives of four agencies representing the above fields or allied fields of social work. The agencies (hereafter referred to individually as *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*) were too few in number to give an adequate sampling of the fields. However, their experience is useful as an illustration of the practice of social action by social agencies.

It is interesting to note that our group showed a good deal more interest in the philosophy of the agencies toward social action than in the methods employed in making action effective. This seemed to imply that our interest in social action was derived from conviction about it and that concrete experience about social action itself was limited.

To achieve social action, the following eight factors were found useful, according to the experience of the agencies reported on. This list is not presented as a complete list of factors essential to successful social action. However, it is my belief that no matter how many more agencies had been studied, we would have found at least these eight points to be useful in achieving effective social action by social agencies: (1) leadership ability; (2) active coöperation with other agencies; (3) research; (4) policy of support of public programs; (5) educational campaigns; (6) recognition of limitations; (7) willingness not to take credit; and (8) the principle of never giving up. These factors are presented in detail in order to indicate how they were shown to be present in the work of the agencies under discussion.

1. Leadership ability includes the provision of competent personnel, with a genuine enthusiasm for the agency's objectives, and a budget. In each agency studied there was allocation of some staff time without which, it was felt, social action could not be practiced. Research and preparation of reports also required staff time. Two of the four agencies issued information bulletins for their members. The activities of local committees were under the guidance of the central organization.

Another important factor of leadership ability is a committee or board which is liberal in its point of view, informed on the issues in question, and influential in the community, perhaps interlocking with other organizations, but without vested interest which

would impede impartial consideration and taking a position on issues.

2. All the agencies worked in active coöperation with other groups to achieve objectives of social action. The importance of this was recognized by *A* agency in its selection of personnel for its local lay committees. These are mostly prestige groups deriving their status from leadership in community activities. The objective is to secure a group which will be influential in community affairs and effective in influencing public opinion. Often it may include former (not present) officeholders whose opinion is deferred to by the authorities and who exercise some political influence. Though the members are not selected to represent organizations, they frequently have connections with important civic groups.³

The *C* agency's board had not infrequently tabled proposals for action which appeared to be too far removed from the agency's objective or concerning which there appeared to be strong doubt or opposition. However, members of committees interlock with other groups and use such channels for action, and frequently individual board members' action is recommended in lieu of board action. The *C* agency, for example, at the request of some judges and the Bar Association, called together a joint committee of family service and corrective care agencies and worked to improve the quality of probation officers in the domestic relations court and to obtain a larger appropriation, which was subsequently granted.

The *D* agency, although it is autonomous in regard to action on state legislation, works closely with the American Federation of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Council. It sometimes joins with other groups in special committees to sponsor legisla-

³ One situation which the local committee straightened out is typical. In the state employment office there seemed to be a prejudice on the part of interviewers against applicants who were on relief and who were automatically classed as unplaceable. The committee called a conference to which officials, employers, and labor leaders were invited, ostensibly to discuss the possibility of retraining or rehabilitating relief recipients, but in reality to see if the applicants were actually unemployable. The participation of labor groups in this enterprise was excellent, and the result was some modification of the attitude of the employment office staff.

A further example is action by the New York public welfare committees to promote passage of legislation to eliminate the citizenship requirement from old age assistance, and legislation to liberalize aid to dependent children.

tion. This agency coöperated in 1941 on a city meat-grading bill committee. Its executive was also chairman of a joint public-private agency committee which worked out a plan for the elimination of the so-called street-corner "slave markets" for domestic workers.

3. Agency *A* used its bulletin and legislative information service as a means for imparting data on action under consideration. This data was developed through careful staff research.

The *B* agency collected data on issues such as the food stamp plan, both through its case work staff and its statistical department, and considered the results in its district and central committees.

Agency *C*, in its certificate of incorporation, states the objective of promoting a better factual basis for community planning. For example, in connection with the second Commission on the Revision of the New York City Charter, in 1937, there was a formal organization of the agency's activities. Groups set up individual and joint committees to make recommendations, and a committee was appointed to deal with all the recommendations in the name of the organization. This committee submitted memoranda to the commission and appeared at hearings. Almost all its suggestions were adopted, "since the Commission was aware of the careful sifting to which they had been subjected."

The process of study by *D* agency preceding the drafting of a bill included study of the subject by several individuals, advice from a lawyer, and discussion by subcommittee and executive board members. "There had been trouble with the hotel minimum wage law for women because there is now a tendency to bring in men at wages lower than the minimum for women. Another bill enacted to correct this situation in 1941 was vetoed by Governor Lehman because of technical errors in drafting." Both of these instances point to a definite need for more complete study before sponsoring legislation.

Analytical research without any unanimous recommendations sometimes is equivalent to social action. An illustration cited was a poll conducted by a local council of social agencies at the request of the City Planning Commission in order to get views of

various organizations in regard to the location of a proposed local housing project.

An illustration of the use of research by a housing agency was cited in connection with the problem of demolition. The committee members were opposed to this legislation because it apparently violated the due process clause. However, after the staff photographed a number of the abandoned buildings and confronted the committee with a report that included visual evidence of the social menace, the legislation received approval and was subsequently passed by the legislature.

4. A close working relationship with the public agency is usually established by the private agency. Before the formation of a local lay committee by the *A* agency, the responsible state and local officials are consulted. After agreement to the plan has been secured, the committee members are appointed by the Association "so that they will be free to support or criticise the administration . . . local public officials are usually designated as non-voting ex officio members, attending all regular meetings and executive sessions by invitation." In a controversy between the county commissioner, the board of supervisors, and the state department of welfare a local committee might side with one or two against the others, but opposition to all three public agencies would be unlikely, both because it would probably be unsuccessful and because it might be considered as opposition to public administration of welfare.

The *B* agency maintains a close relationship with the public agencies. It aided the public agency at budget hearings or whenever it was in trouble. If the agency's staff disagreed with administrative proposals, no public fuss was made, but private suggestions were offered. In the family service department there were special coöperation committees. Members of district welfare offices were also members of family service district committees.

It was brought out that councils of agencies were not necessarily prevented from taking action by having public agencies as members. These are, when necessary, recorded as nonvoting on legislation so that a council may act in regard to any public department.

5. *A* agency influenced legislation for public welfare by education; first, through its legislative information bulletin, issued weekly during the legislative session; and second, through interpreting the local effects of proposed legislation. The agency's family service committee, after study, endorsed the need for more facilities in the domestic relations court, and testified at public hearings. The *B* agency also carried certain amounts of educational and informational material on large issues or programs in its monthly bulletin which is sent to all board and committee members as well as to its selected contributors. The backing of other agencies was obtained through interlocking committee membership.

The *C* agency did not initiate or advocate legislation as a rule, nor undertake educational campaigns, but it could do so and has on occasion. It serves as a clearinghouse to pool the views of member agencies and in this way lends support or opposes legislative measures.

The *D* agency has been a militant organization. Its women were among the first to take part in Labor Day marches and other demonstrations. Its members spoke on street corners and helped to picket at a time when there were great obstacles to organizing women workers. Bills are supported through letters to legislators and appearances at public hearings.

The *D* agency holds regular membership meetings once a month, and one or two of these each winter are devoted to legislation. In addition, the monthly bulletin mentions important legislation during the session. It has no legislative representative but is represented at the state legislature by the State Federation of Labor.

To correct the present threats to labor and its freedom to strike, the agency has undertaken an educational campaign. The present situation is discussed in its classes, in its bulletin, and at its meetings. While this is a problem for the established labor organizations to meet, its students can help in many ways as leaders in their unions.

6. The limitations within which the agencies worked were discernible and apparently were accepted as a characteristic of social

action undertaken by a social agency. Though the *A* agency had a long-range program which considered both administrative and legislative measures, there had been no effort to secure approval of the program in its entirety by the local groups. The coöperation of these groups, however, in securing legislative action consistent with the long-range program had been sought. The question was raised whether the local lay committees limited themselves to advocating efficiency and organization of public welfare rather than the redefinition or extension of the public welfare program. While this question was answered "yes," it was believed that to the community at large, many of the objectives of the local committees seemed radical.

The agency limited its action to the public welfare program and within the areas where it was prepared to give leadership. The central office would not encourage a local group to interest itself in a problem on which the staff could not give competent guidance or on which local action would not be effective, for example, social insurance. The board of the agency probably would be concerned if the local committees strayed too far from the objectives of the central organization. Social action through this instrumentality, it may be noted, clearly must be limited to an acceptable field.

The board of the *B* agency has been conservative in endorsing legislation; it has preferred to endorse objectives rather than bills since endorsement of specific legislation has sometimes brought it into difficulties. On divisive matters (such as the question of social agency inclusion under unemployment security) the board usually tables, without active approval or disapproval, those questions which seem too far removed from its "area of competence" or upon which there exists some substantial doubt or disagreement even though in minority. Action on the food stamp plan, which the board felt was experimental, was tabled. This means that there is a possibility of reopening the question, but in practice an early reopening is difficult to obtain.

Two other agencies avoided action where the consequences of taking it might have seriously weakened the agency. The *D* agency had not acted on the present C.I.O.-A.F. of L. controversy. It

"somehow manages to keep out of trouble so as to enable it really to get things done." It has attempted to keep away from inter-union controversy, but it is for trade unions rather than their opponents. The agency regards itself as a unifying force in the labor movement and feels that the present conflict in the trade union movement hampers many of the agency's activities. This is regretted because "there are still plenty of battles to be waged against common enemies."

7. It was brought out that private organizations frequently let the public agency take the credit. The private agency was primarily interested in accomplishing the reform, and could afford to let the public agency get the public approval for the reform. Letting others take the credit is a persuasive means of gaining approval from certain quarters, such as politically motivated groups.

8. Successful achievement of social action is sometimes the culmination of efforts of an organization over a period of years. One illustration of this was the effort of the *D* agency for the past four years to secure passage of bills for domestic workers providing for a sixty-hour week, inclusion under the present minimum wage law, and inclusion under the workmen's compensation law. Other illustrations of this principle are the work of organizations such as the National Child Labor Committee, the League of Nations Association, and the city planning and housing movement.

The following is a summary of the factors which were found effective in this study of social action as practiced by New York City agencies in the fields of public welfare legislation, social case work, community organization, and labor legislation:

1. Leadership ability
 - Provision of specialized personnel and budget to keep things moving
 - Selection of a committee or board that is impartial and influential
2. Active coöperation with other agencies
 - Connections with other organizations to facilitate team work
3. Research
 - Preparation of a factual basis, preceding action
 - Analytical research, which may be equivalent to action
4. Policy of support of public programs

Working relationship to public agencies, usually established by social agencies

Public agency membership no bar to action by councils of agencies

5. Educational campaigns

Information bulletin

Legislative reports

Letters sent to legislators expressing support or opposition of proposed measures

Interpretation of the local effects of proposed legislation

6. Recognition of limitations

Avoidance of action in areas where agency is not prepared to give leadership

Expansion of agency leadership to areas where action is needed

Avoidance of action toward unattainable ends

Avoid scattering of energies on too diverse objectives

Avoidance of action that seriously divides agency; adapting agency to action needed

7. Willingness not to take credit

8. The principle of never giving up

Possibility of years being required to achieve action

Long-range goals realized as opportunity affords

An important point that was omitted in the discussion of the group was consideration of the means of social action. It seemed as though a marked emphasis on social action had, in fact, little place in our day-to-day work, and we did not get past discussing the point of preparing to begin social action and how an agency decisively makes up its own mind on an issue.

Further study should be given to considering the means of achieving specific social action objectives. One topic that needs discussion is the technique of lobbying for social legislation: how to select the introducer of a bill in the legislature; how legislators regard unofficial committees; how to bolster a legislator's interest in a bill; how to use the bill-drafting commission; getting newspaper stories and publicity; use of radio time; when to approach committee chairmen in the legislature; how to use influential people in support of legislation; answering arguments leveled against a bill; "watching the bill on the floor"; preparation of reports on bills for legislators; how to nullify opposition; use of letters to leg-

islaters; getting the ear of the majority and minority leaders; when to see the Governor.

It has been suggested that it would be interesting for case workers to discuss whether social action is related to social case work.

I do not believe that any useful purpose is served by our discussing whether social agencies can or cannot engage in social action. I believe that social agencies serve a useful purpose of building up majority support for social movements, even if they may not be the first prophets of change. It seems to me that in order to move along in our thinking we must accept as basic the assumption that social agencies can engage in social action and that we should direct our efforts toward making that action more effective.

For the above reasons I therefore propose that the local study groups be voted by the Conference's Section on Social Action to continue study of social action in social work; and that more attention in the local study groups be given to: (a) consideration of specific techniques for social action and lobbying for social legislation; (b) study of organization of special departments in social agencies devoted to improvement of social conditions through a program of research and social action appropriate to the function and scope of the individual agency; and (c) study of ways to liberalize the boards of agencies so that they and their staffs may share in their thinking and action on constructive social measures.

SOCIAL ACTION ON THE LEGISLATIVE FRONT

Abbot Low Moffat

SOcial WELFARE, which involves the relationship between government and individuals in the fields of public health, protection of labor, and social security, to mention but the major phases, naturally is dependent in large part upon the enactment of legislation.

It seems to me important that there should be a true understanding of the function of a legislative body. Many people appear to believe that legislators gather in a capital city and there, drawing on their combined wisdom, draft legislation and determine what the policies of the government shall be. Legislatures all too frequently are looked upon as the source of government policies. Nothing, however, could be further from the actual facts. A legislature is in reality a judicial body to which the people, who are the source of government policies, turn when they want a change in the rules governing society. A group of individuals, whether it be those interested in social welfare, education, or taxation, may be dissatisfied with the existing government policies. They want to change them for their own benefit or because they believe that it will improve public conditions. They go to the legislature, composed of representatives of the people, and ask for the change they seek. Those who do not desire the change come before the legislature to oppose it, and the legislature, formally or informally hears the arguments, listens to the discussion, and finally, in a judicial capacity, reaches a conclusion as to what should be done. This is the essence of the American democratic system of representative government.

It is a slow and cumbersome process in many respects and, naturally, the results are not always, human nature being what it is, satisfactory. The process seems particularly slow, of course, to those

who are seeking a change in some long-established policy. They present arguments with clear logic and reasoning on their behalf. The opposition appears to be merely old-fashioned standpattism, opposing change simply because it is change. Sometimes years pass before some reform, the merit of which is so clear to its supporters, is finally accepted and becomes the rule of society sanctioned by the legislature. But even this delay, irritating and stupid as it frequently is, is not without its great value in the democratic process.

In the first place, the burden of proof for a change rests upon those who desire the change. If it is a basic matter, the burden of proof must be not merely in logic, but also in the support of public opinion brought behind the proposal. Obviously, a legislative tribunal does not and should not reach its decisions solely on the basis of majority opinion. If this were so, then some basic reform on which public opinion is really divided would be brought about if perhaps only 51 percent wanted the change and 49 percent were opposed. The result of such a decision in some matter of vital social importance where public opinion is so divided would be extremely unfortunate in its social consequences. What actually happens is that a small but determined minority seeks a change. Legislatures, which do reflect public opinion far more than people realize, prefer to maintain the existing *status quo*. Meanwhile, during the campaign which is waged to bring about the change, three things happen.

First, the legislation which is first proposed to bring about the reform is subjected to several years' close public scrutiny, and many of the rough corners included in the first proposal are polished and smoothed so that when finally enacted the legislation is in far more workable form from the point of view of practical administration or its conflict with other policies than was the original proposal. In the second place, the public has been educated to see the desirable aspect of the proposal which was strange—probably dubbed radical—when first presented. There is, therefore, an ever increasing support for the suggestion, and when finally enacted it is favored by a large majority of the people. In the third place, those who still are bitter-enders in their opposition have

had the opportunity of adjusting themselves to the fact that this proposal which they opposed will actually become the law of the land.

The waiting period which nearly every legislative body, because of public inertia, compels each new reform to pass through serves, therefore, as a trial ground in which public opinion becomes familiarized with the proposal. Furthermore, the social and economic adjustments which the reform would require, and which might be catastrophic if the reform were suddenly imposed, are worked out during this period, and what was radical at its inception is quietly accepted when finally it is placed on the statute books. I hardly need to refer to the value that legislative delay furnishes in permitting the public to winnow the wheat from the chaff and reject many proposals which at first may seem pleasing but which, on further scrutiny, the great majority of the public decides that it does not want. My first comment, therefore, to those seeking the enactment of important new legislation is that they should not be discouraged because the reform which seems so clearly necessary to them is not adopted out of hand by the legislature, and they are put to the task of selling the proposal to the great majority of their fellow Americans, because this task is one of the essentials of sound democracy.

Naturally, affairs do not always move in accordance with the pleasant clockwork procedure which I have outlined. Frequently, for any number of reasons, a legislative body is biased in its decisions. Generally, legislative bodies are so conservative that the time lag is unreasonable, and the legislature has, in effect, lost touch with the public. The result then is social or economic injustice, which leads to revolution. We in this country do not indulge in revolution by force of arms, but we have revolutions, none the less, wherein, when a legislative body fails to keep pace with the people it represents, the force of public opinion strengthens the hands of the executive so that he becomes the representative of the people and wields more and more power until the legislature suddenly capitulates, and then frequently goes to the other extreme of passing legislation without the tempering period which is so desirable, and social and economic equilibrium is

again upset. It is well to have this fundamental background in mind at all times when considering ways and means of enacting social welfare proposals.

Now, what is the technique of securing the enactment of legislation? Right at the beginning, of course, one must differentiate between major and minor changes in the rules of society. The technique which applies to securing some basic reform is, of course, unnecessary in securing more or less important changes or improvements in policies that have already been given legislative sanction. With regard to these last, and they naturally make up the great bulk of legislation because really fundamental new policies are presented with comparative infrequency to the public and the legislature, the first source of influence is the administrative official. Of course, government is only as good as its personnel; but given, as is certainly the rule rather than the exception, honest and reasonably competent officials, their opinion as to changes in the laws which they administer is of paramount importance. Legislators, particularly state legislators, are generally not conversant with the details of government, and they look to the man charged with the administration of a law for guidance. If he urges that this or that change be made and furnishes a reasonable reason therefor, his opinion is usually sufficient to secure its enactment by the legislature.

Next to the official is the quiet, expert lobbyist, who can sit down with the administrative official and coöperate with him and with the key legislators and discuss intelligently and authoritatively the problem involved and the changes proposed. Before going further, let me say a word for that much-maligned group known as the "lobbyists." Of course, there are crooked lobbyists, just as there are crooked politicians, crooked businessmen, crooked professional men. But the honest lobbyist—and the great majority are honest—is an essential element in our democratic system of government. He is the attorney, as it were, of the group urging a change in the rules. He presents to the legislature the facts as this group views them and the arguments for the change. The lobbyist who represents the groups opposed presents the facts as that group sees them and their arguments against the change. It is from the

administrative officials and from the lobbyists that the legislatures secure the detailed information and learn the arguments on which, in the great majority of cases, they finally base their decisions. Without the lobbyists or, to avoid a term which has unfortunately become opprobrious, the legislative representatives, a legislature would have no knowledge of many of the intricate problems on which it is asked to pass. There is no more useful member of democratic society than the honest, conscientious, and intelligent legislative representative who goes to a state capitol or to Washington and endeavors to educate the legislators on the problems on which legislation is sought. It would amaze many people not familiar with legislative practice to realize the influence possessed by this type of representative whose honesty, knowledge, and intelligence have been tested and proven. The value of this type of individual increases with each year of his service, as he and the legislators with whom he has contacts meet, understand the other's point of view and problems, and develop an increasing mutual respect and confidence.

For the ordinary worth-while changes, to which generally there is not much opposition other than inertia and lack of knowledge, these two sources are all that is needed to furnish the legislature with information. Where, however, either the changes sought are for the particular benefit of the group seeking the change, the real pressure group, or where the change sought produces opposition from some other element of society which would be injured thereby, then the technique of securing a favorable decision from the legislative tribunal is founded on a different theory—and the fundamental theory here is publicity. This is for two reasons: either the publicity is primarily for the purpose of educating the public so that the vast majority of people will be in favor of a reform, or the publicity is for its effect on the individual member, since the lifeblood of political success flows through the channels of publicity, without which no person in our form of government can rise high in elective office.

In seeking publicity probably the most potent procedure is to secure, if possible, a public message from the chief executive to the legislature. The President, or a governor, in his official mes-

sages and utterances, always commands publicity. It is easy for the public to follow the argument presented by a single executive, whereas it is exceedingly difficult to understand the conflicting comments made by a collective body of several hundred individuals. Furthermore, legislative debates, except on matters of transcendental importance, are seldom looked upon as news and, therefore, the legislative point of view, if it is in conflict with the executive, seldom reaches the public. Leaving aside altogether the political value of having a chief executive publicly support a proposal so that his followers in the legislature will back him, the publicity value thereof is of paramount importance.

Newspaper publicity of all sorts and supporting editorial comment are of great value, although I believe that the importance of editorial comment varies considerably between rural and urban areas and possibly between different sections of the country. Unfortunately, all too frequently editorial comment on issues which are not of paramount importance is misleading to the public even though none the less effective. It happens too often that some interested group sells a "bill of goods" to an editor who adopts an editorial policy without ascertaining the true facts. Unwilling to retreat, he often carries on a campaign which, consciously or unconsciously, is founded on false premises.

The appointment of legislative committees to study problems is a time-honored legislative custom which, unfortunately, has all too frequently been abused so that the committees are at times merely political junkets. Just as the lobbyists have come into disrepute, so legislative committees are frequently scorned. A legislative committee can, however, if it is conscientiously run, prove a most valuable sounding board before which to present views and secure public attention.

The responsibility of organizations seeking social or other reforms is much greater than many people realize. A state legislature, unlike Congress, is in session for a short few months only, and its committees do not sit throughout the year studying and formulating legislation. State legislatures receive proposed legislation already drafted by organizations or prepared by some individual or bill-drafting commission. There is no real opportunity

for a state legislative committee to study the details of legislation, and most members are not interested in such matters. The basic principle is sound or unsound, in their opinion, or the purpose sought is all right, but the bill has a practical defect in it and is therefore rejected. One reason which accounts for some of the delays in legislative enactment of proposed reforms is that the organizations sponsoring these changes and preparing the legislation either have paid too little attention to detail or are unwilling to make the minor changes which would bring about legislative approval. At the same time, they have the reverse responsibility that in many states, once the basic purpose has been approved, the bill may be passed with little or no scrutiny of the details. Here again, the importance of thorough work in the preparation of the legislation—and bill drafting is a legal art in its own right—is a responsibility which the organization sponsoring legislation must not overlook.

Committee hearings held before standing committees of the legislature, at which the proponents and opponents of a particular bill or series of bills appear and argue, have, in my personal opinion, very little influence on the final enactment or defeat of legislation. Indeed, most of them, from the point of view of the legislature, are a complete waste of time and effort. I am discussing here, of course, state legislatures as opposed to the congressional hearings where the committee itself formulates the legislation. Occasionally, on some bill which has many technical aspects, or on which there is not much public clamor or pressure group support, a hearing may produce valuable information and demonstrate the need of amendments which can be formulated to make the bill acceptable. The ordinary public hearing, however, at least as I have seen it in New York State, is only a means of securing publicity in the newspapers, and from that point of view only, it has value.

Frequently, the legislature is deluged with petitions, hundreds of individuals signing sheets of paper that they favor or oppose some proposed legislation. Such petitions are not worth the paper on which they are written from the point of view of their in-

fluence on legislators. Their only value is possibly to furnish a "sucker" list which may be of use in some subsequent campaign.

The most usual type of pressure which is exerted on a legislature is the letter. There are several varieties of this. One is the printed post card or the form letter, mimeographed or printed and with someone's signature, and possibly an address, scribbled on the bottom. Sometimes it may be the form telegrams which Western Union and Postal Telegraph furnish at nominal rates. These communications carry comparatively little weight, except in one respect. In the first place, many of the signatures are faked and, in the second place, because the signer of that type of communication generally knows nothing about what he is supporting and has signed only because someone else has asked him to sign or has ordered him to do so. The only time that this type of communication seems to carry weight is when it can be turned on or off, as one turns on or off a tap of water, and thus demonstrate that the organization which has ordered the letters to be sent really can control its members to an astonishing degree and, therefore, presumably can make them into an effective political weapon for or against those who obey or disobey their demands. In New York State the only groups which today attempt this type of pressure on a large scale are the New York City teacher organizations and allied groups. Whether or not the teachers themselves, when it comes to voting, follow instructions with the same blind obedience that they do in the mailing of letters and post cards and the sending of telegrams, I do not know. I do know that—what is of equal consequence—many of the members of the legislature believe that they do and are influenced thereby.

Aside from general publicity and the pressure which it places on the members of a legislature and the personal conversations of the lobbyists with the members, the most effective procedure employed seems to be the personal letter. These personal letters, however, again fall into different categories and their effectiveness varies thereby. Longhand form letters are soon recognized as such and do not carry much more weight than printed form letters. Letters which show clearly that they are written only at somebody else's request and that the writer obviously knows

nothing about the subject of his letter also are very frequent and carry but little weight. What really counts is a personal letter by a constituent to the representative from his district. A number of letters such as this have a definite influence on the legislator who represents that district and who will be seeking re-election in that district. Personal letters to the chairman of a committee to which legislation has been referred, and to the members of that committee who will have to vote for or against reporting the bill to the house, also are important, although not so much, in my opinion, as letters to a member from his constituents. If a member is sufficiently impressed by the demand from his own district, he himself will seek out the committee members to secure, if possible, a favorable report of the bill, whereas the chairman and committee members are inclined to pay less attention to letters from districts from which they are not elected. One type of letter which is very common and which strikes me as particularly futile is the letter addressed to the sponsor of a bill, urging him to support that bill. If the assault is being made by way of the individual legislator, I repeat, the letters and the conversations should come to the members from their own constituents. If enough members are persuaded that they must support such legislation because of demands in their own districts, the leaders will not fly in the face of such demand.

Letters alone, however, even when accompanied with a good deal of publicity, are not apt to be effective in a really controversial matter unless coupled with pressure on those who carry particular influence either with the members or with the leaders. In rural areas it seems particularly effective to persuade the board of supervisors of a county, and in cities the governing body of the city, to pass resolutions urging the representatives from that locality to support or to oppose legislation. In every legislative body there are, of course, key men who carry particular influence, and their support or opposition may well control the destiny of a proposal. Last but not least, there is, of course, the political angle which is found wherever there is a two-party system. If the political leaders of a party—whether in office or out of office—can be persuaded that it is sound politics to pass or defeat certain

legislation, their influence can be of decisive importance if they dominate or care to exercise control of legislative policies.

These various methods of influencing legislation may seem quite diverse and some of them, certainly, pretty indirect. To those who would appeal to cold logic and reason, many of them may seem pointless and unsound. Yet they all have the same fundamental basis. They are designed to persuade this tribunal known as the legislature that the people should have a change in the rules governing society and that this change is wanted by a preponderant majority of those interested in that aspect of government. They are all, even the political approach, sound manifestations of the democratic system of representative government functioning actively and healthily. There are times when the advocates of change, and the opponents of change, may become discouraged because reform takes too long or because it marches on too fast, and they may sigh for a single executive who will do away with all this delay in bringing about reform or who will keep this radicalism from being pushed down their throats and who will, by executive order, act—they hope—the way they would act if they were such a dictator. But that can be only a fleeting thought. The American people still enjoy liberty in a world of dictators. The cornerstone of that liberty is, for all its occasional shortcomings and cumbersomeness, our democratic system of representative government.

CHANGING THE PROGRAM OF A PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCY

Eunice Minton

THE FIRST DEPARTMENT of the Florida State Welfare Board was created in 1935, but it could not be termed a product of public understanding, as was evidenced by the lack of any state funds appropriated for the department. The Florida plan of organization is on a district basis. The state board is an administrative board and there are twelve district boards which operate under its direction. From its beginning to July, 1937, the state department operated on practically a private agency basis, with few earmarks of a public agency. There were no funds for assistance, administrative funds were given by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and there was little or no interest on the part of state officials. The agency placed its major emphasis upon the development of public understanding and in trying to perfect its organization. During this time money was secured from each county in the state in order to form a state fund for the beginning of old age assistance. Here the staff had its first concentrated experience in public interpretation.

I wish to emphasize this beginning period because it was at this time that the staff began to develop its enthusiasm for and interest in interpretation. The agency was fortunate in having a commissioner who combined newspaper experience with social work training, and he set an excellent pace for the Florida staff in the development of public understanding. In July, 1937, the legislature passed another welfare act, which was like the previous act, except in the appointment of the commissioner. Subsequent to the passage of this act, a new State Board and a new commissioner were appointed. This commissioner also was a newspaperman and fully realized the value of public understanding and the

staff's responsibility for its development. The legislature had appropriated what appeared to be a fairly adequate amount of money for the aged and blind, but there had been a drawn battle over the appropriation for dependent children. Finally, as a compromise, \$400,000 was appropriated from the general fund. This was recognized as worse than a compromise, since there was no money in the general fund. At this time the interest of the American Legion and Parent-Teacher Association groups was effective in influencing this appropriation for aid to dependent children. Later, funds were made available, and the program was started in the latter part of 1938. In the 1939 legislature no change was made in the appropriation, since conflict over a sales tax resulted in an impasse.

In order to have an adequate understanding of the forces at work in the state of Florida, one must know that the state has a fairly high percentage of aged persons and that many of these persons have organized themselves into pension clubs. Since 1935 these clubs have been very active in the promotion of legislation for the benefit of the aged. These groups have been known to elect public officials or bring about their defeat, and naturally the average public official is cognizant of their interests. It has become increasingly obvious that the state department and other interested groups would have to take the initiative in furthering public understanding of the needs of children if the needs of the aged were not to receive continued preference.

With this background, I shall discuss the department's plan for public interpretation regarding the need of additional funds for dependent children during the period November, 1940, to May, 1941. Knowing that the legislature would meet in April, 1941, it was decided that definite plans for developing public understanding should be evolved throughout the state. One principle that was kept uppermost in mind during all the planning was that the interpretation should be done by local groups whenever possible; and that the state staff would furnish the initiative and the continuing impetus and would give whatever other assistance the local groups might call for.

In a discussion of the need for public interpretation with some

of the district board members, the suggestion came from a district board chairman that we have a state-wide meeting in order to present the needs of dependent children. This meeting was to serve as the beginning of the interpretation program. The suggestion was endorsed by the state board and immediately an advisory committee was drawn in, composed of the state Parent-Teacher Association president, a representative from the American Legion Child Welfare Committee, and the chairman of the local welfare board. It was agreed by the advisory committee that the emphasis of this meeting should be on the need for parity in the appropriations for the public assistance programs. The Governor and all the legislators were invited to the meeting, as were the boards and staffs of other agencies, the board members and directors of the twelve district welfare boards, and the members of the Parent-Teacher Association and the American Legion. A study was made by the agency to determine the need that existed for increased funds. Since it was known that the pending applications would not accurately reflect that need, further information was obtained from the Works Projects Administration, from other social agencies, and from the county commissioners. On the basis of this information, it was possible to estimate the number of children who would be eligible for aid under an adequate program. Studies were made concerning the health problems of families receiving aid for dependent children and the benefits derived from that aid in improved health, in more regular school attendance, and in a generally improved family life.

The material obtained through these studies was prominently displayed at the meeting in charts and posters. Speeches on the needs of aid for dependent children were given by the president of the state Parent-Teacher Association, by a member of the Child Welfare Committee of the American Legion, by a legislator (who later became Speaker of the House of Representatives), by the commissioner, and by a district board chairman. All these speakers emphasized the need for funds and stressed the responsibility of those present to awaken the public to the need. The luncheon speaker was Miss Jane Hoey, from the Social Security Board, who gave a picture of the national problems in relation

to aid to dependent children. This meeting was the first of its kind that had been held in the state and was considered successful in stimulating the interests of those present.

After the luncheon the district and state board members and staff met to discuss detailed plans for an interpretation program. The responsibility for educating the people in the individual districts was emphasized as resting with each district board and staff, and the district directors and board chairmen were asked to discuss plans with their boards and to send their suggestions to the state department. The interest and enthusiasm of the district board members and staffs were remarkable. Very shortly the state department began to receive plans and suggestions from the local boards. These plans were reviewed, and suggestions from the state department were sent to the district boards. Excerpts from the minutes of the district board meetings concerning interpretation activities were mimeographed and round-robinized to the various boards. This served as a stimulus to the boards, providing them with information of other boards' activities and their results.

The informational representative in the state office was active in providing the boards and staffs with requested information. A portfolio of general information, speeches, etc., which the local areas were to adapt to their particular needs was made available. The informational representative also prepared newspaper releases which could be adapted to the situation in each county. The public assistance field representatives were helpful in planning with the district directors and their boards an interpretative program which was suitable for their area. Through them the state department was kept currently informed of the districts' plans and activities.

The plans evolved by the districts were as varied as had been expected. In several districts the boards decided to invite the legislators to meet with them so that the legislators might see how the district boards operated and what their problems were, and so that they might discuss the needs of the program for aid to dependent children. Very good results were reported by the districts using this method. One district decided that it would be

better for each board member to discuss the needs of the children with individual persons in his community. The board members felt that this would be more effective than having a meeting in each county, since, as they stated, only people who were already interested would come to the meeting. It was agreed by this board that each board member would discuss the program and its needs with fifty different individuals in his county. These were to be persons who were representative of the county and who needed a better understanding of the program.

In another district the board decided that each board member, with the district director, would visit each legislator and other key citizens to discuss the agency in general, but with particular emphasis upon the needs of the children. This board also had prepared a file of the names and addresses of all the key persons in each community. This file contained the names of officers of all the civic and social groups, and letters were sent to them concerning the agency's program and aid to dependent children. These groups were asked to write their legislators, expressing their interest in the children's program. One legislator received so many letters that he requested the district board member to "let up" on his attack.

In still another district the board decided that its interpretation should be done through the Council of Social Agencies. The council assumed this responsibility, setting up an advisory council and speakers' bureau. Through this council speeches were made to thirty groups in this one county. Other councils of social agencies and related social work groups were utilized in the program of interpretation. One council invited the commissioner and the director of public assistance to meet with the council to discuss the needs of aid to dependent children and subsequently approved this as one of its major objectives on the legislative program. Another council, through the initiative of the local district director, endorsed the program and assumed the leadership in sponsoring an interpretation program in its community.

The Florida Legislative Council, which grew out of the State Conference of Social Work to sponsor social legislation, also assumed a real role during this time. The Legislative Council

had a state-wide meeting at which time the aid to dependent children program was placed on its "must" list.

Full acknowledgment should be given to the value and the impact on public understanding of the White House Conference meetings which were held in our state. The commissioner and the director of public assistance were members of the state Executive Committee and assisted in planning the meetings. The state staff was particularly interested in furthering and participating in the White House Conference meetings, since the content of the White House Conference surrounded the needs of children, devoting one section to the economic needs of children with emphasis on aid to dependent children. Therefore these meetings provided an excellent medium for the presentation of national material and state and local information. The state was divided into nine regions and a meeting planned for each region. These meetings were all held within a two-weeks' period with an attendance of over three thousand persons. Again the Parent-Teacher Association and the American Legion were of tremendous value in helping to plan the meetings and in stimulating attendance. In every region, all over the state, a staff member had a part in planning the program and in the collection of local material for discussion. In each meeting there was an opportunity to present the state and local situation in relation to aid to dependent children. The commissioner or the director of public assistance spoke at all nine meetings, giving particular emphasis to the dependent children program, and the state department distributed material concerning the children's needs at every meeting. The White House Conference provided an excellent opportunity, not only to discuss the need for additional funds, but also to discuss the need of staffs adequate in number and equipment to serve this children's program.

The interest exhibited in the nine regional meetings was so great that subsequently many of the individual counties had "little" White House Conference meetings. The state department had urged that these meetings be handled locally if possible, and that all information be secured locally rather than through the state staff. A self-analysis questionnaire was drawn up by the state

department and sent to all the counties with the suggestion that each county make its own survey of what was happening to its children. In many of the counties interested persons have expressed a desire to continue these meetings and to form a permanent council on children's needs.

I asked the district directors to compile reports on the activities of their staffs and boards in regard to interpretation in the aid to dependent children program. These reports were exciting and illuminating. The compilation indicates that over two hundred meetings have been held with various groups at which a staff member or board member discussed the needs of children. These meetings were usually sponsored by the Parent-Teacher Association, the American Legion, a church, or one of the civic groups, and all organizations were asked to have one or two official delegates in attendance. The districts reported that unusual enthusiasm was evidenced at each of these meetings. In one community a clubwoman became so excited that she suggested that we have a parade of the needy children in order to dramatize their situation. Fortunately, this energy was quickly redirected.

The newspapers were effective in assisting in the development of the meetings and in adequately reporting them. Several excellent editorials grew out of this local activity.

In these meetings statistical material and case stories illustrating the value of the aid to dependent children program were used. Some districts reported the use of "planted" questions in order to stimulate discussion. The use of allied organizations and other groups in the interpretation of the program was outstanding. In one area the American Association of University Women took the responsibility of interesting other groups. In another community a group of Methodist women became the nucleus of interpretation and enlisted all the Methodist circles in the community. It was also reported that approximately 5,992 letters had been written by board members and other interested citizens in an attempt to make known the needs of the children.

Perhaps the most important factor in the interpretation program was the participation of the agency's visitors in the individual counties. All districts reported great interest and concern

on the part of the total staff in fulfilling its responsibility for adequate education and understanding. The district directors feel that this definite plan of interpretation crystallized in the visitors' minds a realization that public interpretation is really their job and that it is most effectively accomplished through the service which the visitor gives in the community. The visitors found thousands of opportunities for interpretation which they had previously thought of as complaints, or political interferences.

Now that we have had this planned activity and aroused concern regarding our responsibility for the development of public understanding, it is difficult to appraise the results. Perhaps the full value cannot be gauged accurately. We cannot appraise it now in relation to its immediate objective—that of securing additional funds in this legislature for aid to dependent children—because the legislature is still in session and it is not yet known what action will be taken. However, it is being reported that all the legislators know what the program is, and they know that there is a need for additional funds. The state is faced with a difficult financial problem in that laws providing two sources of revenue have been repealed and additional sources must be found to replace them. Also, Florida is being called upon to share heavily in defense costs, in the building of roads, etc., because of its many defense projects. The interest of the administration is upon economy so that the defense needs can be met. However, the Governor has recommended doubling the appropriation for aid to dependent children and bills are being considered which would provide more than this for the children. Local groups have made their interest known to the legislators, and observers report that there is a much better understanding of the agency and particularly of the needs of dependent children.

Our program of interpretation has been of real value, not only in relation to the children's needs, but to the agency in its total job. It has provided an opportunity to discuss with local citizens the responsibilities of the boards and staffs. It has put the boards and staffs before the public, and the public before the boards and staffs. The intangible values which will accrue from this coming together cannot be overestimated. The many by-products of this

program of interpretation will perhaps be far reaching. The use of other social work agencies, allied groups, civic groups, church groups, etc., has brought together a large group of persons of similar interests with similar concerns for children. The districts report greater consciousness in the community of services which are available through the agency. The staff has been called upon to give more types of services than ever before, because of the development of increased confidence in the agency. Civic and church groups have offered to assist in any way possible by providing money for medical care, clothing, etc. This program of interpretation has stirred the human impulses to a point at which they desire immediate expression.

Another by-product has been the value to the board members. They have assumed responsibility, they have interpreted the agency, they have answered questions regarding the work, they have secured information on points that have probably concerned them before. In taking the initiative in interpretation they have gained a knowledge of the agency and have developed confidence in the purpose of the agency and in the integrity of the staff and, of greater value, they have realized that they are essential to the development of the whole welfare program.

The third and a very important by-product is the value to the staff. It has put the staff in tune with local people and local problems. It has developed good morale and drawn the staff together in a oneness of purpose. It has made them feel that they are a vital part in the total development of the agency.

Perhaps the most innervating by-product of our program of interpretation has been the rekindling of the realization that public welfare, as well as private, stems from human impulses and that people are essentially interested and concerned about each other if they only know. Again the responsibility of the social worker in regard to interpretation and education looms large with all its seriousness, and yet this responsibility is full of real gratification when, in discharging it, it is possible to see the interest and concern of the average citizen coming to light and to action.

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN AGENCY-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Mary Clarke Burnett

SOCIAL CASE WORKERS have been at some pains to study and define their role in relation to clients and have built a concept of professional practice upon the definition. Group workers, somewhat more belatedly, are concerned to discover the part that they play in relation to the development and leadership of groups and so arrive at a basis for distinguishing their professional practice from that carried on in related fields such as progressive education. The concept of professional social work practice, whether focused upon individual problems or upon group relationships, is still in the process of evolution and is not yet identifiable in the community in the same way that professional practice in nursing, teaching, law, and medicine can be identified. Nevertheless, among social workers themselves there is a growing acceptance of a standard of professional performance which implies the acquisition of knowledge, discipline, and skill and which results in a modification of the native kindly impulses of the worker so as to produce results which would be otherwise unobtainable or would be an accidental instead of a deliberate achievement.

It is of the nature of social work, however, that its practitioners cannot limit their concern to their clients. Today social work is not carried on as an independent practice compensated on a fee basis by those who receive it. Social workers may be needed by such institutions as the schools and the courts to facilitate the operation of their own programs, but in general they are employed by social agencies, and social agencies owe their support, whether received through taxation or the subscription of private funds, to persons who, in large measure, do not expect to receive direct

benefits from these services. Such persons must be sufficiently convinced of the soundness of the agency's program to be willing to see it continued, and the standards of professional performance which the agency can achieve ultimately depend upon the degree to which they are understood and appreciated by those who furnish the support, as well as by those who receive the benefits. There is plenty of testimony to the effect that social workers who deal successfully with clients are not always so successful in establishing relationships with those in the community who represent the supporting group. Mrs. Helen Cody Baker in her article "A Word to the Wise"¹ has commented upon this failure and cites impressive evidence to support the contention that many case workers do, in fact, use an approach to the "taxpayer or contributor who pays the bills" which is the exact opposite of that which they advocate in establishing a relationship with a client. Referring to a situation in which members of a chapter of the American Association of Social Workers met with the representative of a committee of businessmen appointed by the governor to suggest improvements in the local public relief administration, she says:

We set him right about our superior education, our training, our confidential relationship to "our" clients. All this may have been highly useful information for him to have, but I doubt if it built a successful personal relationship. You don't begin successful personal relationships by telling people how smart you are, and social workers know this better than anybody. They never begin that way with clients.

The laments so frequently uttered over the inability of able social workers to relate themselves successfully to the citizens of rural communities is further evidence in point. That the failure is not inevitable could be proved by the citation of cases where it has not occurred, but we would still lack the ability to discern the reasons for the failures and so find a logical procedure for preventing them.

It may be pertinent, therefore, to attempt some analysis of the role of the social worker in agency-community relationships in

¹ *Survey Midmonthly*, LXXVI (December, 1940), 354-56.

the hope that such inquiry may reveal the basis for professional performance in this, as in the worker-client relationship.

It seems unreasonable at the outset to assume that an entirely different type of equipment is required to establish satisfactory relationships with a relief applicant and a legislator, with a delinquent child and his teacher, with a deserting husband and the parish priest. We take it for granted that an understanding of behavior, its motivations and its overt forms of expressions, is essential to the professional social worker's equipment. Is "behavior" a characteristic of clients only, or also of those who represent taxpayers' leagues and service clubs, the local newspaper and the chamber of commerce? The difference surely is not in the essentials of human nature, but in the social worker's position relative to these individuals and what they represent.

The client meets the worker with a request for help with his problems, and it is around that request that their relationship develops. The worker interprets the agency function as something he may be able to use for himself, if he wants to, and if it meets his needs, and for him "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." When the social worker meets the members of the community who have no expectation of using the agency's service (whether or not they might benefit by it) the situation is reversed—the worker is usually asking help, either on behalf of an individual client or of clients as a group, and he does not always appreciate or enjoy the change of role. The teacher is a contributory factor in Johnny's problem; the taxpayer symbolizes the inadequate relief budget; the newspaper reporter pounces on a "story," but is unimpressed by the niceties of professional ethics governing the client-worker relationship—one and all, they appear as an obstruction to the worker's professional practice. Moreover, the balance of power has shifted. The worker, having no service to offer which these people think they can use, has no leverage in his dealings with them, rather do they hold the power to facilitate or to block his activities and he feels frustrated, both on behalf of his clients and in his own role as the clients' professional servant. Much of the social worker's behavior in this situation, it is to be feared, is an expression of that frustration

and its consequent hostility, rather than a manifestation of his professional self in dealing with human beings who behave as they do from causes not unknown to him.

Is it impossible, perhaps, for the social worker to accept both the client and the non-client with equal objectivity? Must his identification with those whom he serves put him in opposition to those who do not see the need for service in his terms? To take such a position would be to jeopardize the whole future of social work as carried on in our present culture. In a democratic society social services are not imposed by the will of the state upon those presumed to need them, nor are they established in response to a demand from those who are to be the recipients alone, but from a much broader cross section of the community, including those who wish to see such services made available to the end that the community as a whole may be a better ordered place for all its members. Unless some basis can be found for agreement among supporters, practitioners, and recipients as to what constitutes a satisfactory program of service, it is difficult to see how the professional practice of social work can be carried on successfully, since it is obvious that the supporters must entrust the task of rendering services to the practitioners, and neither practitioners nor recipients control the sources of support. As a matter of fact, unless there were a basis for such agreement in the broad objectives of social work programs, they would scarcely have come into existence at all. An examination of the historical development of modern social work shows that it has its roots in neighborly kindness to those in trouble, in the religious injunction to give help to the helpless, and in the assumption by governmental authorities of responsibility for caring for persons without resources.

The advent of the professional social worker has not changed this fundamental situation. It is not he alone who is concerned that children be protected from neglect and abuse, and even those who deny his competence in the administration of relief have no quarrel with the desire of worker and client alike that the latter be assisted by all possible means to regain self-support. Too often, unfortunately, it is true that the interested layman is not

convinced that the services of professional social workers will provide an effective means to these ends, and the social workers he has met have done little to correct this impression, thereby limiting their opportunities to serve their clients. For this reason it seems clear that the ability to relate himself effectively to those who represent the community's interest in programs of social service is just as essential a part of the worker's professional equipment as the ability to be of real help to a client. In this latter case we know that acceptance of the other person's point of view, even when we do not agree with it, is the first step in establishing a relationship. If the same principle were applied in both situations we would also accept the layman's point of view about social service programs and establish a common ground with him in the objectives sought before proceeding to enlighten him about the best methods of attaining those objectives.

There is more involved, however, in the problem of agency-community relationships than the ability to deal effectively with interested laymen as isolated individuals. If social workers are to use their professional knowledge in the formulation of the community's social service program, they must develop skill in organization as well as in personal contacts.

The task of gaining community support for programs of service which appear sound to social workers is customarily described—though not too accurately—as a problem of “community organization.” One apparent obstacle to an effective community-worker relationship is the great difficulty which is experienced in defining the community in such a way that its needs can be studied objectively and its wishes as to how they shall be met ascertained. The worker cannot sit down with the community and talk things over. He can utilize the methods of social research to examine need and resources, and through such procedure can guard against the danger of injecting his own wishes and hopes for the community too vigorously into the picture. This, however, is but the first step. If something is to be done about meeting the need, the appropriate people must be interested and related to the task of determining and carrying through a program. The worker must first ascertain which individuals will

most appropriately represent the various community groups whose interest should be enlisted and, second, engage them with himself in the task of working out the solution. Such persons will include those who are related to the problem under consideration by reason of their own practice in the community, and others whose interest is of a less direct character. The former will constitute a factor in the problem which is to be solved, but the latter can be selected for the strength they will lend to the efforts put forth to find a solution.

Too often we see this task approached with very little regard for those guiding principles which are accepted as basic to social work practice when social workers are dealing with individuals and with groups. Is the community, we may ask, to be "high pressured" into accepting the social worker's plan for its welfare when such an approach would be a contradiction of professional practice in case work or group work? We no longer attempt to "reform" our clients or to lead a group "into paths of righteousness" which we endorse as best calculated to build the character of the membership, but the community is still considered unregenerate if it does not fall in with our well-laid plans for its betterment. As long ago as 1922 John Dewey wrote:²

To make others happy except through liberating their powers and engaging them in activities that enlarge the meaning of life is to harm them and indulge ourselves under cover of exercising a special virtue. There is a sense in which to set up social welfare as an end of action only promotes an offensive condescension, a harsh interference, and an oleaginous display of complacent kindliness. To foster conditions that widen the horizons of others and give them command of their own powers so that they can find happiness in their own fashion is the way of "social" action. Otherwise the prayer of a free man would be to be left alone and to be delivered above all from reformers and "kind" people.

How can the social worker guard against "an offensive condescension, a harsh interference and an oleaginous display of complacent kindliness" in his dealings with the community? Only by an honest effort to work with its representatives, first, in identifying and studying the problems for which a solution is to be found;

² John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York: Holt, 1922).

and, second, in developing a program on the basis of the situation revealed through the study. In doing so he is guided by the conviction that people fundamentally help themselves, using whatever strength and resources the worker can bring to their aid, and that the outcome of successful treatment is the growth toward independence of those whom he serves rather than increased dependence upon his guidance and help.

An interesting example of this approach is provided in the study made of the Tremont area in Cleveland and the program which grew out of it. After assembling all available data on the composition and character of the area, the investigators set out to learn what the people in the community thought about its problems and what suggestions they had for improving the situation then existing. Following out the recommendations of the study, the Cleveland Welfare Federation, according to the director, Mr. Lynde, undertook, as a first step, "not to look for outside resources so much as to develop elements of strength and initiative within the area itself."³ This decision led to a conference with the editors of the city papers at which they agreed to cooperate by giving no publicity to the study, thus avoiding calling attention to the conditions it disclosed or advertising the results to be expected from proposed reforms.

Sometimes the study of a community situation may indicate lack of support for proposed changes, and it is noteworthy that the professional person recognizes as untreatable some situations which others not so well aware of the forces involved would attempt to treat. Such a situation may occur when a state welfare agency is seeking to develop support in a county for a program of rural child welfare services. In this case the general outlines of the program are set; Federal funds will be available to provide services to the county's children under certain definite conditions, the most important being the county's willingness to accept qualified personnel and to supplement the program by the payment of expenses incurred on behalf of the children served. The local community will accept these conditions, provided, first, that it

³ Edward D. Lynde, "Gains through an Area Study," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 374.

feels the need of help in meeting its responsibilities to dependent children; and, second, that it is convinced that qualified social workers can offer that help more effectively than the politically sponsored aspirant for the job. It will be noted that, although it is the children to whom the help will be directed, it is the citizens and officials of the county who must accept it on behalf of the children for whose care they are responsible. In the case of a county where such services have been customarily rendered through a combination of politically appointed personnel and private agencies operating largely on a voluntary basis, there may be little disposition to see the need for a change. What is the role of the field worker from the state office in this situation? Can it be accepted as a basic principle that this county must evince some genuine desire for such service if it is to be established on a sound basis? Does the state office propose to take away the county's responsibility, or work with the county in meeting its problem? If the latter is the case, does the county think it has a problem at all? Obviously, the county will not think or act as a unit in this matter. The worker can proceed to explore the problem in order to demonstrate to the county that it exists. What are the unmet needs of its children? Will the results of such exploration be accepted on the basis of the worker's testimony alone? An alternative approach is to ascertain from those most likely to be concerned what they think about the situation and the degree of their interest in using the help the program has to offer.

The worker's task then becomes one of studying the county rather than its dependent children, and this requires the ability to evaluate the forces that mold opinion and determine official action. It is not sufficient to select those individuals who are in sympathy with professional service to children and secure their assent to the establishment of the program. This is important, but the opposing factors cannot be overlooked. A professional social worker who retired from active duty upon marrying the editor of a local paper may be a tower of strength to her colleague, but the local citizen who has served the county commissioners for many years as overseer of the poor will be a more important factor

in determining the county's decision. And what of the dear ladies who have been personally selecting foster homes and supervising the children placed in them for "love and love alone" and without cost to the commissioners? Will they cheerfully relinquish this task to a paid worker whom they recognize as better qualified for the job? And will the commissioners wish to offend them by reflecting on the quality of their service in agreeing to the appointment of professional personnel?

Because the social worker who represents the state office has a deep concern for the welfare of children and can see clearly the harm that must come to them if the existing situation remains unchanged, she may be tempted to manipulate or control the situation, using the authority of the state office to force acceptance of the program or bribing the commissioners with the offer of funds. Perhaps she may rely upon the right-thinking members of the community to carry the program through, overlooking the fact that they are not those in whom power really resides. Is such an effort any more defensible than the attempt to persuade an unwilling woman to bring her husband to court on a charge of nonsupport? And is it not equally doomed to ultimate failure? Must it not be recognized that in communities as in families some situations are "inoperable" and that the professional worker will recognize them as such and not feel guilt and failure for an inability to effect a change?

By placing responsibility for decisions affecting social work programs where it belongs—with the community—social workers escape the onus attached to "social reform" and social work frees itself from the necessity of proving its worth by claiming miraculous results. Neither will it be driven to gain popular favor by proposing for itself goals which, though acceptable to the community, are foreign to the essential character of its professional service. It has been pointed out by numerous competent authorities that the program for the measurement of social work accomplishments outlined in the scheme described under the title of *Social Breakdown*⁴ represents such an attempt to test the effectiveness of social work in a community by criteria which bear little

⁴ *Social Breakdown* (New York: Community Chests and Councils, 1939).

or no relationship to the real objectives of social workers. To quote from Mr. Pray's paper at the 1940 National Conference of Social Work:⁵

. . . if the adequacy of social work agencies is to be appraised, even in part, on the basis of their success in lowering the total need for such service in the community, we must assume that the philosophy and methods of the agencies are applicable to the need being measured, and that they are not being held accountable for results of operations that are not in accordance with their own practice.

It is intimated (in the report) that social breakdown is somehow identified with "behavior that does not conform to currently accepted concepts of satisfactory adjustment. . . . Private social work at least is not generally geared to the fulfillment of need so discovered and so defined."

The "demonstration" enjoys considerable prestige as a means of convincing the community of the value of approved social work methods, but it may be seriously questioned whether good community relationships are established by this method.

Discussing the experience of the demonstration child guidance clinics, Dr. Helen L. Witmer writes as follows:⁶

The clinic will work with the staffs of schools, courts, and other social agencies, and its chief source of unsatisfactory relationships lies in the tendency to tell these people how they shall carry on their work. . . . This danger of usurping the function of others and arousing their resentment becomes especially great when the clinic sees its work as a means of eradicating some of the community's practices which it considers inimical to mental health. . . . It has been found that communities have a great desire for local autonomy and are quick to resent the implication that they should proceed along lines which their neighboring towns have tried. They are usually proud of their past efforts and skeptical of new suggestions.

The evangelical urge which sometimes inspires the effort to bring light to backward communities meets the same obstacles which block the worker who attempts to help an individual to solve

⁵ Kenneth L. M. Pray, "Quantitative Measurement of the Community's Needs and Services," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 436-46.

⁶ Helen L. Witmer, *Psychiatric Clinics for Children* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1940).

problems for which he is fundamentally not interested in finding a solution.

As a participant in one of the most widely advertised demonstrations in community organization conducted in Cincinnati by the Social Unit, I can testify to the unfavorable effect produced in the community by a group of earnest and competent workers who set out to show the world that they knew so much better than anyone else how to serve the social and health needs of the people. That the community should respond by accusing the organization of dangerous radical tendencies was disillusioning indeed, but perhaps not so surprising after all. Is there really any escape from the conclusion that we must convince the community that the best professional social work skill is as necessary to the public welfare as the skill of other better recognized professional groups by patiently establishing a relationship of mutual helpfulness around those problems with which the community is actually concerned, allowing the demonstration to take place quietly and without undue advertisement? The county commissioners who have experienced such a relationship with a secretary of child welfare services will not want to throw him out of the window and bring in the politically sponsored applicant for the job. And the advisory committee which has shared with that worker the development of the program and the pride of achievement in its results will support professional services in the face of political upheavals that might jeopardize their survival.

The foregoing discussion indicates, I think, that it does not take a separate kind of competence to establish relationships of this sort, but rather the application of principles, accepted in practice with clients as individuals or as groups, to a different situation. If this be true, how is the ability to make such an application to be acquired? Not, most certainly, by precept alone. The discipline that is involved in the development of a professional self in relation to clients must be extended to include the control of the worker's behavior when dealing with the non-client group, and this can be done, we know, only by teaching in relation to practice—supervised field instruction. Does this mean a new type of field placement for students, or perhaps a new

type of field supervisor? If we agree that all social workers have a role in agency-community relationships, should we not look for people who can be articulate about that role as they supervise students? Anything must be learned before it can be taught, and perhaps our first approach to the problem is to develop in experienced social work practitioners the ability to analyze and interpret this aspect of their job in the same way that they do their case work or group work practice. This will not be possible, I believe, until a genuine attempt is made to record the activities of the worker in relation to the community in such a way as to reveal the dynamics of the process rather than to emphasize its end results.

Supervisors who have themselves acquired a professional discipline and skill in dealing with representatives of the community who have expressed interest in, or criticism of, their clients can, in turn, offer field instruction in the art of community relationships to students in schools of social work. It would be a source of confusion to place such students in a different setting for this purpose, the implication being that one worker deals with clients and another with the community. This is not to deny the necessity for specialized preparation in the case of those students who wish to qualify for positions where they do not deal with clients directly but are engaged in what has been commonly called "community organization." Such students might well be given advanced field assignments in councils of social agencies or similar organizations where the focus is upon the development of a more effective program of social services in the community. Such opportunities will, however, always be limited in number, and I do not think that they provide a setting in which the basic disciplines of professional practice can readily be learned. Nor will any but the mature student be acceptable to the agencies in question since they cannot well provide suitable assignments for beginners in the field. For both reasons it seems true that students will continue to be introduced to social work practice through experience in case work and group work. If this experience can be made the occasion for learning the fundamentals

of agency-community relationships, it will be more readily accepted as a basic prerequisite for the development of competence in administration and community relations.

As for the elements of classroom instruction, teachers of community organization would need to concern themselves more with analysis and less with description than is generally true at present, to judge from catalogue statements, and to use in classroom discussions the students' reports of situations encountered in field experience. Courses in interpretation and public relations might include a discussion of the obstacles to understanding that do not yield to the most logical and persuasive of arguments. Close collaboration between different members of the teaching faculty and field instructors might make possible a more effective integration of student field experience and classroom discussion in the courses not directly related to methods of practice. Psychiatry can surely help in the interpretation of conflicts encountered in budget committees as well as in family situations. An awareness of the threat implied in a proposed change of program might caution a worker against overoptimism in planning for such a change or undue discouragement in finding his plans brought to naught. "Our society," according to Dr. Kardiner,

is based on the formula of all against all, and even though coöperative efforts are common they are temporary and limited in scope. . . . The only avenue open to the individual to put these anxieties to rest is in the pursuit of power and prestige, and that is an insatiable quest that never brings lasting security. . . . Security can only be captured at the expense of someone else. This can only end in anxiety for all.⁷

It is well for the student of community organization to recognize that a social study which proposes a more rational distribution of social services in relation to community need cannot fail to arouse anxiety which, in turn, is likely to project hostility, not only on the program, but on its author as well. Moreover, he must be on guard lest enthusiasm for the promotion of the better plan serve to cloak his need to allay his own insecurity through

⁷ Abram Kardiner, "Cultural Restraints, Intrasocial Dependencies and Hostilities," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 110-11.

the acquisition of power and prestige at the expense of those whose opposition appears to him as selfish and benighted.

A knowledge of research method is generally accepted as a requirement of all candidates for an advanced professional degree, and this requirement provides an indispensable discipline for work in relation to the community. In the ability to accept the limitations imposed by scientific method in the study of mass data the worker finds one of his most important safeguards against the temptation to pursue his own objectives in the guise of the public good. If the subject matter of his research study is related to the organization and distribution of social services in the community, he also gains a practical knowledge of the basis of social work planning. The research department of a council of social agencies can offer to students of social work a field experience admirably suited to the development of competence in the management of community relations and to the practice of administration.

Such preparation should enable the graduates of schools of social work, first of all, to carry the responsibility of representing the agency to non-client groups as well as to clients and to establish helpful relationships with both. Second, it should lay a sound foundation for the subsequent development of greater skill in the area of community relationships which advancement to positions of an executive nature demands. Third, it should form a basis for later specialization in preparation for undertaking the planning and development of the community's program of social service.

That workers in this latter field need knowledge and skill peculiar in some respects to their particular function is not denied, but unless this competence has some integral relationship to that required for social work practice in other settings they can hardly lay claim to professional status as social workers. Such status is not conferred by the fact that the person in question is employed by a social agency. Rather is it the recognition of the development of a professional self through which the worker applies knowledge with sureness and skill to the treatment of those problems which fall within the area of his competence.

INTERPRETATION IN THE PUBLIC AGENCY

Anita J. Faatz

INTERPRETATION is a word which has developed a special meaning as a result of its use in social work. Not only has it taken on a special meaning, it has acquired also the capacity for referring to a whole constellation of ideas which most social workers share in common.

While we might differ as to detail, I believe it is reasonable to say that social workers would agree, in general, upon the following propositions:

1. Every employee of a social agency—the telephone operator who greets the public, the worker who interviews the client, the executive director who presents the budget—is in some respects an interpreter of the work of the agency.

2. No social agency can exist for long without interpretation. There is an inevitable interdependence between interest and understanding, moving to conviction which expresses itself in support.

3. Indifference or open hostility on the part of the public are, in part at least, the result of faulty or insufficient interpretation.

4. The social agency has an obligation to be a spokesman for the needs of the human beings whom it serves, who are, in large measure, inarticulate and therefore unable to preserve their own rights.

5. Good service by the agency, promptly and considerately rendered, is the best interpretation of all.

6. Progress cannot be made at a pace faster than community opinion is willing to have it go.

The convictions expressed in these propositions have become so familiar and so axiomatic that they are constantly in danger of becoming clichés. Actually, there are rich content and depth

implicit in these axioms, and they suggest social implications of far-reaching significance. Two things lead me to venture an examination of this content and depth. The first is that, unless we do so periodically, our own words and the actions of our agencies come to have a hollow sound. The second is that I believe public social work has added a new set of ideas to this content which has at once enriched and revitalized old and accepted truths.

To interpret is "to explain or tell the meaning of; to translate into familiar language or terms." This implies a relationship involving necessarily at least two persons: the explainer and the receiver of the explanation. It also implies a flow in one direction: from explainer who knows to explainee who does not know, or who at least does not know so fully or so clearly. The other key word in this subject is the word "public." "Public" is a word which stems from the Latin word *publicus*, meaning people. When used as an adjective modifier, as in the sense of public agency, or public department, it has the effect of describing the agency or department as one which pertains to, or belongs to, the people. It is a thought-provoking concept.

Who are the people? When we say "there were a lot of people downtown today" we mean to convey no more than the plural of person. There is nothing which holds these people on the downtown streets together; they have no common purpose. On the other hand, we talk about The People, meaning thereby the body politic, the citizens of a nation, and immediately we have injected a concept of unity, of common purpose, which is carried out through the formal organization of government. What we see when we look at government today is an organization of great complexity, which cynics may say exists to enrich the politicians; but which, in theory and in expectation, exists to carry out the common will of the people.

A person who is employed by a public welfare department, whether municipal, county, state, or Federal, is there by virtue of the fact that the electorate wishes to accomplish a certain purpose, in this instance the proffering and carrying out of social services. He is a civil servant. By virtue of being a civil servant he is vested with certain authority, but he is also obligated to

perform certain duties. In the last analysis, both the authority and the duties arise from the mandate of the people. When we become civil servants we both give up and receive. We give up part of the freedom of action which belongs to us as individuals and receive at the same time a responsibility to represent, to act for and on behalf of, and to carry out the wishes of all the people. For some persons this is irksome and confining; for others it is stimulating and challenging.

As a civil servant, the public employee carries out a mandate. Where does he get it? He gets it most specifically and most currently from the public welfare law under which he operates. He also gets it from the Constitution of the United States and of his state, which define the rights of citizens in relation to their government. He gets it from statutes defining family relationships, property rights, legal remedies available to individuals. In short, he gets it from written sources too numerous to mention, and often too complex for us to understand and readily comprehend in our day-by-day operation. It is this mandate by the electorate which bestows upon the public welfare department its essential character as an instrument to execute the wishes of the people, which at the same time gives rise to another concept, namely, "accountability." By this is usually meant the implicit obligation imposed upon public officials to be responsible to the public for their actions.

If one accepts this description of the relationship between the citizen and the governmental department, then there is no way to avoid the conclusion that the word "interpretation" is too narrow a word to describe the relationship. In the first place, it suggests, even though we may not wish it to be so, that the relationship is one way—from explainer, the agency, to the public, which receives the explanation. In fact, if we look upon interpretation in this manner, as an end in itself, directed toward translating into familiar terms the things which we do, in such a way that the public will understand and support, there would be grave doubt in my mind whether the time of any public employee should ever be spent in this kind of activity.

Therefore, in the place of this restricted use of the word

"interpretation," it would seem desirable to emphasize its importance as a means of communication, in order to accomplish three important results: (1) a flow of ideas from the public to the agency—an exercise of the right of the citizen to express what he wishes his public social services to be and how he desires to have them administered; (2) accountability—that relationship between public and agency which is composed of the public's right to demand, and the obligation on the part of the agency to give, an accounting of its stewardship; and (3) a channel for the giving of expert advice—the obligation on the part of the expert to utilize his expertness to point to that course of action which will work best and which will yield socially desirable results. Interpretation is thus a device used by both the public and the agency—the public, to express its interests and wishes; the agency, to account, to advise, and to clarify issues.

The first of these, the expression of public opinion, has become more difficult as government has become more complex. The simple device of the town meeting, wherein people gave direct expression of opinion related to the issue before them, is no longer a part of the pattern of our living. We elect representatives who pass laws, and when they pass laws it is expected that there will take place a setting of social policy which the administrative agency will execute. In reality, laws are broadly written, and there is left to the administrative agency the task of policy construction, designed in such a way as to carry out the intent of the legislature. As a result we find that governmental departments have to create means by which it will be possible to achieve a continuous exchange of views between the public and themselves. This is particularly true where their program is new and they are confronted with issues the solution of which cannot be determined by any accepted and customary social philosophy.

This, obviously, is one of the major reasons for the role assigned to the citizens' policy-making board. When the board is properly selected, and when the individuals upon the board have learned the effective method of policy formulation, there results a balance between citizen opinion and professional judgment which has potentialities for great service to the program. This,

too, is the major reason for the many other devices which government agencies have used for tapping public opinion.

Another major reason for the role of the citizens' group in the public welfare program is to achieve accountability on the part of the agency. It is difficult to do justice to this subject briefly, but it seems fair to say that it needs constant re-emphasis because of its importance in our daily operation. Legally, many devices have been set up for the purpose of making public officials accountable. There is, first of all, the universal practice of calling officials before legislative bodies for the purpose of explaining, advising, defending, if any part of their action is brought into question. There is the familiar legislative practice of creating investigating bodies to examine, review, and report. Occasionally a grand jury concerns itself with the question of the proper operation of a governmental department, not, it should be noted, as a body preparing to bring criminal charges, but as an inquisitorial body which inspects the jails, inquires into administrative methods, examines proper expenditures. In still another sense, other departments of government, such as bureaus of the budget, merit system councils or commissions, attorneys general, exercise a type of control over the actions of the public welfare department. Lastly, one might mention the legal action of mandamus, utilized for the purpose of requiring a department of government, through court decision, to carry out the intention of the law under which it operates.

In public service all these formal instruments of control may be experienced and may form a part of the ordinary operation of the agency. To resist them as time consuming, as interfering, as destructive, is to deny the validity of some of the basic institutions of democratic government. Irrespective of what they demand of us as public officials we cannot afford, as citizens, to do without them. They are our constitutional and statutory safeguards. Merely to say that they can be utilized as an important channel for interpretation is, again, to place upon them too narrow a definition.

I do not mean to appear to be a spokesman for the advocacy of the inquisition of public officials. In public welfare we are

all too familiar with some of the destructive results of such experiences when there is lack of integrity and good intention on the part of those who initiate and participate. But the fact that this happens in some instances cannot be a weighty enough reason to deny the essential reason for their existence. All we mean to say is that indifference is more to be deplored than welcomed; that public opinion may express itself in one of these many ways; and that it is hoped, as time goes on, that public welfare officials will learn increasing skill in the clarification of issues and the presentation of factually clear and meaningful material, and will learn to accept when the majority opinion has spoken contrary to the judgment of the agency.

The third important use to which interpretation may be put is the giving of expert advice for the purpose of charting a socially desirable course of action. Due to the great complexity of government and the subject matter with which it deals, experts play an increasingly important role in the conduct of government. The social worker is one of this group of experts. If we subscribe to current beliefs with respect to social work, then we see it as a profession, with a body of knowledge and skills which are learned through professional education. This being true, we are of the opinion that the social worker with training is possessed of better judgment, more knowledge, and more skill in dealing with technical social work matters than is the average layman. What, then, becomes of the premise that the citizen has a right to express his wishes with respect to public welfare administration? How do we resolve this dilemma? There is a certain inclination to seek to resolve it by glossing over the essential difference between the board member and the professional person. In our zeal to have the citizen participate, we enthusiastically throw open to his consideration any part of the agency practice. We may be doing this at the very time when we are expecting him to believe in and uphold professional competence. As a result, we obscure and confuse the useful and important service which the board member is able to render.

In my opinion, a recognition of the essential difference between the role to be played by the lay person and by the pro-

fessional person is basic to successful operation of a democratic department of government. To enunciate such a general proposition, however, is far easier than to follow through with a definition of the difference. Generally, we say that the difference is a difference between policy making and execution of policy. But again, that is easier said than carried into effect. To assume that we know how to make policy, or how to guide boards to act upon policy, is to make an assumption which deludes us by its apparent simplicity, when in fact we are dealing with a very difficult area of operation.

There is good reason for the conclusion that if we were able to operate more effectively in the policy-making area, we would do much to facilitate the potentialities for public understanding and public decision on basic social issues. Obviously, this cannot happen by chance, nor by the experimental efforts of lay persons. In the expertness in which we believe must be found the study, practice, and direction which would result in greater dexterity on the part of boards in shaping policies, and on the part of staff in knowing how to ask for clarification and how to present the information upon which the policy rests. I see this as a major challenge to the field of social work.

Moreover, the formulation of clearer, more workable policies would inevitably result in better understanding on the part of the general public of the manner in which the agency operates. We have moved beyond the time when we can rely upon the wisdom of a single individual to decide upon the eligibility or ineligibility of applicants for assistance. We have learned to look upon law and policy as the expression of group decision and as the means whereby the rights of the individual are established. With policy clearly defined we are able to state our objectives, our methods, and the criteria by which judgments are made.

When one has given expression to this belief in policy making as an essential mechanism of the social agency, there is always danger that there will be read into it a denial of individualization; or a repudiation of the individual differences which represent an essential ingredient of our philosophy and method. If that doubt arises here, I know of no way to discuss it without going

far beyond the purpose of this paper. It seems necessary to take for granted that we are not, now, attempting to agree upon the point where policy should leave off and discretion begin. I am saying no more than that I believe proper policy, carefully formulated, is basic to public understanding.

Likewise do I believe that increasing research, on a scale and of a kind which has so far, within my knowledge, not been attempted, is essential to better public understanding. Without it we are often left in the position of setting off against an unverified and unproved assertion of the public another assertion equally unverified and unproved, except as we would say that it is an observation out of experience. I have heard it said by a person whose judgment is highly trusted in the field of social work that, generally speaking, the objective in public assistance on the part of the public and of the professional person is the same: to grant assistance to persons eligible under the law, for the time that it is needed and not longer, in the least wasteful and most efficient manner. The difference arises when we try to reach agreement regarding the method by which we reach that objective.

One more point relative to the role of the lay person and the professional person: Careful observation of a given situation where there has been failure on the part of the public to provide the necessary funds and facilities to meet the needs may reveal the fact that this failure is not because the social worker has taken too little responsibility, but because the social worker has taken too much. It goes without saying that human needs and the will to provide for them are not a monopoly of the professional person. To assume that they are, to take all the responsibility upon ourselves, is to do a great disservice to persons in need. When we assume that the social worker has the major responsibility we dissociate capacity to provide funds from responsibility and will to provide. Persons, in order to act responsibly, must have a real and not a fictitious responsibility. We do not lack evidence to show that the citizen has the capacity to feel and exercise his responsibility. To be sure, there are many persons who are unable to see a need in the abstract. They see it when

they encounter individual, personified need, in the form of people they know and can talk to and listen to. When we use human material in interpretation we are making an effort to create this personal relationship. But if we go no further than that we shall be building on uncertain ground. One of the objectives of social work is to raise this personal concern to a social concern. Persons in the community achieve this ability to deal with the abstract and general, and it is not necessary for them to become professional persons in order to do so.

Having developed thus far this concept of the relation between the citizen and the public welfare department, I feel it is of equal importance to give recognition to some of the pitfalls into which it may lead us. It is possible that some of these generalizations can be used to support conclusions which would be as undesirable as would be a denial of the rights of the public.

In the first place, it seems to me that we are sometimes inclined to use the public attitude to cover some of our own doubts or uncertainties or our lack of courage in following through to a desirable objective. We project upon the community, in a nebulous way, the responsibility for the actions which we take. It is a natural and easy way out.

Secondly, we allow this nebulous community attitude, which may even be a phantom of our own imagination, to keep us from the type of leadership for which the public pays us. It does not seem to be proper that a public agency should lag behind the community point of view. The very fact of the expertness which exists because of training or experience, or both, places upon us an obligation to give expression to fact and judgment where it properly belongs. It seems to me that when a citizen thoughtfully approaches the subject, he wants to know in what direction the judgment of the agency would guide him. He does not want a program forced upon him against his will, but neither does he want to be left uninformed. The latter places him at as much of a disadvantage as the former. How to achieve that proper balance between leadership without autocratic driving through is, of course, at the heart of good administration.

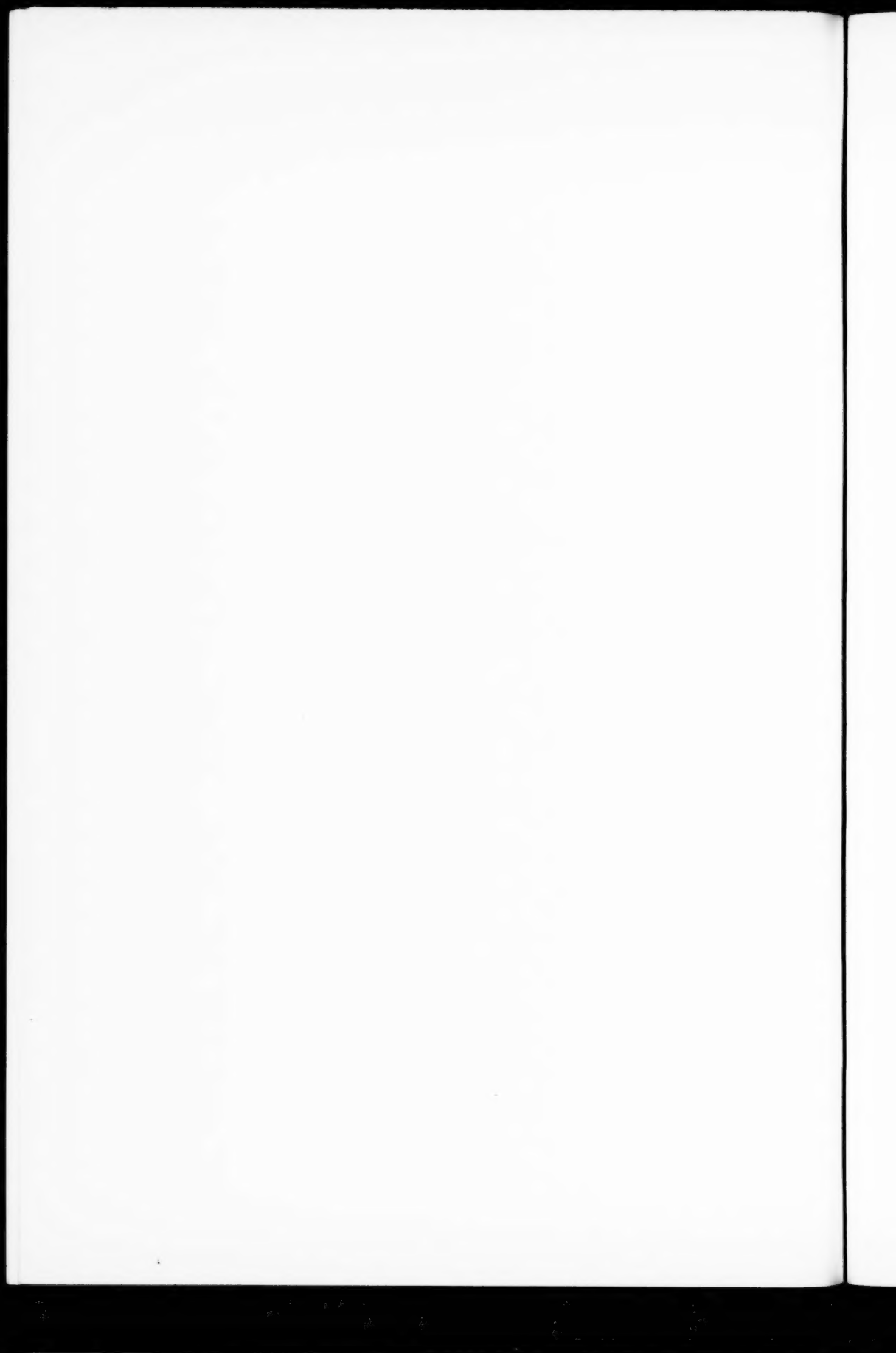
Thirdly, there is danger that we will sway the administration

of the agency by the slightest breeze of criticism that blows. There are vagaries of public opinion that do not represent a sufficient body of responsible thinking to be given the weight of decision. No single citizen or board member has the right to influence too profoundly the direction of the administration. This is true of citizens who want the administration to achieve high standards, as well as of those who wish to hold it back. The task of the public agency is to consolidate, mold, and utilize the totality of public opinion, in whatever way it feels it can best reflect the prevailing majority point of view. Waves of fragmentary criticism, when not judicially weighed in relation to the whole, can bring destructive influence to bear upon the agency with a result that is costly and wasteful in the extreme.

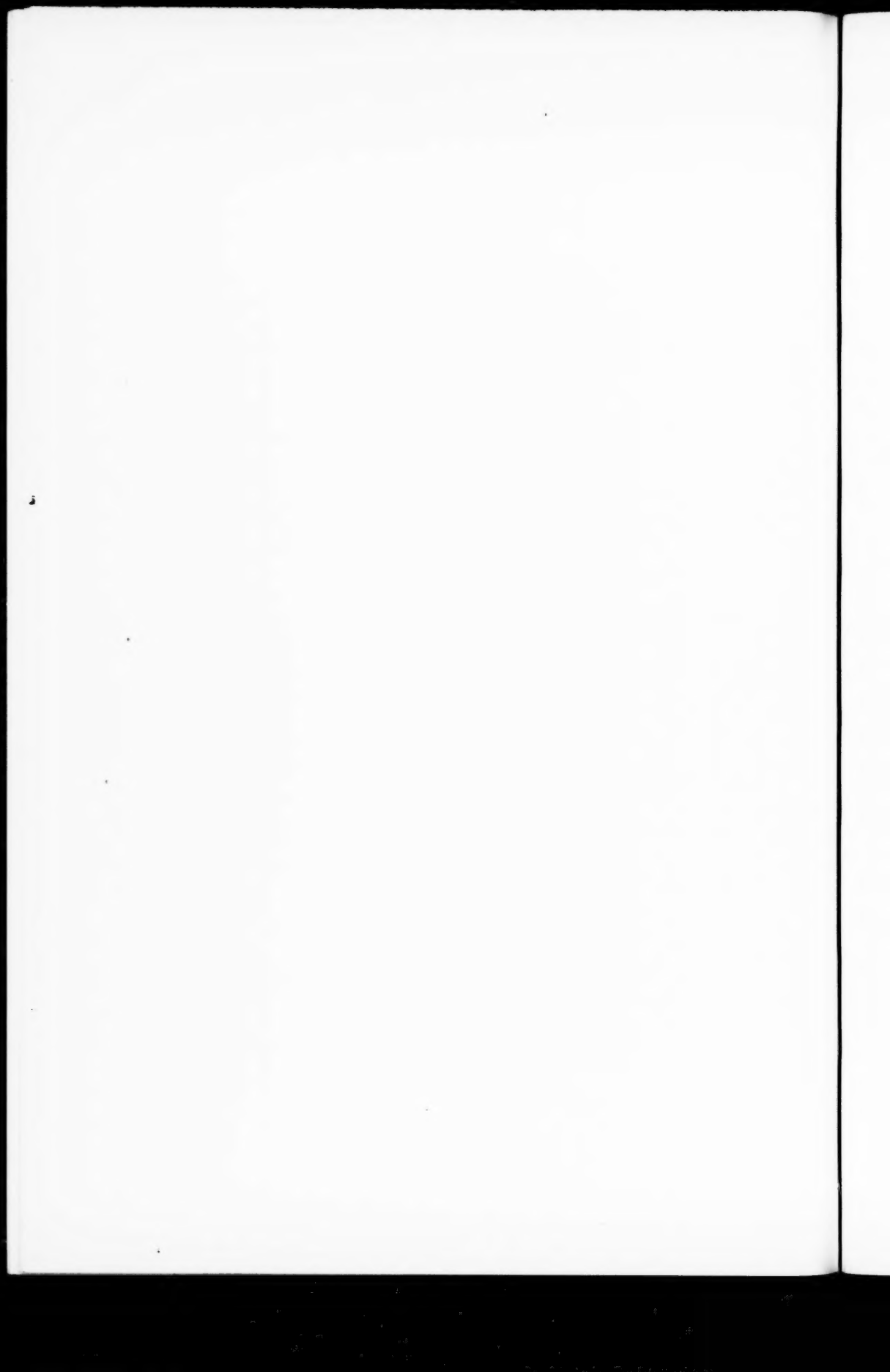
Lastly, there is always the possibility that the public opinion which makes itself heard arises from a community too small to represent a true cross section of public opinion. Not infrequently the exercise of power over immediate neighbors is a force dangerously used. The advocates of state and Federal policy determination point out the broader base upon which public opinion expresses itself when removed from the locality. To this the advocates of localized determination reply that policy formulation can be so far removed that it is unaffected and uninfluenced by the concrete results of a particular policy or course of action. The interesting thing to note is the way in which Federal, state, and local law and policy fuse and emerge to a result which is different from what would have been achieved had any single one of them been the only force at work.

It is with considerable hesitation that I venture the suggestion that whatever is valid in the above, with respect to the public agency, seems to me to apply with equal justification to the agency conducted under private auspices. In another sense of the word, the private agency is a public agency, not as to auspices or source of funds, but to the extent that it serves the public. It too has an obligation to create the opportunity for the public to express its opinion, to account responsibly for its actions, and to render expert advice. How can we escape the inevitable conclusion that the understanding of social work rests mutually upon

public and private agencies, in a way that both will fare well or poorly depending upon how the other carries out its responsibilities? Perhaps the day is not too far distant when we shall be able to give clearer expression to common concepts of social work, to common objectives, to philosophy. This will give us greater assurance regarding the workability and usefulness of our profession to the people, and when that comes about, we shall be better public servants and better interpreters.



APPENDICES



APPENDIX A: PROGRAM

GENERAL SESSIONS

Sunday, June 1—The President's address: The Contribution of Social Work to Government.

Jane M. Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.; President, National Conference of Social Work. Page 3.

Monday, June 2—

1. Civil Rights and Liberties in Times of Stress.

Hon. Francis Biddle, Solicitor General of the United States, Washington, D. C. Page 158.

2. Responsibilities and Rights of Labor during a Period of National Emergency.

Robert J. Watt, International Representative, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C. Page 68.

Tuesday, June 3—General session.

1. Social Services and Defense.

Hon. Edward J. Phelan, Acting Director, International Labor Office; Representative, Irish Free State, Montreal. Page 43.

2. The Importance of the Social Services to Labor (by transatlantic radio from London, England, by courtesy of the Columbia Broadcasting System).

Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour and National Service, London. Page 18.

3. War and the Social Services.

Charlotte Whitton, Executive Director, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa. Page 24.

Wednesday, June 4—National Defense and the Health and Welfare Services in the United States.

1. From the Viewpoint of the Local Community.

Jonathan Daniels, Editor, *Raleigh News and Observer*, Raleigh, N. C. Page 88.

2. From the National Viewpoint.

Charles P. Taft, Assistant Coördinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C. Page 99.

Thursday, June 5—Annual business session.

Friday, June 6—

6:00 P.M.: Dinner in honor of visiting guests from South America.

Addresses of welcome.

Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Arlien Johnson, President, American Association of Schools of Social Work, Los Angeles.

Responses from representatives of each country.

8:30 P.M.: Trends in the Development of Social Security and Social Welfare in the Americas.

1. Trends in Chile.

Dona Luz Tocornal de Romero, Director, Escuela de Servicio Social de la Junta de Beneficiencia, Santiago, Chile. Page 115.

2. Trends in Brazil.

Dona Stella de Faro, founder, Institute Social, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Page 122.

3. Trends in the United States.

Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C. Page 105.

Saturday, June 7—What Is Worth Working for in America?

Hon. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C. Page 32.

THE SECTIONS

SOCIAL CASE WORK

Monday, June 2—Case Work in the Present-Day Situation.

1. The Underlying Philosophy of Case Work Today.

Gordon Hamilton, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City. Page 237.

2. The Underlying Skills of Case Work in the Present-Day Situation.

Charlotte Towle, Associate Professor of Psychiatric Social Work, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. Page 254.

Tuesday, June 3—Case Work in the National Defense Program.

1. Case Work in the Defense Program.

Geoffrey May, Deputy Assistant Coördinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C. Page 365.

2. The Contemplated Federal Provisions for Men in the Army and Their Families.

Jack B. Tate, General Counsel, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

Group Meeting 1. Practical Counseling in Employment.

1. The Value of Employment History as a Basis for Understanding and Treatment of Occupational Incapacities.
Walter Johnson, formerly case worker, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis, Mo.; Assistant Public Assistance Analyst, Bureau of Public Assistance, Federal Social Security Board, Kansas City, Mo.
2. The Place of Vocational Guidance in the Case Work Process.
Alexander Liveright, Executive Director, Jewish Vocational Service and Employment Center, Chicago.

Group Meeting 2. Practical Counseling in Family Budgeting.

1. In a Private Family Agency.
Frances Preston, home economist, Institute of Family Service, Associated Charities, Cleveland.
2. In a Public Department.
Adele R. Glogau, Consultant in Social Services, Department of Welfare, New York City.

Group Meeting 3. Practical Counseling in Medical Problems.

1. In Relation to Medical Care.
Claire Williams, head worker, Pediatric Service, Social Service Department, New York Hospital, New York City.
2. In Relation to Health Problems in a Public Relief Agency.
Edna Nicholson, Director, Medical Relief Service, Chicago Relief Administration, Chicago.

Group Meeting 4. Practical Counseling in Relation to Financial Resources.

1. The Case Worker's Responsibility for Financial Resources.
Constance Hastings, Assistant Regional Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, New York City.
2. The Client's Point of View toward Resources.
Naomi Colmery, Administrative Supervisor, Department of Welfare, New York City.

Group Meeting 5. Relief.

1. The Significance of Money in the Child-Placing Agency's Work with the Child, Foster Parents, and Own Parents.
Leon Richman, Superintendent, Foster Home Department, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago.
2. Changes in the Theory of Relief Giving.
Grace F. Marcus, Assistant Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City. Page 267.

Group Meeting 6. (Joint session with the Child Welfare League of America and the Committee on Supervised Homemaker Service.) Supervised Homemaker Service.

1. Supplementary and Interim Care in Supervised Homemaker Service.
Madeline Van Hall Manginelli, Director, Housekeeper Service, Children's Aid Society, New York City.
2. Exploratory and Inclusive Care in Homemaker Service.
Mary Lawrence, Superintendent, Intake and Housekeeper Service, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago.

Group Meeting 7. Practical Counseling in Housing Projects.

1. Practical Coöperation between Family Agencies and Public Housing Authorities.
Edith Holloway, Assistant Director, Family Service Association, Washington, D. C.
2. Practical Coöperation between Family Agencies and Public Housing from the Housing Director's Point of View.
Joseph Tufts, Executive Director, Pittsburgh Housing Association, Pittsburgh.

Wednesday, June 4—(Winning papers from Case Work Contest.)

Margaret G. Muller, Social Service Department, Eloise Hospital and Parole Clinic, Detroit.

Leonore Gottfried, North End Clinic, Detroit.

Belle Shalit, Visiting Teacher Department, Board of Education, Rochester, N. Y.

Group Meeting 1. The Relationship of Social Case Work to Public Health Nursing.

1. Difference in Function between Medical Social Work and Public Health Nursing.
Elizabeth Rice, Director, Medical Social Service, New Haven Hospital, New Haven, Conn.
2. Overlapping Areas in Public Health Nursing and Child Welfare Services.
Lillian Muhlbach, Supervisor, Child Welfare Services, Department of Social Welfare, Providence, R. I.

Group Meeting 2. Psychosomatic Medicine.

1. The Place of Psychosomatic Knowledge in the Development of Case Work.
Leon J. Saul, M.D., Clinical Associate, Institute for Psychoanalysis, Chicago. Page 280.
2. The Case Worker's Use of Psychosomatic Knowledge.
Louise Silbert, head psychiatric social worker, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston.

Group Meeting 3. (Joint session with the Child Welfare League of America.) Case Work Skills in the Adoption Process.

1. The Case Work Process with the Own Parent as a Factor in the Adoption Decision.

Mary Frances Smith, Assistant Executive Secretary, Philadelphia Children's Bureau, Philadelphia.

2. The Foster Family and the Agency in the Adoption Process. Elizabeth Harral, Supervisor of Home Finding, State Charities Aid Association, New York City. Page 411.

Group Meeting 4. Coöperative Relationships in Rural Communities.

1. Child Welfare Services and the Juvenile Court.
Ione H. Agnew, Supervisor, Marshal-Putnam Child Welfare Services, Henry, Ill.
2. Child Welfare Services and Aid to Dependent Children.
Elizabeth McCord de Schweinitz, Child Welfare Consultant, State Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore.
Vallie Smith Miller, Supervisor, Child Welfare Services, Department of Public Welfare, Nashville, Tenn.

Group Meeting 5. Client and Worker Relationships in an Agency Not Organized Primarily for Case Work and in Instances Where the Client Has Not Asked for Case Work Services.

1. Development of the Case Work Relationship in Medical Social Work.
Muriel Gayford, social worker, Washington University Clinics and Allied Hospitals, St. Louis, Mo.
2. The Child and the Social Case Worker in the Schools.
Florence Poole, Consultant to Home and School Visitors, Board of Education, Pittsburgh; Field Instructor in Case Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh.

Group Meeting 6. The Unattached.

1. Migrant Families, Their Needs and How They Are Being Met.
Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia.
2. A Study in One Community of the Characteristics and Needs of Unattached Persons Receiving Relief.
Rudolph T. Danstedt, Division Secretary, Federation of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, Pittsburgh.

Group Meeting 7. Intake.

1. First Interviews with Applicants for Relief: Their Requests and Their Approach to the Worker as a Basis for Understanding Their Needs.
Kae Spence, Instructor in Social Work, Washington University; Assistant Supervisor, Family and Children's Service, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis, Mo.
2. General Intake in County Set-ups.
Margaret Leahy, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

Group Meeting 8. Triangular Relationships in Case Work.

1. A Study of Triangular Relationships Related to Neglected Children in Foster Homes.

Alan Keith Lucas, District Supervisor, Cleveland Humane Society, Cleveland.

2. The Patient, the Medical Social Worker, and a Third Person Participating in a Helping Role.

Ruth E. Lewis, Assistant Professor of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

Group Meeting 9. Older People.

1. Medical Problems of Older People.

Morton L. Levin, M.D., Assistant Director, Division of Cancer Control, State Department of Health, Albany, N. Y.

2. New Channels for Old Interests, Group Work Experiments with Old Age Assistance Clients Carried Out in Chicago and Cleveland.

Oskar Schulze, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

Thursday, June 5—The Scientific Approach to Case Work.

1. Diagnostic Criteria, the Concept of Normal and Abnormal.

Le Roy M. A. Maeder, M.D., Psychiatric Consultant, Family Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia. Page 295.

2. The Scientific Approach with Special Emphasis on Psychoanalysis.

Robert Waelder, M.D., Lecturer for Boston Psychoanalytic Institute; Editor, *Imago*, Brookline, Mass.

Friday, June 6—Case Work with Adolescents.

1. Case Work with Adolescents in Conflict with Authority.

Hyman S. Lippman, M.D., Psychiatrist, Wilder Child Guidance Clinic, St. Paul, Minn. Page 396.

2. The Case Worker and the Adolescent.

Helen Ross, Research Associate, Institute for Psychoanalysis, Chicago.

Group Meeting 1. Interpretation.

1. How We Contribute to Existing Hostilities and Misunderstandings of Our Role.

Eleanor Clifton, District Secretary, Washington Heights District, Community Service Society of New York, New York City.

2. Interpretation in the Public Agency.

Anita Faatz, Assistant Director, State Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore. Page 685.

Discussant:

Jane Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

Group Meeting 2. The Board Member in Public and Private Agencies. Similarities and Differences in Position and Responsibility.

1. The Board Member in a Private Agency.

Ralph A. Uihlein, President, Board of Directors, Family Welfare Association, Milwaukee, Wis. Page 618.

2. The Board Member in a Public Agency.

James Brunot, Director, Public Welfare Committees Department, State Charities Aid Association, New York City. Page 606.

Group Meeting 3. Research.

1. Research from Social Case Work Records as Related to the Agencies' Needs.

Bertram Black, formerly Research and Administrative Assistant, Family and Children's Service, St. Louis Provident Association and St. Louis Children's Aid Society, St. Louis, Mo.; Research Analyst, Division of Research and Statistics, State Social Security Commission, Jefferson City, Mo.

2. Case Work and Research from the Point of View of Professional Education.

Anna E. King, Dean, School of Social Service, Fordham University, New York City.

Group Meeting 4. Supervision.

1. Case Supervision in a Public Assistance Agency, Its Place in Staff Development.

Sue Spencer, Senior Field Representative, State Department of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge, La.

2. Supervision of the Experienced Worker Focused upon Continuing Professional Development.

Lucille N. Austin, District Secretary, Community Service Society of New York, New York City; Assistant Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City.

Group Meeting 5. The Specialized Consultant Serving a Large Territory.

1. Specialized Consultant in the Crippled Children's Service.

Georgia Ball, Regional Medical Social Consultant, Crippled Children's Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, San Francisco.

2. Specialized Consultant in Child Welfare Services.

Mildred Arnold, Director, Children's Division, State Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis. Page 426.

Saturday, June 7—Case Work Services in Public Welfare.

1. Conserving Human Values in Public Welfare Programs Where the Service Meets the Client.

Dorothy Kahn, Assistant Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City. Page 308.

2. Administrative Practice Directed toward Conserving Human Values.

Harriet L. Tynes, Consultant in Field Training and Procedures, State Department of Public Welfare, Richmond, Va. Page 320.

SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Monday, June 2—Civil Liberties.

Has Group Work a Part to Play in the Preservation and Extension of Civil Liberties?

Clara A. Kaiser, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City. Page 185.

Robert A. McKibben, Executive Director, All Nations Foundation, Los Angeles.

Elizabeth M. De Maris, General Secretary, Uptown Branch, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.

Philip Schiff, New Orleans.

Tuesday, June 3—

Group Discussion 1. Use of Buildings by Groups Involving Controversial Issues.

Discussion leader: Helen Saftel, Executive Director, Hecht Neighborhood House, Dorchester, Mass.

Participant:

James H. Boswell, Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, New York City.

Group Discussion 2. Civil Liberties of Workers in Social Agencies.

Discussion leader: Helen D. Beavers, Advisory Secretary, Division of Communities, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.

Group Discussion 3. Freedom of Action of Groups Affiliated with the Agency.

Discussion leader: Elisabeth S. Rogers, General Secretary, Young Women's Christian Association, Newark, N. J.

Participant:

Sol Bernstein, Instructor in Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City.

Wednesday, June 4—What Does the Group Work Process Have to Contribute to a Housing Program?

1. In Planning in the Community before a Housing Development.
Mrs. Edmund B. McKenna, board member, Butler-Mitchell Boys Club; Executive Committee, Camp Fire Girls; and Vice Chairman, Buffalo Municipal Housing Authority, Buffalo, N. Y.

2. In Organization of the Poorly Housed for a Housing Program.
Mrs. Sheba Ziprin, Lower East Side Public Housing Conference,
New York City.
3. In Organization and Community Work with Tenants' Groups
in a New Housing Development.
Jean Coman, Community Relations Counselor, United States
Housing Authority, Washington, D. C. Page 541.

Thursday, June 5—

Group Discussion 1. House Councils and Other Forms of Member-
ship Participation.

Discussion leader: Mary Ellen Hubbard, Southwark Neighbor-
hood House, Philadelphia.

Participants:

Loretta Meschter, Philadelphia Christian Youth Council, Phila-
delphia.

Annette Murphy, Dixon House, Philadelphia.

Group Discussion 2. The Living Newspaper as an Educational
Technique in Groups.

Discussion leader: Helen Hall, Director, Henry Street Settlement,
New York City.

Group Discussion 3. Recreation and Education Programs in Trade
Unions.

Discussion leader: Hilda W. Smith, Director, Workers' Service
Program, Works Projects Administration, Washington, D. C.

Participants:

Noble Combs, State Supervisor, Workers' Service Program,
Works Projects Administration, Indianapolis.

Emeric Kurtagh, Educational Director, Henry Street Settlement,
New York City.

Esther Peterson, Recreation Director, Amalgamated Clothing
Workers of America.

Lawrence Rogin, Educational Director, Federation of Hosiery
Workers, Philadelphia.

Maida Springer, Executive Board, Local 22, International
Ladies Garment Workers Union, New York City.

Group Discussion 4. Problems of Supervision in Group Work.

Discussion leader: Leah Milkman, Associate in Field Work, New
York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City.

Participants:

Edith I. Yeomans, Assistant Director, Union Settlement of Hart-
ford, Conn.

Frances Adkins Hall, American Association for the Study of
Group Work.

Samuel Levine, Executive Director, Council Educational Alliance, Cleveland.

Edna d'Issertelle, national staff, Girl Scouts, New York City.

Group Discussion 5. Is There a Law of Diminishing Returns in Record Keeping?

Discussion leader: Sanford Solendar, head worker, Madison House, New York City.

Group Discussion 6. Vocational Training for Youth.

Discussion leader: Helen M. Harris, National Youth Administration Administrator for New York City and Long Island, New York City.

Participants:

Edward Hachtel, Director of Youth Personnel, National Youth Administration for New York City and Long Island, New York City.

Beatrice Candee, Supervisory Psychologist, National Youth Administration for New York City and Long Island, New York City.

Group Discussion 7. Physical Education as a Part of the Group Program.

Discussion leader: L. K. Hall, Springfield College, Springfield, Mass.

Participants:

Charles Frasher, Supervisor of Civil Service, State Department of Health, Harrisburg, Pa.

Everett Duvall, Temple University, Philadelphia.

George Draper, Springfield College, Springfield, Mass.

Group Discussion 8. Coöperatives and Credit Unions.

Discussion leader: Merton J. Trast, General Secretary, Social Welfare Society, Lincoln, Nebr.

Participants:

Helen Gauss, South Omaha Social Settlement, Omaha, Nebr.

Franklin I. Harbach, Henry Street Settlement, New York City.

Rosalie Supplee, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

Friday, June 6—Consumer Education through the Group Process.

Harriet Elliott, consumer representative, Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.

Colston Warne, President, Consumers' Union of the United States; Associate Professor of Economics, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Saturday, June 7—Implications of the Defense Program for Agencies in the Group Work Field.

Mark McCloskey, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

John W. Faust, Field Recreation Representative, Office of the Coordinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities, Federal Security Agency, Fayetteville, N. C.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Monday, June 2—Community Organization in Time of Crisis.

1. From a National Point of View.

Robert E. Bondy, Chairman, National Work Council, and Administrator, Services to the Armed Forces, American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C. Page 547.

2. From a Local Point of View.

Pierce Atwater, Executive Director, Community Fund of Chicago. Page 555.

Discussant:

Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Tuesday, June 3—Effective Organization of Social Forces.

Group Meeting 1. In Cities with Population of Less than Five Hundred Thousand.

John B. Dawson, Executive Director, Dayton Bureau of Community Service, Dayton, Ohio.

T. Lester Swander, Executive Director, Corpus Christi Community Chest, Corpus Christi, Texas.

Discussant:

Arlie Johnson, Dean, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.

Group Meeting 2. (Panel discussion.) In Small Towns and Rural Communities.

Chairman: Kate Bullock, Chief, Division of Child Welfare, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbia, S. C.

Panel participants:

Helen Alcorn, Wapello County Children's Worker, Ottumwa, Iowa.

Lucia Bing, Division of Public Assistance, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio.

James Brunot, Director, Public Welfare Committees Department, State Charities Aid Association, New York City.

Ruby D. Elwell, Child Welfare Division, State Department of Public Welfare, St. Albans, Vt.

Joan Kain, Child Welfare Consultant, State Public Welfare Commission, Portland, Oreg.

Neuta Lumberg, Great Lakes Indian Agency, Ashland, Wis.

Louise W. Rice, Director, Dallas County Department of Public Welfare, Selma, Ala.

Summary prepared by: Martha C. Wood, Field Consultant in Child Welfare, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Page 565.

Wednesday, June 4—

Group Meeting 1. (Joint session with Section I: Social Case Work.)
Effecting Change in Program and Structure of a Family Welfare Agency.

Perry B. Hall, Executive Secretary, Child and Family Service of Peoria, Peoria, Ill.

Discussant:

Russell H. Kurtz, Editor, *Social Work Year Book*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Group Meeting 2. (Joint session with Section I: Social Case Work.)
Effecting Change in Program and Structure of a Child-Care Agency.

Herschel Alt, Secretary and General Manager, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis, Mo.

Discussant:

Edwina M. Lewis, Secretary, Division of Family and Child Welfare, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago.

Group Meeting 3. Effecting Change in Program and Structure of a Group Work Agency.

Mrs. Lewis A. De Blois, Executive Secretary, Program Division, Girl Scouts, New York City.

Discussant:

Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, University of Michigan.

Group Meeting 4. Effecting Change in Program and Structure of a Public Welfare Agency.

Eunice Minton, Director, Department of Public Assistance, State Welfare Board, Jacksonville, Fla. Page 662.

Discussant:

Hugh Jackson, Associate Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City. Page 344.

Thursday, June 5—(Panel discussion.) Methods and Processes of Effecting Change in Programs and Structure of Agencies.

Chairman: Kenneth L. M. Pray, Professor of Social Planning and Administration, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia.

Panel participants:

Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, University of Michigan.

Kathryn Farra, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City.
Hugh Jackson, Associate Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City.

Russell H. Kurtz, Editor, *Social Work Year Book*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Robert P. Lane, Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City.

Edwina M. Lewis, Secretary, Division of Family and Child Welfare, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago.

George W. Rabinoff, Associate Director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City.

Summary prepared by: Kathryn Farra and Kenneth L. M. Pray.
Page 597.

Friday, June 6—

Group Meeting 1. (Joint session with Section I: Social Case Work.)
Common Techniques of Community Organization and Other Fields.

1. Of Group Work and Community Organization.

Mildred Esgar, Associate Professor of the Social Sciences, George Williams College, Chicago.

2. Of Case Work and Community Organization.

Philip S. Akre, Regional Field Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City.

Group Meeting 2. Putting into Effect Studies or Surveys.

Oscar W. Kuolt, General Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Rochester, N. Y.

Eleanor A. Schopke, regional representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, San Antonio, Texas.

Group Meeting 3. Professional Education in Community Organization.

1. Teaching Community Organization in Schools of Social Work.

Wilbur I. Newstetter, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh.

2. Training for Leadership in Community Chests and Councils.

Irene Farnham Conrad, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Houston, Texas.

Discussant:

Paul L. Benjamin, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Buffalo, N. Y.

Group Meeting 4. Problems of Administration in Community Organization.

Otto T. Gilmore, Associate Director, Boston Council of Social Agencies, Boston. Page 587.

PROGRAM

C. Whit Pfeiffer, Secretary, Kansas City Charities Fund, Kansas City, Mo. Page 577.

Group Meeting 5. The Social Worker's Role in Agency-Community Relationships.

Mary Clarke Burnett, Professor of Social Work and head of the Department of Social Work, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh. Page 671.

Group Meeting 6. The Community Welfare Picture as Reflected in Financial and Service Statistics of Thirty-five Urban Areas, 1940.

Louis J. Owen, Supervisor of the Current Reports Section, Division of Statistical Research, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Saturday, June 7—Values and Limitations of Social Action.

1. How We Move toward Social Goals.

Homer Folks, Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City.

2. Progress in Industrial Health.

Alice Hamilton, M.D., Professor Emeritus of Industrial Medicine, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Discussant:

Robert T. Lansdale, Director, Institute of Welfare Research.
Community Service Society of New York, New York City.

SOCIAL ACTION

Monday, June 2—Labor and Industry—the British Scene.

Mary Craig McGeachy, Ministry of Economic Warfare, British Embassy, Washington, D. C. Page 57.

Tuesday, June 3—Labor and National Defense.

1. From the Viewpoint of Labor Relations and Standard of Living.
Robert J. Watt, International Representative, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

2. From the Viewpoint of Economic Planning.

Walter P. Reuther, Director, General Motors Department, United Automobile Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Detroit.

Discussant:

John A. Lapp, Labor Mediator, Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, June 4—Social Need and Mobilization for Social Action.

1. Child Labor Law Enacted by Community Action in New Jersey.

Mary L. Dyckman, chairman, Child Labor Committee, Consumers' League of New Jersey; attorney, Orange, N. J.

Samuel Ferster, member, New Jersey State Legislature, Trenton, N. J.

2. The Labor Problem in the Home in the Limelight of Public Opinion.

Mrs. Edward Sherwood Mead, board member, Institute of Household Occupations, Philadelphia.

Thursday, June 5—

Group Meeting 1.

1. Social Action in Social Work. How can it be effectively related to the broader trends in social organization?

Harry L. Lurie, Executive Director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City. Page 631.

2. Guideposts for Social Actionists. As developed in a New York discussion group on social action.

Sydney Maslen, Secretary, Committee on Housing, Community Service Society of New York, New York City. Page 642.

Group Meeting 2. Social Action on the Legislative Front.

1. Without Fanfare.

Alvin Guyler, Program Director, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

2. When There's a Fight.

Walter White, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City.

3. How It Looks at the Capitol.

Abbott Low Moffat, Assemblyman, New York State Legislature, chairman, Assembly, Ways and Means Committee, Albany, N. Y. Page 652.

Friday, June 6—The Poll Tax; or, "Who Is Fit to Vote in a Democracy?"

1. The Fight for Minority Rights.

George C. Stoney, journalist, Montgomery, Ala. Page 173.

2. The Negro and Economic Opportunity.

Lester B. Granger, Assistant Executive Secretary, National Urban League, New York City. Page 75.

Saturday, June 7—Health Service in Defense Areas.

1. Human and Health Needs in Defense Areas.

Dorothy Deming, General Director, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York City.

2. Health Service and Medical Care for Workers in Defense Industries.

Walter N. Polakov, Director, Engineering Department, United Mine Workers of America.

3. Health Service Centers in Defense Areas.
Kingsley Roberts, M.D., Director, Medical Administration Service, Washington, D. C. Page 477.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Monday, June 2—Politics and Professional Integrity.

1. People, Politics, and Public Welfare.
Loula Dunn, Commissioner, State Department of Public Welfare, Montgomery, Ala.
2. Social Action and Professional Integrity.
Louis Towley, State Division of Social Welfare, St. Paul, Minn.

Tuesday, June 3—The Operation of the New State Merit Systems in Public Welfare.

1. Some Observations on State Merit Systems.
Harry W. Marsh, Field Secretary, National Civil Service Reform League, New York City.
2. Problems of an Administrator Working with a Merit System.
Howard L. Russell, Secretary, State Department of Public Assistance, Harrisburg, Pa. Page 513.

Discussants:

Albert H. Aronson, Chief, State Technical Advisory Service, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

Russell W. Ballard, Director, Lake County Department of Public Welfare, Gary, Ind.

Wednesday, June 4—

1. The Relief Study of the National Resources Planning Board.
Eveline M. Burns, Director of Research, Committee on Long-Range Work and Relief Policies, National Resources Planning Board, Washington, D. C.
2. The Effect of the Defense Program on Our Relief Needs.
Philip D. Flanner, Field Representative, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago. Page 357.

Thursday, June 5—

Group Discussion 1. (Joint session with the American Home Economics Association, Social Welfare and Public Health Department.) Need and Its Determination in Public Welfare.

Discussion leader: Flora L. Slocum, Technical Consultant on Standards of Assistance, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

Group Discussion 2. The Fair Hearing in Public Assistance: Procedures and Objectives.

Discussion leader: Philip D. Flanner, Field Representative, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago.

Discussants:

Glenn E. Jackson, Executive Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N. Y.

E. A. Willson, Executive Director, State Public Welfare Board, Bismarck, N. Dak.

Group Discussion 3. Case Review as a Method of Supervision in Public Assistance.

Discussion leader: Joseph H. Louchheim, Assistant Professor of Public Welfare, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh.

Discussants:

Martha E. Phillips, Regional Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Chicago.

Antonio A. Sorieri, Area Director, State Department of Social Welfare, Binghamton, N. Y.

Group Discussion 4. (Joint session with the American Association on Mental Deficiency and the National Association for Aid to Dependent Children.) Physical and Mental Incapacity as a Special Problem in Aid to Dependent Children.

Discussion leader: Florentine Hackbusch, Field Representative, Bureau of Mental Health, State Department of Welfare, Harrisburg, Pa.

Discussants:

Lucille M. Smith, Consultant on Medical Social Work, Division of Standards and Procedures, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

Esther M. McClain, Chief, Aid to Dependent Children, Division of Public Assistance, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio.

Group Discussion 5. (Joint session with the American Home Economics Association, Social Welfare and Public Health Department.) The Farm Security Program for Rural Families.

Discussion leader: Carl N. Gibboney, Associate Director, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Discussants:

Hubert Harris, Director of Public Assistance, State Social Security Commission, Jefferson City, Mo.

Lelia C. Ogle, Chief, Home Management, Farm Security Ad-

ministration, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Katherine B. Head, Regional Chief of Home Management, Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, Upper Darby, Pa.

Friday, June 6—Current Problems in Social Insurance.

1. Needed Changes in State and Federal Legislation in Unemployment Compensation.

Ewan Clague, Director, Bureau of Employment Security, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C. Page 522.

2. Developments in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program. John J. Corson, Director, Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C. Page 533.

Discussants:

Abraham Epstein, Executive Secretary, American Association for Social Security, New York City.

Raymond Clapp, Public Welfare Consultant, Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance, Washington, D. C.

Saturday, June 7—

1. A Federal Program of Work and Maintenance.

Edith Abbott, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. Page 332.

2. The Values in Preserving State and Local Participation in General Relief.

Hugh R. Jackson, Associate Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City.

Discussants:

Donald S. Howard, Research Assistant, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Frank Bancroft, Managing Editor, *Social Work Today*, New York City.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON DELINQUENCY

Monday, June 2—Breaking the Delinquency-Crime Chain.

1. By Preventive Methods.

Saul D. Alinsky, Executive Director, Industrial Areas Foundation, Chicago.

2. In Juvenile Courts and Probation Services.

Gustav L. Schramm, judge, Juvenile Court of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh.

3. In Juvenile Institutions.

William J. Ellis, Commissioner, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, N. J. Page 447.

Discussants:

Gunnar Dybwad, Administrative Secretary to the Medical Director, New York State Training School for Boys, Warwick, N. Y.

Eleanor T. Glueck, special research project, Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

Discussion leader: Helen Leland Witmer, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass.

Tuesday, June 3—Breaking the Delinquency-Crime Chain.

1. The Youthful Offender.

Thorsten Sellin, Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

2. A Coördinated Approach to Correction.

Garrett Heyns, Director of Corrections, State Department of Corrections, Lansing, Mich.

3. Modern Penal and Correctional Systems.

James V. Bennett, Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D. C. Page 440.

Discussants:

Sanford Bates, Commissioner, New York State Board of Parole, New York City.

Robert Taber, chief probation officer, Municipal Court, Philadelphia.

Discussion leader: Austin H. McCormick, Executive Director, the Osborne Association, New York City.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION

Monday, June 2—

1. Interstate Migration and Industrial Opportunity Today.

Will W. Alexander, Director, Minority Groups Section, Labor Division, Office of Production Management, Washington, D. C. Page 134.

2. Effects of Interstate Migration in Agriculture Today.

Senator Robert M. La Follette, United States Senate, Washington, D. C. Page 145.

3. Presentation of Committee's Platform on Interstate Migration.

Philip E. Ryan, Administrative Assistant to Vice Chairman, Insular and Foreign Operations, American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C. Page 154.

Tuesday, June 3—Panel discussion.

Platform on Interstate Migration.

Chairman: Philip E. Ryan, Administrative Assistant to Vice Chairman, Insular and Foreign Operations, American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

Panel participants:

Nelson H. Cruikshank, Director, Migratory Labor Division, Farm Security Administration, Washington, D. C.

Myron Falk, Social Economist, State Department of Public Welfare, Baton Rouge, La.

Glenn Jackson, Executive Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N. Y.

Robert K. Lamb, Chief Investigator, Special Committee to Investigate National Defense Migration, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Bertha McCall, General Director, National Travelers Aid Association, New York City.

R. F. Boegler, Assistant Regional Representative, Bureau of Federal Security, Philadelphia.

Summary prepared by: Philip E. Ryan.

COMMITTEE ON LAW AND SOCIAL WORK

Wednesday, June 4—Critical Legal Problems in the Administration of Social Services.

1. The Need for Legal Concepts in the Formulation of Administrative Policies.

A. Delafield Smith, Assistant General Counsel, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C. Page 502.

2. The Task of Judicial Procedure When Social Needs Become Legal Rights.

Ralph F. Fuchs, Professor of Law, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

Thursday, June 5—Current Legal Problems in Social Case Work.

1. Choosing between Social Treatment and Legal Authority in Family Problems.

Jeanette Hanford, Assistant General Superintendent, United Charities of Chicago, Chicago.

2. What a Social Agency Can Do to Provide Legal Services to the Needy.

John S. Bradway, President, National Association of Legal Aid Organizations; Professor of Law, Duke University, Durham, N. C.

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

Monday, June 2—Plans for Medical Care.

1. Medical Care in Public Assistance Program.
Clara Willman, Executive Secretary, Anne Arundel County Welfare Board, Annapolis, Md.
2. Medical Care Experience of the Farm Security Administration in California.
Karl Schaupp, M.D., Associate Clinical Professor, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.; member, Board of Directors, Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association, San Francisco. Page 494.
3. Pre-payment for Medical Services.
William J. Norton, member, Executive Committee, Michigan Medical Service; Executive Vice President and Secretary, Children's Fund of Michigan, Detroit.
4. Actuarial Factors in Medical Care Plans.
Gilbert W. Fitzhugh, assistant actuary, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City.

Discussant:

Ira V. Hiscock, Professor of Public Health, Yale University School of Medicine, New Haven, Conn.

Wednesday, June 4—National Health Problems of an Aging Population.

1. Cancer.
Leonard A. Scheele, M.D., National Institute of Health, Washington, D. C.
2. Mental Diseases.
Winfred Overholser, M.D., Superintendent, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C.; Professor of Psychiatry, George Washington University School of Medicine, Washington, D. C. Page 455.
3. Social Aspects.
Elizabeth Dexter, Secretary, Family Service Department, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Discussant:

Jane Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON OLDER CHILDREN

Wednesday, June 4—Problems Older Children Face.

1. Youth and Recent Population Trends.
Warren S. Thompson, Director, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

2. Older Children's Problems in Personality Adjustment.
James S. Plant, M.D., Director, Essex County Juvenile Clinic,
Newark, N. J. Page 377.

Thursday, June 5—

1. The Contribution of Group Relations to the Development of Older Children.
Grace L. Coyle, Professor of Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland. Page 387.
2. The Psychology and Direct Treatment of Adolescents.
Dorothy Hankins, chief social worker, Winston-Salem Child Guidance Clinic, Winston-Salem, N. C.
3. The School's Approach to the Problem of the Older Children.
Carl Aretz, District Superintendent, Philadelphia school system, Philadelphia.

COMMITTEE ON THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Thursday, June 5—The Exploration of the Common Factors in Work for the Physically Handicapped.

The Common Task in Serving the Physically Handicapped.

William Hodson, Commissioner, Department of Welfare, New York City.

Discussant:

Evelyn C. McKay, Social Research Secretary, American Foundation for the Blind, New York City.

Friday, June 6—Who Are Engaged in the Common Task of Assisting the Physically Handicapped and How Can They Best Serve Together in Realizing the Greatest Total Service?

Coördinating the Efforts of Agencies Serving the Physically Handicapped.

Stanley P. Davies, Executive Director, Community Service Society of New York, New York City. Page 464.

Discussant:

Lawrence J. Linck, Executive Secretary, Illinois Commission for Physically Handicapped Children, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

Thursday, June 5—Child Refugees.

1. The American Program for Child Refugees.
Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Page 198.
2. The Canadian Problem for Overseas Children.
Charlotte Whitton, Executive Director, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa. Pages 24, 219.

Friday, June 6—Refugees.

1. World Refugee Problem.

James G. McDonald, chairman, President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees; President, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Brooklyn, N. Y.

2. The Work of the Refugee Agencies in the United States, Its Successes and Inadequacies.

Arthur D. Greenleigh, Acting Executive Director, National Refugee Service, New York City. Page 208.

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HOUSING

Wednesday, June 4—Housing as a Resource in Public Health and Public Welfare Work.

1. In Public Welfare Work.

Gerhard Becker, Director of Public Welfare, Board of Public Welfare, Worcester, Mass.

2. In Health Work.

John C. Leukhardt, Associate Technical Adviser, National Institute of Health, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C. Page 485.

Thursday, June 5—

1. Who Should Live in Public Housing?

John Ihlder, Executive Officer, Alley Dwelling Authority, Washington, D. C.

2. Adjusted Rents and Graded Rents.

Bryn Hovde, Administrator, Pittsburgh Housing Authority, Pittsburgh.

Discussants:

Helen Shuford, Tenant Relations Director, Alley Dwelling Authority, Washington, D. C.

James W. Bradner, Jr., Federal Works Agency, Washington, D. C.

Saturday, June 7—The Defense Housing Program.

1. Meeting the Need for Defense Housing.

Carl Monsees, Housing Coördinator's Office, National Defense Advisory Commission, Washington, D. C.

2. Rents and Living Standards.

Joseph P. Tufts, Adviser on Fair Rents, Consumers Division, National Defense Advisory Commission, Pittsburgh.

APPENDIX B: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1941

OFFICERS

President: Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D. C.
First Vice President: Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N. J.
Second Vice President: Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago
Third Vice President: John T. Clark, St. Louis
Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York City
General Secretary: Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Jane M. Hoey, President; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., First Vice President; Fred K. Hoehler, Second Vice President; John T. Clark, Third Vice President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1941:* Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Charles F. Ernst, Washington, D. C.; Elmer R. Goudy, Portland, Oreg.; Harry Greenstein, Baltimore; Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago; Cheney C. Jones, Boston; Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York City; Clara Paul Paige, Chicago; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles; Anna Budd Ware, Cincinnati. *Term expiring 1942:* Helen Cody Baker, Chicago; Leah Feder, St. Louis; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D. C.; the Right Rev. Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City; Edward D. Lynde, Cleveland; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N. J. *Term expiring 1943:* Pierce Atwater, Chicago; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D. C.; Charlotte Carr, Chicago; Joanna C. Colcord, New York City; H. L. Lurie, New York City; Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh; Josephine Roche, Denver

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex officio: Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D. C., Chairman; Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1941:* Frederick J. Moran, Albany, N. Y.; Joseph Tufts, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1942:* Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh; Ben M. Selekman, Boston. *Term expiring 1943:* Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Chester Bowles, Essex, Conn. *Section Chairmen:* Leah Feder, St.

Louis; Helen Hall, New York City; Robert P. Lane, New York City; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland, Chairman; Maud T. Barrett, Baton Rouge; Louis E. Evans, Indianapolis; Virginia Howlett, New York City; Rev. John R. Mulroy, Denver; Lillian A. Quinn, White Plains, N. Y.; Helen Rowe, Washington, D. C.; Alice Williams, Buffalo; Rev. L. Foster Wood, New York City

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Earl N. Parker, New York City, Chairman; Ira V. Hiscock, New Haven, Conn.; Phoebe Matthews, San Francisco

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Florence M. Mason, Cleveland, Chairman. *Term expiring 1941:* Lonla Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.; Louise McGuire, Washington, D. C.; George W. Rabinoff, New York City; Reuben B. Resnik, Dallas, Texas; C. C. Ridge, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Howard M. Slutes, Englewood, N. J. *Term expiring 1942:* Ralph Blanchard, New York City; John S. Bradway, Durham, N. C.; Isabel P. Kennedy, Pittsburgh; Marian Lowe, Kansas City, Kans.; Louise A. Root, Milwaukee; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Ga.; T. E. Wintersteen, Chattanooga, Tenn. *Term expiring 1943:* C. W. Areson, Industry, N. Y.; Harry M. Carey, Boston; Louise M. Clevenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Helen W. Hanchette, Cleveland; Charles I. Schottland, Washington, D. C.; Marietta Stevenson, Chicago; Walter W. Whitson, Houston, Texas

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

Chairman: Leah Feder, St. Louis

Vice Chairman: Lucille Nickel Austin, New York City

Term expiring 1941: Catherine Bliss, Los Angeles; Susan Burlingham, Philadelphia; Leah Feder, St. Louis; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Ruth Smalley, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1942:* Herschel Alt, Hawthorne, N. Y.; Lillian Johnson, Seattle; Rosemary R. Reynolds, Philadelphia; Clare M. Tousley, New York City; Grace White, New Orleans. *Term expiring 1943:* Marcella Farrar, Cleveland; Alta C. Hoover, San Francisco; Ruth E. Lewis, St. Louis; Mary E. Lucas, New York City; Louise Silbert, Boston

SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Chairman: Helen Hall, New York City

Vice Chairman: Clara A. Kaiser, New York City

Term expiring 1941: Joseph P. Anderson, Pittsburgh; Clara A. Kaiser, New York City; Glenford W. Lawrence, Chicago; W. T. McCullough, Cleveland; Helen Rowe, Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1942:* Sanford Bates, New York City; Louis H. Blumenthal, San Francisco; Lucy P. Carner, Chicago; Louise M. Clevenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Harold D. Meyer, Chapel Hill, N. C. *Term expiring 1943:* Harrison S. Elliott, New York City; Charles E. Hendry, New York City; Mary Ellen Hubbard, Philadelphia; Annie Clo Watson, San Francisco; Margaret Williamson, New York City

SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Robert P. Lane, New York City

Vice Chairman: Russell H. Kurtz, New York City

Term expiring 1941: C. Raymond Chase, Boston; David C. Liggett, Minneapolis; C. Whit Pfeiffer, Kansas City, Mo.; Orville Robertson, Seattle; Florence M. Warner, New London, Conn. *Term expiring 1942:* George F. Davidson, Victoria, B. C., Canada; Robert P. Lane, New York City; Arch Mandel, New York City; Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., Chicago; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1943:* Ralph H. Blanchard, New York City; Arthur Dunham, Detroit, Mich.; Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; Josephine Strode, Ithaca, N. Y.; Martha Wood, Washington, D. C.

SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: Lea D. Taylor, Chicago

Vice Chairman: George E. Bigge, Washington, D. C.

Term expiring 1941: Charlotte Carr, Chicago; Martha A. Chickering, Sacramento, Calif.; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; Conrad Van Hyning, Washington, D. C.; Mary van Kleeck, New York City. *Term expiring 1942:* J. P. Chamberlain, New York City; Michael M. Davis, New York City; Right Rev. Francis J. Haas, Washington, D. C.; John A. Lapp, Chicago; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1943:* Mary Anderson, Washington, D. C.; Roger N. Baldwin, New York City; John S. Bradway, Durham, N. C.; Paul H. Douglas, Chicago

SECTION V. PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Robert T. Lansdale, New York City

Vice Chairman: Benjamin E. Youngdahl, St. Louis

Term expiring 1941: C. W. Areson, Industry, N. Y.; Mary Irene Atkinson, Washington, D. C.; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D. C.; Josephine C. Brown, Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1942:* David C. Adie, Albany, N. Y.; Right Rev. Monsignor John O'Grady, Washington, D. C.; Ruth Taylor, Valhalla, N. Y.; Charlotte Whitton, Ottawa, Canada; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans. *Term expiring*

1943: Charles H. Alspach, Needham, Mass.; Robert W. Beasley, San Francisco; William Haber, New York City; Florence L. Sullivan, Washington, D. C.; Ernest F. Witte, Seattle

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON DELINQUENCY

Chairman: Austin H. MacCormick, New York City

Saul D. Alinsky, Chicago; Mrs. J. L. Averitt, Alexandria, La.; Henley V. Bastin, Anchorage, Ky.; James Bennett, Washington, D. C.; O. H. Close, Waterman, Calif.; Fred R. Johnson, Detroit; Edward L. Johnstone, Woodbine, N. J.; Frank J. O'Brien, M.D., New York City; Ralph H. Rosenberger, St. Cloud, Minn.; Gustav L. Schramm, Pittsburgh; Robert Taber, Philadelphia; Miriam Van Waters, Framingham, Mass.

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION

Chairman: Philip E. Ryan, Washington, D. C.

Vice Chairman: Myron Falk, Baton Rouge, La.

Courtenay Dinwiddie, New York City; F. D. Hopkins, New York City; Louis Hosch, Chicago; Glenn Jackson, Albany, N. Y.; Edith E. Lowry, New York City; Bertha McCall, New York City; Homer Morganthaler, Columbus, Ohio; Philip Schafer, New York City; T. J. Woofter, Jr., Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON LAW AND SOCIAL WORK

Chairman: Emery A. Brownell, Rochester, N. Y.

Ralph Fuchs, St. Louis; E. Marguerite Gane, Buffalo; Silas A. Harris, Columbus, Ohio; Arthur Harvey, Albany, N. Y.; Joel Hunter, Chicago; Joseph Louchheim, Pittsburgh; Alice Scott Nutt, Washington, D. C.; Sarah B. Schaar, Chicago; Gustav Schramm, Pittsburgh; A. Delafield Smith, Washington, D. C.; Charles Zunser, New York City

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

Chairman: Ira V. Hiscock, New Haven, Conn.

Donald B. Armstrong, M.D., New York City; Reginald M. Atwater, New York City; Creighton Barker, M.D., New Haven, Conn.; H. Jackson Davis, M.D., Albany, N. Y.; Dorothy Deming, New York City; Martha Eliot, M.D., Washington, D. C.; Kendall Emerson, M.D., New York City; Hugh Leavell, M.D., Louisville, Ky.; George S. Stevenson, M.D., New York City

COMMITTEE ON OLDER CHILDREN

Chairman: James Plant, M.D., Newark, N. J.

Vice Chairman: Elizabeth E. Nye, New York City

Margaret Barbee, Baltimore; Margaret E. Bull, Waterbury, Conn.; M. B. Conover, Philadelphia; Margaret Davidson, New York City; Mildred Dewey, Boston; John A. Eisenhauer, Hudson, Ohio; Genrose Gehri, Chicago; Mary C. Gleason, Rochester, N. Y.; Mary H. S. Hayes, Washington, D. C.; H. W. Hopkirk, New York City; Howard Y. McClusky, Washington, D. C.; Vallie Smith Miller, Nashville, Tenn.; Doris M. Sylvester, Boston

COMMITTEE ON THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Chairman: Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis

Vice Chairman: Alberta Chase, St. Louis

Claire E. Censky, Chicago; Mary E. Church, Baltimore; Arthur Dunham, Detroit; Oliver A. Friedman, Milwaukee; Bell Greve, Cleveland; Harry H. Howett, Elyria, Ohio; John J. Lee, Detroit; Eleanor B. Merrill, New York City; Emma C. Puschner, Indianapolis; Samuel D. Robbins, Boston; Jessie L. Stevenson, New York City; M. M. Walter, Harrisburg; Betty C. Wright, Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

Chairman: Eric Biddle, New York City

William Haber, New York City; Jacob Kepecs, Chicago; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D. C.; Patrick M. Malin, New York City; Clarence Pickett, Philadelphia; Rev. Bernard J. Sheil, Chicago

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HOUSING

Chairman: Sydney Maslen, New York City

Vice Chairman: Calvin Yuill, Boston

Joseph Anderson, Pittsburgh; H. M. Cassidy, Berkeley, Calif.; Jean Coman, Arlington, Va.; O. T. Gilmore, Boston; Abraham Goldfeld, New York City; Helen Duey Hoffman, Washington, D. C.; Edith Holloway, Washington, D. C.; John Ihlder, Washington, D. C.; Catherine Lansing, New York City; Loula Lasker, New York City; Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia; D. E. Mackelman, Chicago; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati; Helen Shuford, Washington, D. C.; Florence D. Stewart, New York City

APPENDIX C: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1942

OFFICERS

President: Shelby M. Harrison, New York City
First Vice President: Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago
Second Vice President: Michael M. Davis, New York City
Third Vice President: Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia
Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York City
General Secretary: Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Shelby M. Harrison, President; Wilfred S. Reynolds, First Vice President; Michael M. Davis, Second Vice President; Betsey Libbey, Third Vice President; Jane M. Hoey, Past President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1942:* Helen Cody Baker, Chicago; Leah Feder, St. Louis; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D. C.; Right Rev. Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, New York City; Robert T. Lansdale, New York City; Edward D. Lynde, Cleveland; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N. J. *Term expiring 1943:* Pierce Atwater, Chicago; Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D. C.; Charlotte Carr, Chicago; Joanna C. Colcord, New York City; H. L. Lurie, New York City; Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh; Josephine Roche, Denver. *Term expiring 1944:* Martha A. Chickering, Sacramento, Calif.; Ewan Clague, Washington, D. C.; Evelyn K. Davis, New York City; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Agnes Van Driel, Washington, D. C.; Gertrude Wilson, Pittsburgh

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Under constitutional changes made at the Atlantic City meeting this committee could not be appointed until too late for inclusion here.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex officio: Shelby M. Harrison, New York City, Chairman; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D. C.; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio. *Term expiring 1942:* Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh; Ben M. Selekman, Bos-

ton. *Term expiring 1943*: Ruth O. Blakeslee, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Chester Bowles, Essex, Conn. *Term expiring 1944*: H. M. Cassidy, Berkeley, Calif.; Mary L. Gibbons, New York City. *Section Chairmen*: Jeanette Regensburg, New Orleans; W. I. Newstetter, Pittsburgh; Edward D. Lynde, Cleveland; John A. Fitch, New York City; Dorothy C. Kahn, New York City

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

T. E. Wintersteen, Chattanooga, Tenn., Chairman. *Term expiring 1942*: Ralph Blanchard, New York City; John S. Bradway, Durham, N. C.; Isabel P. Kennedy, Pittsburgh; Marian Lowe, Kansas City, Kans.; Louise A. Root, Milwaukee; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Ga.; T. E. Wintersteen, Chattanooga, Tenn. *Term expiring 1943*: C. W. Areson, Industry, N. Y.; Harry M. Carey, Boston; Louise M. Clevenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Helen W. Hanchette, Cleveland; Charles I. Schottland, Washington, D. C.; Marietta Stevenson, Chicago; Walter W. Whitson, Houston, Texas. *Term expiring 1944*: Douglas Falconer, New York City; A. T. Jamison, Greenwood, S. C.; Fred R. Johnson, Detroit; Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. Walter McGuinn, Boston; Merle E. McMahon, Dayton, Ohio; Richard M. Neustadt, San Francisco

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Chairman: Stanley P. Davies, New York City
Edith E. Brubb, New Orleans; E. J. Keyes, Oklahoma City, Okla.

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

Chairman: Jeanette Regensburg, New Orleans
Vice Chairman: Margaret Kauffman, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Term expiring 1942: Herschel Alt, Hawthorne, N. Y.; Lillian Johnson, Seattle; Rosemary Reynolds, Philadelphia; Clare M. Tousley, New York City; Grace White, New Orleans. *Term expiring 1943*: Marcella Farrar, Cleveland; Alta C. Hoover, San Francisco; Ruth E. Lewis, St. Louis; Mary E. Lucas, New York City; Louise Silbert, Boston. *Term expiring 1944*: Grace A. Browning, Chicago; Elizabeth McCord de Schweinitz, Baltimore; Elizabeth L. Porter, New Orleans; Helaine A. Todd, Boston; Anna Budd Ware, Cincinnati

SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Chairman: W. I. Newstetter, Pittsburgh
Vice Chairman: Joe R. Hoffer, Philadelphia

Term expiring 1942: Sanford Bates, New York City; Louis H. Blumenthal, San Francisco; Lucy P. Carner, Chicago; Louise M.

Clevenger, St. Paul, Minn.; Harold D. Meyer, Chapel Hill, N. C. *Term expiring 1943*: Harrison S. Elliott, New York City; Charles E. Hendry, New York City; Mary Ellen Hubbard, Philadelphia; Annie Clo Watson, San Francisco; Margaret Williamson, New York City. *Term expiring 1944*: Dorothy I. Cline, Washington, D. C.; Margaret Day, New York City; Neva R. Deardorff, New York City; John C. Smith, Jr., Boston; Harleigh Trecker, Los Angeles

SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Edward D. Lynde, Cleveland

Vice Chairman: Le Roy A. Ramsdell, Hartford, Conn.

Term expiring 1942: George F. Davidson, Victoria, B. C., Canada; Robert P. Lane, New York City; Arch Mandel, New York City; Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., Chicago; Mary Stanton, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1943*: Ralph H. Blanchard, New York City; Arthur Dunham, Detroit; Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; Josephine Strobe, Ithaca, N. Y.; Martha Wood, Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1944*: Helen M. Alvord, Greenwich, Conn.; Isabel P. Kennedy, Pittsburgh; W. T. McCullough, Cleveland; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Earl N. Parker, New York City

SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: John A. Fitch, New York City

Vice Chairman: Annetta M. Dieckmann, Chicago

Term expiring 1942: J. P. Chamberlain, New York City; Michael M. Davis, New York City; Right Rev. Francis J. Haas, Washington, D. C.; John A. Lapp, Chicago; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1943*: Mary Anderson, Washington, D. C.; Roger N. Baldwin, New York City; John S. Bradway, Durham, N. C.; Paul H. Douglas, Chicago. *Term expiring 1944*: John A. Fitch, New York City; Marion Hathway, Pittsburgh; T. Arnold Hill, New York City; Sidney Hollander, Baltimore; Lea D. Taylor, Chicago

SECTION V. PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Dorothy C. Kahn, New York City

Vice Chairman: Elizabeth Cosgrove, Washington, D. C.

Term expiring 1942: David C. Adie, Albany, N. Y.; Right Rev. Monsignor John O'Grady, Washington, D. C.; Ruth Taylor, Valhalla, N. Y.; Charlotte Whitton, Ottawa, Canada; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans. *Term expiring 1943*: Charles H. Alspach, Needham, Mass.; Robert W. Beasley, San Francisco; William Haber, New York City; Florence L. Sullivan, Washington, D. C.; Ernest F. Witte, Seattle. *Term expiring 1944*: Fay L. Bentley, Washington, D. C.; Elsa Castendyck, Washington, D. C.; Ruth Coleman, Chicago; Dorothy C. Kahn, New York City; Eunice Minton, Jacksonville, Fla.

APPENDIX D: BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE MINUTES

Thursday, June 5, 4:00 P.M.—Annual Business Meeting

There being a quorum present, the President called the meeting to order and asked for the report of the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, Mr. Mandel, the report was presented as follows by the Assistant Treasurer, Mr. Knight.

A report from the treasurer at this time in the fiscal year of the Conference is at best an interim report showing the financial condition of the Conference at the end of the first four months of the year's transactions.

1. The total cash income, including the cash balance as of January 1, 1941, was \$24,011.84. The total expenditures as of April 30, 1941, were \$21,188.47, leaving a cash balance in the bank of \$2,823.37. All bills are paid to date.

2. Considering only 1941 operations, as compared with the budget adopted for the fiscal year 1941, we have received \$19,817.59 of the estimated income of \$46,000.00 on the operating account. We have expended in the operating account \$14,618.45 of the estimated \$45,980.00.

3. It is obviously impossible to make any report at this time of the Annual Meeting account except to say that at the moment there is every prospect that our estimated income will be realized and the estimated expenditures will not be exceeded.

4. A forecast at this date shows that if all estimated income is realized and all estimated expenditures are made, we will close the year with an apparent deficit, which at the moment is a bookkeeping deficit, of \$637.22. However, of our estimated expenditures \$1,600.00 are not committed and we do not believe will be committed for expenditure. We have also been recently advised that, due to the action of the Ohio State Legislature, \$645.00 paid to the Ohio State Unemployment Compensation Commission in 1936 and 1937 will be refunded with accrued interest early in September. This sum was eliminated from our books a year ago but can be now re-entered as an asset.

Six detailed statements are submitted herewith: (1) a recapitulation and forecast for all financial affairs of the Conference for the year 1941; (2) all cash income and expenditures in the operating account for the period January 1 to April 30, 1941; (3) all cash income and expenditures on the Annual Meeting account for the period January 1 to April 30, 1941; (4) the 1941 operating budget, both income and expenditures, showing the status as of April 30, 1941, namely, the estimates adopted as of January 1, the actual income and expenditures for the first four months of the year, and the estimated income and expenditures for the balance of the year; (5) a statement

similar to No. 4 for the Annual Meeting budget; (6) the status of membership as of April 30, 1941.

The Conference takes this opportunity to express its appreciation for the loyal support of the membership and to request its continuance.

Respectfully submitted,

ARCH MANDEL

Treasurer

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the report of the Treasurer be approved.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK RECAPITULATION AND FORECAST

Income

Operating Account

Receipts and balance, January 1 to April 30, 1941..	\$23,984.34
Estimated receipts, May 1 to December 31, 1941....	26,182.41
Total actual and estimated income.....	\$50,166.75

Annual Meeting Account

Receipts, January 1 to April 30, 1941.....	\$ 27.50
Estimated receipts, May 1 to December 31, 1941....	10,872.50
Total actual and estimated income.....	\$10,900.00

Grand Total..... \$61,066.75

Expenditures

Operating Account

Expenditures, January 1 to April 30, 1941.....	\$20,217.42*
Estimated expenditures, May 1 to December 31, 1941	31,361.55
Total actual and estimated expenditures.....	\$51,578.97

Annual Meeting Account

Expenditures, January 1 to April 30, 1941.....	\$ 971.05
Estimated expenditures, May 1 to December 31, 1941	9,153.95
Total actual and estimated expenditures.....	\$10,125.00

Grand Total..... \$61,703.97

Apparent Deficit..... \$637.22

*Includes \$5,598.97 cost of 1940 *Proceedings*.

BUSINESS SESSIONS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
FINANCIAL STATEMENT*Operating Fund*

January 1—April 30, 1941

(All Cash Receipts and Expenditures)

Operating balance, January 1 \$ 4,166.75

Receipts, budget:

Memberships	\$18,341.01
Contributions . . . . .	...
Sales of <i>Bulletins</i>	56.80
Sales of <i>Proceedings</i>	117.40
Refunds	1,302.38
Miscellaneous . . . . .	...
Attendance fees . . . . .	...

Total receipts, operating fund \$19,817.59

Total receipts, Annual Meeting fund 27.50

Total receipts \$19,845.09

Total receipts and balance \$24,011.84

Expenditures, budget:

Salaries	\$ 8,394.98
Travel	1,601.34
Printing	2,980.00
Postage	733.92
Supplies	115.01
Telephone and telegraph	146.74
Rent	400.00
Equipment and repairs	53.90
Miscellaneous	192.56

Total expenditures, operating fund \$14,618.45

Total expenditures, Annual Meeting fund 971.05

Bill for 1940 *Proceedings* 5,598.97

Total expenditures \$21,188.47

Balance \$2,823.37

Functional Distribution of Expenditures:

General administration	\$6,493.35
Membership and publicity	822.09
Program Committee	508.95
<i>Proceedings</i> . . . . .	...
<i>Bulletins</i>	2,032.45
Office operation	4,569.05
Other	192.56

Total budget distribution \$14,618.45

BUSINESS SESSIONS

733

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Annual Meeting Fund

January 1—April 30, 1941

(All Cash Receipts and Expenditures)

Operating balance, January 1 \$471.40

Receipts, budget:

Attendance fees . . . . .	...
Booths	\$ 5.00
Printing . . . . .	.50
Miscellaneous	22.00

Total budget receipts	\$ 27.50
Transferred from operating fund	472.15

Total receipts, balance, and transfer \$971.05

Expenditures, budget:

Salaries . . . . .	...
Travel	\$200.00
Printing	748.95
Postage	22.10
Supplies . . . . .	...
Telephone and telegraph
Miscellaneous

Total budget expenditures	\$971.05
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Balance

Transferred from operating fund, March \$329.40

Transferred from operating fund, April 142.75

Total transferred \$472.15

Functional Distribution of Expenditures:

General administration	\$ 32.10
Publicity and press service	938.95
Booths . . . . .	...
Program and <i>Daily Bulletin</i> . . . . .	...
Other . . . . .	...

Total budget distribution \$971.05

BUSINESS SESSIONS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BUDGET STATEMENT*Operating Account*

January 1—April 30, 1941

(Only 1941 Income and Expenditures)

	<i>Budget Estimate</i>	<i>Actual Expenditures Jan. 1—April 30 1941</i>	<i>Estimated Balance</i>
Income:			
Memberships.....	\$41,800.00	\$18,341.01	\$23,458.99
Attendance fees.....	2,200.00	...	2,200.00
Miscellaneous.....	2,000.00	1,476.58	523.42
Total.....	\$46,000.00	\$19,817.59	\$26,182.41
Expenditures:			
Salaries.....	\$24,030.00	\$ 8,394.98	\$15,635.02
Travel.....	5,000.00	1,601.34	3,398.66
Printing.....	11,000.00	2,980.00	8,020.00
Postage.....	2,250.00	733.92	1,516.08
Supplies.....	600.00	115.01	484.99
Telephone and telegraph....	400.00	146.74	253.26
Rent.....	1,200.00	400.00	800.00
Equipment and repairs.....	500.00	53.90	446.10
Miscellaneous.....	1,000.00	192.56	807.44
Total.....	\$45,980.00	\$14,618.45	\$31,361.55
General administration.....	\$14,900.00	\$ 6,493.35	\$ 8,406.65
Membership and publicity.....	5,000.00	822.09	4,177.91
Program Committee.....	1,200.00	508.95	691.05
Proceedings.....	5,700.00	...	5,700.00
Bulletins.....	4,700.00	2,032.45	2,667.55
Office operation.....	13,480.00	4,569.05	8,910.95
Other.....	1,000.00	192.56	807.44
Total.....	\$45,980.00	\$14,618.45	\$31,361.55

BUSINESS SESSIONS

735

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BUDGET STATEMENT*Annual Meeting Account*

January 1—April 30, 1941

(Only 1941 Income and Expenditures)

	<i>Budget Estimate</i>	<i>Actual Expenditures Jan. 1—April 30 1941</i>	<i>Estimated Balance</i>
Income:			
Attendance fees.....	\$ 7,000.00	...	\$ 7,000.00
Booths.....	2,400.00	\$ 5.00	2,395.00
Printing.....	1,200.00	.50	1,199.50
Miscellaneous.....	300.00	22.00	278.00
Total.....	\$10,900.00	\$27.50	\$10,872.50
Expenditures:			
Salaries.....	\$ 1,475.00	...	\$1,475.00
Travel.....	2,600.00	\$200.00	2,400.00
Printing.....	3,400.00	748.95	2,651.05
Postage.....	300.00	22.10	277.90
Supplies and equipment.....	1,600.00	...	1,600.00
Telephone and telegraph.....	150.00	...	150.00
Miscellaneous.....	600.00	...	600.00
Total.....	\$10,125.00	\$971.05	\$9,153.95
General administration.....	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 32.10	\$2,967.90
Publicity and press service.....	3,325.00	938.95	2,386.05
Booths.....	1,200.00	...	1,200.00
Program and <i>Daily Bulletin</i>	2,000.00	...	2,000.00
Other.....	600.00	...	600.00
Total.....	\$10,125.00	\$971.05	\$9,153.95

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Status of Membership

April 30, 1941

<i>Members</i>	<i>\$3.00</i>	<i>\$5.00</i>	<i>\$10.00</i>	<i>\$25.00</i>	<i>Total</i>
Active:					
First quarter.....	199	369	226	167	961
Second quarter.....	571	916	192	108	1,787
Third quarter.....	27	101	38	28	194
Fourth quarter.....	56	132	142	94	424
Total.....	853	1,518	598	397	3,366
Delinquent:					
First quarter.....	110	68	14	13	205
Second quarter.....	1,312	1,199	65	33	2,609
Total.....	1,422	1,267	79	46	2,814
Grand Total.....	2,275	2,785	677	443	6,180
New:					
First quarter.....	44	57	9	1	111
Second quarter.....	31	37	3	1	74

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the report of the Treasurer be approved.

The report of the special committee appointed by the Executive Committee to reconsider the nominating procedures of the Conference and to present amendments to carry into effect proposed recommendations was called for. In the absence of the chairman, Mrs. Baker, the report was presented by Mr. Fred Hoehler, a member of the committee. The report of the committee was published in full in the January, 1941, *Bulletin*. Mr. Hoehler summarized the report briefly and presented the following amendments, which had been unanimously approved by the Executive Committee and published to the membership in the April, 1941, *Bulletin*, for the action of the meeting:

It is proposed that the title Section IV of the By-Laws, "Appointment of Committees," be eliminated and that there be substituted the title "Section IV, Committees."

That Item 1 under Section IV, now reading, "Within three months after

the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees," shall be eliminated.

That there shall be substituted therefor the following:

Item 1, "There shall be a Committee on Nominations of twenty-one members, seven elected each year for terms of three years.

"The members of the Committee on Nominations shall be nominated by the Committee on Nominations and elected by the official ballot submitted by mail to all members of record of the Conference as hereinafter provided. The President of the Conference shall within thirty days after the annual meeting appoint the chairman of the Committee on Nominations from its senior membership for a term of one year.

"In order to establish the Committee on Nominations, the Executive Committee at its first meeting following the annual meeting of 1941 shall elect the Committee on Nominations of twenty-one members, seven to serve terms of one year, seven to serve terms of two years, and seven to serve terms of three years. At its first meeting following the Annual Meeting of 1942, the Executive Committee shall elect seven members for terms of three years in place of the one-year members whose terms of office will have expired as provided above."

That that part of Section IV now designated (b) shall be designated 3.

That that part of Section IV now designated (a) shall be designated 4 and read as follows: "A Committee on Resolutions of three members shall be appointed by the President within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting."

It is further proposed that Section V, entitled "Sections," Item (c), first sentence, shall be amended by the elimination of the phrase "by the section members," so that it will read: "each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference."

It is further proposed that Section XIII, "Nomination and Election of Officers," Item 1, be amended by adding thereto as follows: "It shall also have the function of nominating one or more persons for the offices of chairman and vice chairman and at least twice as many persons as are to be elected for the committee of each constitutional section of the Conference. It shall further have the function of nominating at least twice as many persons as there are vacancies in the Committee on Nominations."

It is proposed to amend Section XIII, Item 3, as follows: After the first sentence, add the following sentence, "It shall use such other means of soliciting an expression of opinion from Conference members relative to proposed nominations as it deems feasible."

In the discussion a further amendment was proposed to the effect that the President of the Conference each year be continued as a member of the Executive Committee for a one-year term following his term as President. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was

voted to amend the Constitution and By-Laws to this effect and in the proper place.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to change the wording of the last sentence of the third paragraph in the proposed amendment to Section IV to read: "from members serving their third year."

The vote then being called for on the main question, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted unanimously to adopt the amendments as listed above.

The report of the Committee on Time and Place, Miss Florence Mason, chairman, was called for and presented as follows:

In selecting the place of the Annual Meeting the Committee on Time and Place of the Conference worked under the stated policy adopted by the Conference in Seattle in 1938, which provides, first, for rotation of the Annual Meeting among various areas of the country on a predetermined schedule. Accordingly, the 1941 meeting is being held in Area I, at Atlantic City. The meeting of 1942 is scheduled to be held in the Deep South, Area IV.

The second part of the policy is that, in so far as possible, the Conference should seek through the process of selecting its meeting place to make progress in securing all the necessary privileges for all its delegates without discrimination because of race, color, or creed. The specific criteria established are, briefly, that there should be adequate meeting places for all gatherings without discrimination, that there should be adequate hotel accommodations for all delegates, and that the local community which wishes to entertain the Conference will comply with the necessary contractual relations.

A year ago the Committee on Time and Place reported to the Conference that it had no acceptable invitation for the 1942 meeting, but that an invitation was expected from New Orleans, provided certain questions of accommodations could be worked out.

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee last fall your chairman discussed with its members the work of the Committee on Time and Place and the problem it was facing. The Executive Committee gave long consideration and discussion, not only to the immediate problem facing the Committee on Time and Place, but to the whole question of the Conference policy. After this discussion the committee passed a resolution instructing the Committee on Time and Place "to adhere to the basic policy set forth in the Seattle report, with the added instruction that if no city is available in any one predetermined area under the policy set forth at the Seattle meeting, the committee is free to proceed with negotiations in another geographic region . . ."

In accordance with their further instructions your chairman and the General Secretary went to New Orleans to see if satisfactory arrangements could be made so that the invitation which the city wished to extend would be acceptable. As a result of this visit and consultation on the ground, arrangements were worked out which comply with the basic requirements of the Conference, but which also involve certain special agreements for an Annual

Meeting in New Orleans. The formal invitation and contract was then presented by the Council of Social Agencies and the New Orleans Convention Bureau. In order that there may be no misunderstanding, we present the plan which was agreed upon: All meetings and the facilities of Conference headquarters will be open to all persons attending and registering at the Conference, without restrictions of any kind. The Executive Committee, by resolution, has provided that there will be no luncheon, breakfast, or dinner meetings held under the auspices of the Conference and strongly urges all the associate and special groups to adopt the same policy. The Negro leadership of New Orleans has joined in this invitation and at the same time has assumed responsibility for providing adequate housing and restaurant facilities for our Negro delegates.

The Municipal Auditorium, where the Conference headquarters would be maintained, has sufficient meeting halls to take care of practically all the meetings of the Conference, the sections, the special committees, and the associate and special groups, and other facilities for meetings without discriminative restrictions are available.

Therefore, your committee unanimously recommends New Orleans for the Annual Meeting of 1942, and this recommendation has been unanimously approved by the Executive Committee.

Invitations for the 1943 meeting have been received from Cleveland, Ohio; Columbus, Ohio; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Toronto, Canada. The committee will give careful consideration to these invitations during the year and report its recommendations at the next Annual Meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

FLORENCE MASON

Chairman, Committee on Time and Place

Mr. Lester Granger, of New York City, asked for the floor and requested an opportunity to make a statement regarding the report and expressing the view of those who were opposed to New Orleans for the next Conference. He stated in part:

We have a great deal of appreciation for and approval of the efforts of the Committee on Time and Place to secure for all Conference delegates proper accommodations. On the other hand, after careful thought and sympathetic consideration we feel that it is a question which involves the self-respect, both as citizens and as members of the Conference, of persons who are of the Negro race. We feel that the conditions under which the Conference must meet, in spite of the facilities which have been selected by the Committee on Time and Place, will still be intolerable to a large number of the delegates who are members of the Negro race and will not be able to adapt themselves to the circumstances that they must encounter in a city in the Deep South, and we feel that there are certain considerations involved that are not discussed in this report.

After considerable discussion, it was then moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Time and Place to the effect that New Orleans be selected as the place of meeting for 1942 be rejected and

that at the same time the Executive Committee be instructed to select a place in an area other than that which includes New Orleans. A rising vote was called for and the motion was lost by a vote of 94 "nays" to 82 "ayes."

Upon motion duly made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted, and a rising vote being requested, the motion was carried by a vote of 92 "ayes" and 75 "nays." Mr. Granger then was recognized and moved that the action of the business session in adopting the report be made unanimous. The motion having been seconded, it was unanimously voted that the report be adopted.

There being no further business, upon motion being duly made and seconded, it was voted to adjourn.

Friday, June 6, 8:30 P.M.

At the General Session the President called the Conference to order to hear the reports of the Committee on Nominations and the Committee on Tellers.

Mr. Leonard W. Mayo, chairman, presented the report of the Committee on Nominations as follows:

The Committee on Nominations respectfully submits the following nominations for office in the National Conference of Social Work for 1943:

President: Fred K. Hoehler, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago; *First Vice President:* Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, Director, Children's Division, Catholic Charities, New York City; *Second Vice President:* Elizabeth Wisner, Dean, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans; *Third Vice President:* Col. Archibald Young, Chairman, Social Welfare Board of California, Pasadena.

Members of the Executive Committee: Seven to be elected.

Clinton W. Areson, Superintendent, State Agricultural and Industrial School, Industry, N. Y.; Charles J. Birt, Associate Secretary, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Minneapolis; Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Associate Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.; Ruth FitzSimons, Assistant Director, State Department of Social Security, Olympia, Wash.; Lester B. Granger, Assistant Executive Secretary, National Urban League, New York City; Margaret Payson, President, Children's Service Bureau, Portland, Maine; Edna H. Porter, General Secretary, Young Women's Christian Association, Minneapolis; Kenneth L. M. Pray, professor, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia; Emma C. Puschner, Director, National Child Welfare Division, American Legion, Indianapolis; Ralph J. Reed, Executive Secretary, Portland Community Chest, Portland, Ore.; Frieda Romalis, Executive Director, Jewish Social Service Bureau, St. Louis, Mo.; Eva Smill, Executive Secretary, Family Service Society, New Orleans; George L. Warren, International Director, International Migration Service, New York City.

In recommending this slate to the Conference the committee wishes to

commend heartily the procedure carried out this year whereby suggestions as to nominees were sought in advance from Conference members in every state and possession of the United States. The result was a compilation of several hundred names which the Committee on Nominations received and studied before its first meeting.

The chairman wishes to express his appreciation to members of the committee for thoughtful and conscientious service in pursuit of the committee's business.

Respectfully submitted,

LEONARD W. MAYO

Chairman, Committee on Nominations

At the close of the report it was announced that further nominations could be made by petition of any twenty-five bona fide members of the Conference submitted to the Conference office prior to December 31, 1941.

The chairman, Mrs. Mary Clarke Burnett, presented the report of the Committee on Tellers as follows:

President: Shelby M. Harrison, New York City; *First Vice President:* Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago; *Second Vice President:* Michael M. Davis, New York City; *Third Vice President:* Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia.

The candidates elected to the Executive Committee for a three-year term are: Martha A. Chickering, Sacramento, Calif.; Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Evelyn K. Davis, New York City; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Agnes Van Driel, Washington, D.C.; Gertrude Wilson, Pittsburgh.

The results of the election for section officers and committee members are published in Appendix C.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY CLARKE BURNETT

Chairman, Committee on Tellers

The results of the section elections are printed in the July, 1941, *Bulletin* and will be found in the business organization of the Conference printed in the *Proceedings*.

Mr. Shelby M. Harrison, the new President, was called to the platform and spoke briefly.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Saturday, June 7, 1:00 P.M.

The President called for the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Mr. Earl N. Parker, of New York City, chairman, presented the following report:

This sixty-eighth meeting of the National Conference of Social Work convened at an hour more critical for the maintenance of democratic institutions in the world than any hour in modern history. Social work facing the grave

problems and the somber challenge of this time must equip and adapt itself for services of a scope and of a caliber greatly beyond the demands even of the difficult decade just past. The realization of this has permeated Conference sessions and has given a sobering note to the planning in every field to maintain and improve the social advances which we believe are essential to our democratic freedom in the United States and Canada.

To Atlantic City, through Mayor Taggart, we wish to express our appreciation for its hospitality and for the specific services of its police department and other facilities made available to the Conference. We desire to express our thanks to the Atlantic City Convention Bureau; to Mr. A. H. Skean, its director, who is also manager of the Atlantic City Auditorium; to Mrs. Clara Adams, his assistant; and to the excellent corps of workers who have manned the headquarters services. The Conference is grateful for the facilities of the Auditorium which have been available for its sessions.

We desire to express our thanks to the Press-Union newspapers of Atlantic City for their reports of the Conference sessions. We are appreciative also for the reporting of the major news services and the representatives or correspondents of the many individual newspapers throughout the country who have reported the Conference.

To the Columbia Broadcasting System, which brought to its network in the United States and Canada, and to the Conference, the address from London of Ernest Bevin, and to the National Broadcasting Company and the Mutual Broadcasting System for their network facilities, we desire to express our thanks. This applies also to Radio Station WBAB of Atlantic City and its many broadcasts of Conference meetings.

We desire to express the thanks of the Conference to the officers and committees whose work during the past year has contributed so much to the programs of this meeting. Special appreciation is felt for the work of the Program Committee and of the chairmen of the section committees, of the special committees, and of the associate and special groups.

The National Conference of Social Work continues as a forum for free discussion and for the expression of every viewpoint in the field of social welfare. Its meetings continue to provide an opportunity for the exchange of experience of communities and of sections, which is now even more essential to the meeting of the challenge which faces social work today.

Respectfully submitted,

EARL N. PARKER

Chairman, Committee on Resolutions

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted unanimously to approve the report.

The President announced that the final registration at the Sixty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 7,290.

There being no further business, the President adjourned the Conference to reassemble in New Orleans, Louisiana, May 10 to 16, 1942.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT

General Secretary

APPENDIX E: CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION AS REVISED

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members, to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; and (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships, or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary; and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First, Second, and Third Vice Presidents, the President of the preceding year, and the Treasurer ex officio, and twenty-one other members who shall be elected by the Conference, seven each year for a term of three years.

Vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex officio chairman. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the Annual Meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee, and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon.

BY-LAWS

I. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5.00; without the *Proceedings*, \$3.00; for sustaining members, \$10.00; for institutional members, \$25.00 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25.00 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25.00 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional mem-

bers.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

II. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex officio of both the Executive and the Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such banks as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the Annual Meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

III. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting, and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

IV. COMMITTEES

1. *Committee on Nominations.*—There shall be a Committee on Nominations of twenty-one members, seven elected each year for terms of three years. The members of the Committee on Nominations shall be nominated by the Committee on Nominations and elected by the official ballot submitted by mail to all members of record of the Conference as hereinafter provided. The President of the Conference shall within thirty days after the Annual Meeting appoint the chairman of the Committee on Nominations from members serving their third year.

In order to establish the Committee on Nominations, the Executive Committee at its first meeting following the Annual Meeting of 1941 shall elect the Committee on Nominations of twenty-one members, seven to serve terms of one year, seven to serve terms of two years, and seven to serve terms of three years. At its first meeting following the Annual Meeting of 1942, the Executive Committee shall elect seven members for terms of three years in place of the one-year members whose terms of office will have expired as provided above.

2. *Committee on Program.*—There shall be a Committee on Program which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference for terms of three years, and the chairmen of all continuous sections.

The said committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various section, special topic, and associate group committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to section and special topic committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the section and special topic committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the conference topic committees. Where such commitments are made for section programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the section involved or with its hearty coöperation and consent, and for not more than one third of the number of sessions allowed at each Annual Meeting.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of sections.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of associate groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions from time to time as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

l) To establish, either upon its own initiation or upon request, such committees on special topics as may be desirable. When establishing such committees on special topics, the Committee on Program shall also determine definitely the term of service of the committee on a special topic and such other regulations as to frequency of meeting, number of sessions at any Annual Meeting, and so forth as may be desirable.

3. *Committee on Time and Place.*—There shall be a Committee on Time and Place which shall be composed of twenty-one members to be selected by the Executive Committee, seven each year for a term of three years. In the year 1938 twenty-one members shall be selected, of whom seven shall be chosen to serve for three years, seven for two years, and seven for one year. Thereafter, the Executive Committee shall select seven members each year, each for a term of three years.

This committee in conjunction with the General Secretary shall stimulate invitations from acceptable cities and shall announce to each Annual Meeting the acceptable cities from which invitations have been received for the meeting two years from that date. In conjunction with the General Secretary, the committee shall be empowered to conduct inquiry and negotiations leading to the final selection of the place of the meeting.

The committee shall report its findings to the Executive Committee not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the Executive Committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

In the event of a negative vote upon the Executive Committee's recommendation, the question shall be referred back to the Executive Committee with power to act; but no selection shall be made in contravention of the vote of the Conference membership taken at such Annual Meeting. The criteria used by the Committee on Time and Place in selecting acceptable cities for places of meeting of the annual session shall be established by the Executive Committee.

4. *Committee on Resolutions.*—A Committee on Resolutions of three members shall be appointed by the President within three months after the adjournment of the Annual Meeting, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

V. SECTIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under sections, of which the following shall be continuous: (I) Social Case Work; (II) Social Group Work; (III) Community Organization; (IV) Social Action.¹

b) Other sections may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the Annual Meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee. All sections shall be reconsidered by the Executive Committee at intervals of not more than five years and recommendations for such modifications as may be desirable presented at the Annual Meeting for action by the Conference membership.

c) Each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One third of the members of the section committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or section committee members should, so far as possible, be members of the Conference or on the staffs or boards of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one section committee. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on section committees.

d) Each other section not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or, if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the Annual Meeting.

e) Each section shall have power to arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee.

f) Each section shall annually nominate one year in advance a chairman and vice chairman to be elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. Their chairman

¹This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation, and public administration.

may be re-elected once. The section committee shall each year elect a section secretary.

g) Vacancies in the section committee shall be filled at the Annual Meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the section committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all section committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

VI. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the Annual Meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

VII. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any section or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such questions with its recommendation before final adjournment.

VIII. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the Annual Meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) that he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting, and (2) that he was a member in good standing at the last preceding Annual Meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of nonpayment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any Annual Meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

IX. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session, fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

X. SECTION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairmen of sections shall preside at the meetings of their sections or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

XI. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the Annual Meeting, except official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

XII. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the Annual Meetings shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

XIII. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Committee on Nominations shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice President, Second Vice President, and Third Vice President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body. It shall also have the function of nominating one or more persons for the offices of chairman and vice chairman and at least twice as many persons as are to be elected for the committee of each constitutional section of the Conference. It shall further have the function of nominating at least twice as many persons as there are vacancies in the Committee on Nominations.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Committee on Nominations by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Committee on Nominations shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. It shall use such other means of soliciting an expression

of opinion from Conference members relative to proposed nominations as it deems feasible. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the Annual Meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:00 P.M. of the fourth day of the Annual Meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

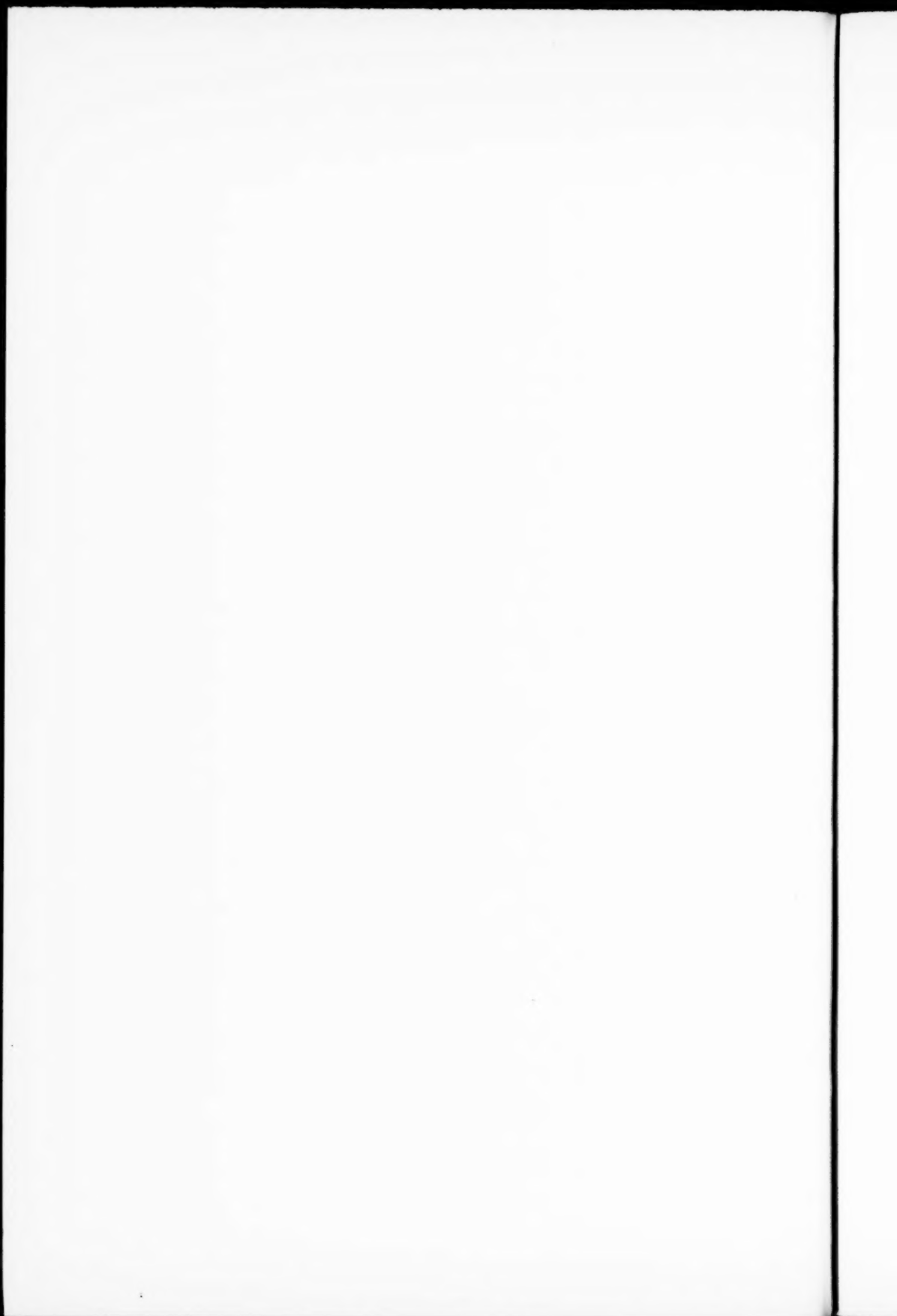
5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1, preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

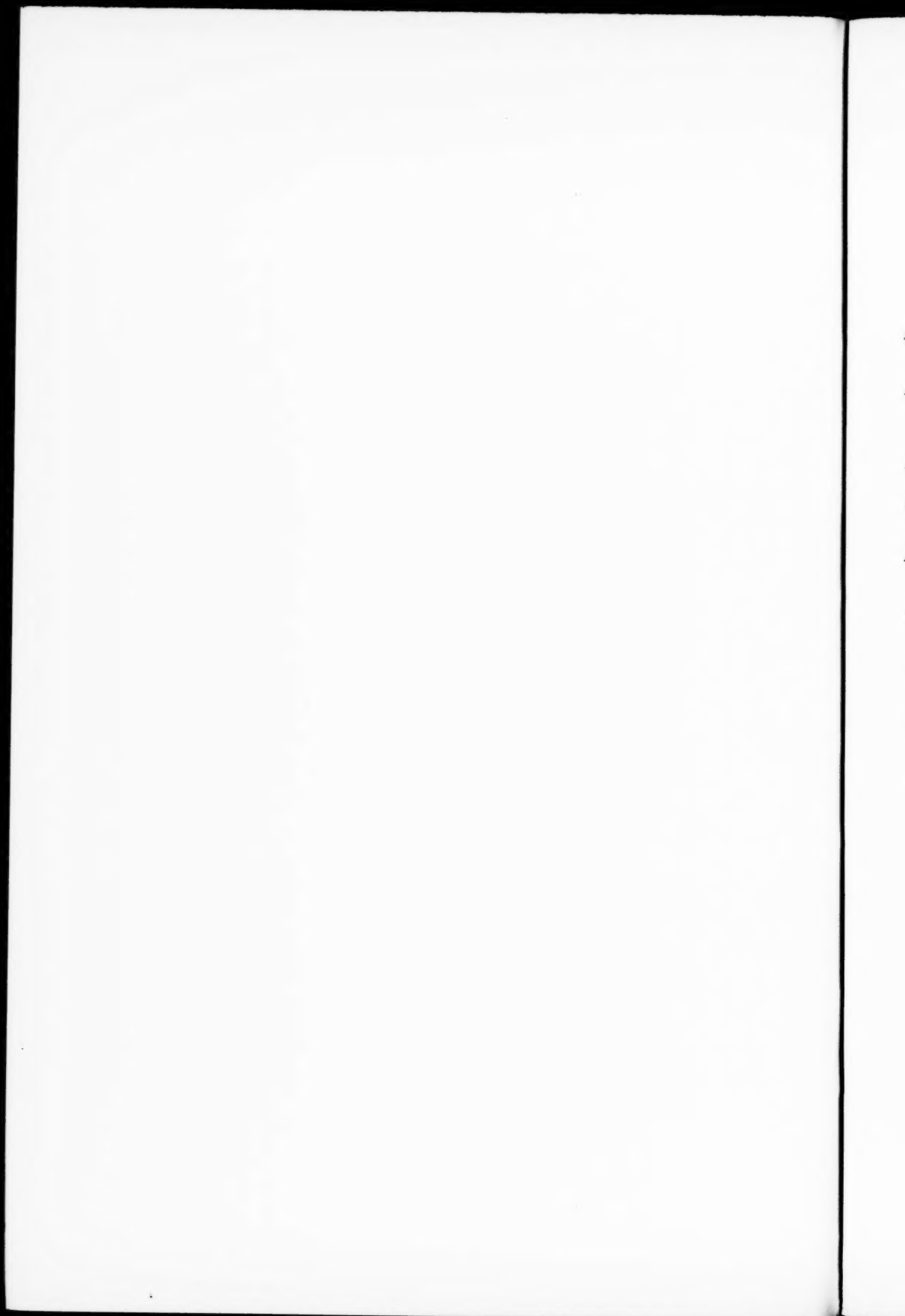
7. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls.

Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the registration desk provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period which said registration desk is officially open, but not later than the end of the third day of the Conference. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

8. The President shall appoint a committee of three tellers to whom the General Secretary shall turn over all ballots cast by mail as provided in Section 7 of By-Law XIII. The General Secretary shall at the close of the registration desk at the end of the third day of the Conference turn over to the Committee of Tellers all ballots that shall have been filed at the registration desk as provided in said Section 7. The ballots shall be counted by the tellers and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be by a majority of the ballots cast.



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